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MEMOIRS

OF

JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY.

RESIDENCE OF J.J.GURNEY.

PHILADELPHIA

J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO.

MEMOIRS

OF

JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY;

WITH

Selections from his Journal and Correspondence.

EDITED BY

JOSEPH BEVAN BRAITHWAITE.

Herein do I exercise myself, to have always a conscience void of offence toward God and toward men." Acts xxiv. 16. — *Motto selected by J. J. Gurney for some of the earlier volumes of his Journal.*

TWO VOLUMES COMPLETE IN ONE.

VOL. I.

FOURTH EDITION.

PHILADELPHIA:

J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO.

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PREFACE.

When, towards the close of the year 1849, I was requested by the widow and family of Joseph John Gurney to undertake the editing of a Memoir of his Life, I naturally shrank from so responsible a task. Little as I felt myself qualified successfully to pourtray the varied features of such a character, I could not but recollect that nearly three years had already elapsed since his decease; and that, with the very limited leisure which I could command, amidst the pressure of professional and other duties, my engaging in the work would necessarily postpone its appearance several years longer. Finding, however, that, notwithstanding these difficulties, it was still the decided wish of those most nearly connected with the subject of this Memoir that I should undertake the work, I finally concluded to engage in it, though under a deep sense of my own want of qualification. Since that time, (the beginning of the year 1850,) I have endeavoured to pursue this interesting object with as much assiduity as my limited intervals of leisure would admit; and I wish to take this opportunity of acknowledging my grateful sense of the large measure of warm and cordial encouragement and assistance, which I have, from time to time, received during the progress of the work from the various members of his family, and from other valued friends.

The materials which I have had before me have been rich and abundant. To say nothing of Joseph John Gurney's numerous pub-

lished writings; the manuscript volume of Autobiography, written in the year 1837, whilst on his voyage to America, and which contains many passages of deep interest; the fifteen volumes of his private Journal, commenced in his eighteenth year, and continued, with but little interruption, until within a few days of his death; together with a large mass of papers, letters, and correspondence, have, altogether, furnished a repository in regard to which the task of judicious selection and arrangement has been the principal difficulty. In making the selection, the omission of much that was in itself deeply instructive has often appeared unavoidable. The continued reiteration of similar sentiments, however excellent, tends to weaken their force upon the mind, by impairing its relish for them. Impressed as I have been with the truth of this observation, it has not been without pain that many passages have been rejected, in themselves striking and interesting. And I may truly say that few parts of my labour have been attended with greater difficulty, or, at times, with less of confidence in the correctness of my own judgment.

No faithful portrait of Joseph John Gurney could represent him otherwise than as an earnest and consistent member of the Society of Friends. Being myself fully persuaded of the accordance of the principles of this Society with those of primitive Christianity, I have had no inclination, nor would it have been practicable, to throw into the shade his views and feelings in reference to these important subjects. It is not improbable that the peculiar tone which this circumstance necessarily imparts to the present work, may render it especially attractive to his fellow-members in the same religious society. And yet, in the recollection of his enlarged and Catholic spirit, and of his varied services in the universal Church, I venture to hope that there are those—and not a very few—among other denominations of Christians, who will feel some interest in tracing, in his experience, the "life, walk, and triumph" of the same precious faith, "once delivered to the saints." Even in the case of the more general reader, it is difficult to believe that any heart can be stirred up by highly-wrought recitals of feelings and actions wholly fictitious and imaginary, and

yet not be touched by the simple and truthful records of a life devoted to the service of Christ, and to the welfare of man. And to the sincere-hearted Christian it can surely afford no uninstructive object of contemplation, to watch the growth of the intellectual, moral, and religious character of one who, in a position in which he was exposed, in no common degree, to the alluring blandishments of the world, was enabled, in so conspicuous a manner, to choose "the better part;" and, consistently with other duties and engagements of no ordinary interest, to maintain, above all, the important position of a Christian minister, called, qualified, and ordained, by the Great Head of the Church.

The ample materials before me have enabled me in general to introduce Joseph John Gurney as relating his own history, leaving me little else to perform, than to add such observations as appeared necessary for the due illustration and connexion of the narrative. Amidst the variety of transactions and sentiments which are here brought under review, it would be unreasonable to expect an entire harmony of feeling, in regard to each particular, amongst the readers of these pages. Into the region of controversy I have little disposition to enter. Such a life stands in need of no laboured vindication. And I feel assured that none can give to Joseph John Gurney's own statements a fair and candid perusal, without being satisfied that it was, at least, his earnest and continued desire so to act, in the varied, and often peculiar, circumstances in which he was placed, as to have always "a conscience void of offence toward God and toward men."

Far, indeed, is it from my desire to exalt the instrument. Few were more deeply sensible than he was, that, in so far as he had himself become "a partaker of Christ," or had been made, in any degree, a blessing to others, it was all of rich and unmerited mercy; truly not of himself, but of "*the grace of God.*" And, in holding out the language of affectionate exhortation to others, his frequent expression was, in accordance with the tenor of his whole life, "Follow me, *so far, and so far only*, as I have followed Christ." Greatly shall I rejoice if the perusal of these pages be made the means, under the

Divine blessing, of leading any to a more deep-felt sense of what lies at the very foundation of all true Christian experience, and to yet more earnest and steady endeavours after an humble, watchful, constant, and confiding walk with God.

Very sensible as I am of the deficiencies that abound in the present work, it is with sincere diffidence that I now venture to commend it to the candid perusal of the reader; and, above all, to the blessing of Him who can alone prosper any of our labours, and cause them to bring forth fruit to his praise.

J. B. Braithwaite.

Mornington Road,
Regent's Park, London,
5th month, 1854.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

Page

Birth; Family; the first John Gurney; his two Sons, John and Joseph; John Gurney of Earlham; his Wife; his Daughter Catherine; Description of Joseph John Gurney by one of his Sisters; Extracts from Autobiography; his Sister Catherine's Letter of Advice on his going to Oxford 11

CHAPTER II.

John Rogers; Extracts from Letters; Life at Oxford; Studies; "Rest Week;" Return Home; Settlement in the Norwich Bank; "Quarterly Review;" Death of his Brother John's Wife; Extract from the Journal; Edward Edwards; Friends' Week-day Meetings..... 29

CHAPTER III.

Studies; Butler's Analogy; his Literary Associations; Habit of Self-Examination; Quæstiones Nocturnæ; Extracts from his Journal and Letters; Death of his Father..... 46

CHAPTER IV.

Reflections after his Father's Decease; Review of his Objects; Studies; his first Essay as an Author; Correspondence with Sir William Drummond; gradual Attraction towards Friends; attends the Yearly Meeting; Extracts from his Journal..... 55

CHAPTER V.

Page

Growing interest in the welfare of others; Lancasterian School; Establishment of the Norfolk and Norwich Auxiliary Bible Society; Parties at Earlham; Course on becoming more of a Friend. 79

CHAPTER VI.

His Review of his Progress up to 1815; his Uncle Joseph Gurney: Bristol; Letter to a Friend on his Marriage; Thomas Foster's Appeal; Death of his Brother John; his Cousins Joseph and Henry Gurney; Capital Punishments; Wilberforce; Retrospect from Autobiography..... 90

CHAPTER VII.

Extracts from Autobiography and Journal; Jonathan Hutchinson; Engagement in Marriage; first speaks as a Minister; his Marriage; Letter to William Forster; Chas. Simeon; Correspondence with Jonathan Hutchinson; Journey on the Continent; Visit to London; Visit of the Mayor and Corporation of Norwich to Earlham; he is acknowledged a Minister..... 127

CHAPTER VIII.

Earlham; Family Meetings; Position in Business and as a Christian Minister; Journey to Scotland and the North of England with his Sister Elizabeth Fry; Edinburgh; Glasgow; first "Public Meeting;" Visit to the Earl of Derby at Knowsley; Publishes his first Book; Notes upon Prisons; Letters from William Wilberforce; Correspondence with Edward Harbord; Exertions to save three Prisoners; Birth of his Son..... 146

CHAPTER IX.

Ackworth School; Joseph John Gurney's Labours there; Scriptural Instruction; Extracts from Letters and Autobiography; Extracts from Journal..... 175

CHAPTER X.

Page

Extracts from Journal and Letters; his First-day School; Journey to Bristol; William Forster's Departure for America; Yearly Meeting; Letters from Jonathan Hutchinson and William Wilberforce; Letter to Thomas Fowell Buxton; Illness and Death of Priscilla Gurney..... 191

CHAPTER XI.

Extracts from Journal and Letters; Letter from William Wilberforce; Tract on the Authority, Importance, and Effect of Christianity; Illness and Death of his Wife..... 209

CHAPTER XII.

Extracts from Letters and Journal; Commencement of Work on the Distinguishing Principles of Friends; Home Pursuits; Literary Journal; Anti-Slavery Movements; Religious Services in Essex and Suffolk; Hannah More; Religious Visit to Yarmouth..... 226

CHAPTER XIII.

Visit to Friends at Bury; Amelia Opie; Anti-Slavery Speech at Norwich; Publication of his Letter on the Authority of Christianity, and of his Work on the Distinguishing Views and Practices of Friends..... 243

CHAPTER XIV.

Extracts from Journal and Letters; Journey to the North of England; Letters to Thomas Fowell Buxton and Lord Suffield; Return Home; Visit to Suffolk..... 267

CHAPTER XV.

Extracts from Journal; Letter from William Wilberforce on his retirement from Parliament; Visit to Lincolnshire; Alfred Corder; Yearly Meeting; County Meeting on Slavery; Publication of his Essays on Christianity..... 289

CHAPTER XVI.

Page

Panic in the Monetary and Commercial World; Engagement in Marriage with Mary Fowler; Journeys in the West of England and in the Midland Counties; Extracts from Journal and Letters; Prospect of a Visit to Ireland with his Sister Elizabeth Fry..... 309

CHAPTER XVII.

Departure for Ireland; Labours in Dublin; Visit to the Marquis Wellesley, the Lord Lieutenant; Prisons; Dr. Murray; Archbishop Magee; Archbishop of Tuam; Trim; Cootehill; Armagh; Lisburn; John Conran; Lurgan; Belfast; Londonderry..... 329

CHAPTER XVIII.

Route to Sligo; State of the Country; Hibernian Blunder; Galway; Illness of Elizabeth Fry; Clonmel; Carlow; Dr. Doyle; Ballitore; Yearly Meeting in Dublin; Final Visit to Lord Wellesley; Wicklow; Enniscorthy; Wexford; Waterford; Return to England..... 349

CHAPTER XIX.

Arrival in London; Alarming Illness of his Brother-in-law, Thomas Fowell Buxton; Marriage with Mary Fowler; his Sister Rachel Gurney's Illness and Death; Publication of Report on Ireland; Various Journeys; Extracts from Letters and Journal..... 367

CHAPTER XX.

Interest in Norwich Poor; Breakfast to Operatives at Earlham; Visits to Prison; John Stratford; the Bethel; Reconciling Letter; Visits of School Children to Earlham; Advice to a Young Friend on his Marriage; Giving and Receiving; Day upon a Stage-Coach; Household Discipline; Economy of Time; Youthful Recollections of Earlham..... 392

CHAPTER XXI.

Page

Visit to Friends in Suffolk; Letter to Sir James Mackintosh on Capital Punishment for Forgery; Yearly Meeting; Chalmers and Wilberforce; Journey in Scotland and Cumberland; Detention at Edinburgh; Chalmeriana; Southey; Carlisle; Penrith; Kendal; Manchester; Return Home; Death of his Uncle Joseph..... 411

CHAPTER XXII.

Publication of the Biblical Notes and Dissertations; Letters respecting them; Work upon the Sabbath; Religious Engagements at Bristol; "Teaching" Meetings; Letter to his Son, describing an Evening at Cambridge and a Morning at Oxford. 439

CHAPTER XXIII.

Extracts from Letters and Journal; Essay on the Moral Character of Christ; Controversy in the Bible Society on the admission of Unitarians; Terms of Union; the Portable Evidence of Christianity; Religious Visits to Birmingham and Lancashire; Meetings in the Open Air; Address to the Mechanics of Manchester; Death of Joseph Kinghorn; Conference in London on the Revision of the "Book of Extracts."..... 464

CHAPTER XXIV.

Anti-Slavery Proceedings; Meeting of Delegates; Passing of Emancipation Act; Election at Norwich; Petition against Bribery; Prospect of entering Parliament; Doubts respecting it; ultimate Decision; commencement of Visit to Friends in London and its Neighbourhood; Letter to a young Friend; Letter to his Children; Rachel Fowler; George Withy; William Wilberforce..... 483

CHAPTER XXV.

Visit of Dr. Chalmers at Earlham; Conversations with him; Extracts from Journal; further Labours in the neighbourhood of London; Letters; Sermon at Devonshire House..... 507

CHAPTER XXVI.

Page

Further Labours in London; Interview with Earl Grey and Edward G. Stanley; Extracts from Letters and Journal; Visit to Ackworth; Essay on Love to God; Conclusion of Labours in London; Death of Jonathan Hutchinson 532

APPENDIX..... ... 549

LIFE

OF

JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY.

CHAPTER I.

1788—1803. ÆT. 1—16.

BIRTH; FAMILY; THE FIRST JOHN GURNEY; HIS TWO SONS, JOHN AND JOSEPH; JOHN GURNEY OF EARLHAM; HIS WIFE; HIS DAUGHTER CATHERINE; DESCRIPTION OF JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY BY ONE OF HIS SISTERS; EXTRACTS FROM AUTOBIOGRAPHY; HIS SISTER CATHERINE'S LETTER OF ADVICE ON HIS GOING TO OXFORD.

Joseph John Gurney was born at Earlham Hall, near Norwich, on the 2nd of the 8th mo., 1788.* The family of Gurney, or Gournay, is said to have sprung from a house of Norman barons, who followed William the Conqueror into England, and obtained large estates in this country, chiefly in the county of Norfolk. From them descended a line of country gentlemen, who maintained themselves at Harpley and West Barsham in that county for many generations, and from a very early period

* It was not until he entered into active life that he assumed the lengthened name of Joseph *John* Gurney, to distinguish himself from his uncle Joseph Gurney, of Lakenham Grove, near Norwich, who had also, at that time, a son Joseph Gurney.

had one of their residences in the city of Norwich. The last of these dying without male issue, about the commencement of the reign of Charles the Second, the old family estates became, at that period, mostly dispersed among females. The name of Gurney was, however, honourably continued in Norfolk, through a descendant of one of the younger sons of an earlier generation — John Gurney, (or Gourney, as he usually spelled his name,) the ancestor of the present family. He was born in the year 1655, and, notwithstanding his family connexions, commenced life in Norwich in somewhat straitened circumstances. Devoting himself, in his youth, to the cause of religion, we find him in the year 1678, at the age of twenty-three, already connected with the then oppressed and persecuted Quakers. Richard Hubberthorn, from Yealand, in North Lancashire, and George Whitehead, from Westmoreland, (then a young man scarcely eighteen,) were among the first under that name who visited Norwich. There, about the year 1654, they were encouraged, amidst severe suffering, by finding some who were prepared to receive the truths which they were commissioned to declare;* and a meeting of Friends was then established which has been kept up to the present time. The family of John Gurney appear previously to have had some connexion with the Puritans. Henry Gurney, indeed, of West Barsham, the representative of the family in the early part of the 17th century, had a distaste for Puritanism, if, at least, we are to judge

* See George Whitehead's Christian Progress, pp. 23, 24, *et seq.*

from the insertion in his will, (proved in 1623,) of a special charge to his younger sons, "that none hould any fantasticall or erroneous opinions, so adjudged by our Bishop or civill Lawes." But Edmund Gurney, rector of Harpley, one of these younger sons, who was a person of influence, became known as a zealous Puritan; he declined wearing the surplice, and was probably among those who took the Covenant in 1643.* After him John Gurney successively named two of his children. Others of his connexions were also inclined to Puritanism, and some of them, like himself, joined the Society of Friends. In the case of the early Friends generally, their ultimate settlement in those gospel principles by which they became distinguished from others, was preceded by a state of much religious awakening and earnest seeking after God, in which they "searched the Scriptures daily, whether these things were so." Through what course of experience John Gurney arrived at his conviction, the scanty materials of his history do not inform us. Let it suffice us to know that what he became convinced of was precious to him as the truth, and that for it he was prepared to suffer. On the 29th of the 9th mo., (O. S.,) 1682, (so the records of Friends in Norwich inform us,) "Friends being kept out of their meeting house, met together in the street to wait upon the Lord;" and, being there, John Gurney and another Friend were violently pulled out from among the rest, "as if they had been malefactors," and carried before a Justice of the

* See Master's History of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, p. 301

Peace, by whom, as they declined giving, on such an account, the required bail, they were committed until the next Quarter Sessions. In the following year, 1683, he was again imprisoned* for refusing to take an oath; and continued in prison, under successive recommitments, nearly three years. He died in the year 1721, having greatly prospered in his temporal concerns; and, what is far more important, having, according to the testimony of those who knew him, taken "particular care in the religious education of all his children," and "continued faithful to the end."†

His two elder sons, John and Joseph, were both men of marked character. John was gifted with much natural eloquence, and obtained considerable reputation by the spirit and ability with which he successfully defended the Norwich trade before a Committee of the House of Lords, against some apprehended encroachments. He subsequently received from Sir Robert Walpole the offer of a seat in Parliament, which, however, he declined, as inconsistent with his religious principles in the then state of the law. Religion had early taken possession of his heart, and about the twenty-second year of his age, in obedience to the call of apprehended duty, he had yielded himself to the work of the public ministry of the Gospel, in which service he laboured diligently for many years; neither "the temptation of prosperity," nor "the kindness and esteem of great men of this

* See Besse's Sufferings of the People called Quakers, vol. 1, p. 515.

† See Collection of Testimonies concerning several Ministers of the Gospel among the People called Quakers, London, 1760, p. 134.

world," being, in the simple but forcible language of the memorial respecting him, "permitted to separate him from that truth which the Lord had eminently convinced him of."* Besides numerous other descendants, he was the grandfather of Martha Birkbeck, whose daughter Jane became, as will be seen, the first wife of Joseph John Gurney.

Joseph Gurney, his younger brother, who, towards the close of his life, fixed his residence at Keswick, near Norwich, also became a valued minister of the Gospel among Friends. His Christian profession was eminently adorned by a life of humility, benevolence, and moderation. He died in the year 1750, after a suffering illness, which he bore with exemplary resignation, giving a final evidence of the truth of what he then expressed—that it had been "the business of his whole life to be prepared for such a time."†

His eldest son, John Gurney, was a man of great activity and energy, and, notwithstanding his extensive engagements in business, devoted much of his time to the interests of his own religious Society, to the principles of which he was warmly attached. In the midst of a course of remarkable temporal prosperity, it is instructive to observe the fear which he expresses in one of his private memoranda, lest his increasing opulence should lead away his children from those religious habits and associations in which they had been educated. He left three sons, all of whom married and settled near

* See Collection of Testimonies, p. 139, and Life of Thomas Story, p. 617.

† See Collection of Testimonies, pp. 238—240.

Norwich.* Richard Gurney, the eldest, on his father's decease, in 1770, became the occupant of the family residence at Keswick. John Gurney, the second son, the father of the subject of this memoir, had, previously to Joseph John Gurney's birth, settled at Earlham. Joseph Gurney, the youngest, resided at Lakenham Grove. The three families were naturally much associated, and exercised an important influence upon each other. At a later period especially, the consistency with which Joseph Gurney, of the Grove, was enabled to maintain his position as a Friend and as a Christian minister, rendered his influence peculiarly valuable.

To those who have read the Memoirs of the late Elizabeth Fry and Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, the character of John Gurney, of Earlham, cannot fail to be familiar. Generous, ardent, and warm-hearted, he abounded in kindness to all, uniting remarkable activity both in public and private business, with an acute intellect and extensive information. Though he did not in all respects strictly maintain the habits of a Friend, he was accustomed to treat Friends with the warmest respect, his house was ever open to receive their ministers, and he entertained, through life, a decided preference for their religious principles. His wife was Catherine Bell, a daughter of Daniel Bell, of Stamford Hill, near London, her mother being a grand-daughter of Robert Barclay, the

* The elder Joseph Gurney was also the grandfather of Priscilla Hannah Gurney, and Joseph Gurney Bevan, both highly esteemed members of the Society of Friends.

well-known author of the "Apology." She is described as a woman "of very superior mind, as well as personal charms, who in her latter years became a serious Christian and a decided Friend." An animated portraiture of her character is drawn in the memoirs of her highly gifted daughter.* Eminently fitted, as she appeared to be, for her responsible position, the stroke, by which she was so early removed from it, was not a little appalling. She died in the autumn of the year 1792, leaving her sorrowing husband the widowed parent of eleven children,† the youngest not yet two years old. The maternal mantle was, however, in a remarkable manner cast upon the elder sisters, more especially upon Catherine the eldest. Though scarcely seventeen at her mother's death, her capacities ripened into an early maturity, which admirably fitted her for the necessities of the occasion. In her were seen blended a judgment at once sound and comprehensive, a quiet firmness and promptitude in action, a sympathy quick to discern, and a noble

* Memoirs of Elizabeth Fry, vol. i, p. 3, &c.

† The following list of the names may be found useful:—

CATHERINE died unmarried, 1850.
RACHEL died unmarried, 1827.
ELIZABETH, married in 1800, to Joseph Fry, of London, died in 1845.
JOHN died 1814.
RICHENDA, married in 1816, to Francis Cunningham.
HANNAH, married in 1807, to Thomas Fowell Buxton.
LOUISA, married in 1806, to Samuel Hoare, died in 1836.
PRISCILLA died unmarried, 1821.
SAMUEL.
JOSEPH [JOHN] died in 1847.
DANIEL.

disinterestedness, eager to supply the wants of those around her. All this, brought out and matured in her new situation, and, with increasing years, sanctified and enriched by divine grace, gave her a place in the hearts of her younger brothers and sisters, which few besides a mother could have filled. Her advice, usually the result of a conference with her father, occasionally assisted by her two sisters the next in age, became law, not so much by reason of any authority of her's, as that it was illustrated by her own conduct, and felt by the younger members of the family to be mingled with so much wisdom and sisterly love. Her system, if such it might be called, was marked by but little restraint. This was doubtless, in part, owing to the peculiarity of her position. As a sister she preferred the gentler influences of example and persuasion, and as her principles became gradually more decided, she above all sought to encourage a healthy self-control under the discipline of religion. Constant in her own course of duty, the more conspicuous services in which others of the family younger than herself were afterwards engaged, awakened no unhallowed feelings in her heart. She rejoiced in their faithfulness and in their fruits, and still sought to strengthen their hands, without forsaking her own more private path of usefulness.* Thus much seemed due to the memory of one, whose early influence upon her

* Interest in the welfare of young persons was throughout life a marked feature in Catherine Gurney's character. She delighted to attach herself to those of this class who visited Earlham, encouraging and directing them in useful pursuits, and frequently giving them important advice upon their course of reading, &c.

own family, and, not the least so, upon her brother Joseph, was so richly blessed. It will be seen that in later years they had to feel the trial of separation in outward religious communion. This, especially to a mind so susceptible as his, was not without its pain. But, through all, the harmony of their fellowship in essential truth continued unbroken. And as life advanced, the bond which more and more closely united them, was among the many tokens of a growing meetness for that glorious rest, where the redeemed "see eye to eye," and all their aspirations after a union of holiness and perfected love are satisfied for ever.

The state of mind and feeling which prevailed in this young and interesting family, under their altered circumstances, is so fully before the reader in the works already referred to, that it seems unnecessary to do more than briefly allude to it. The naturally grave and practical disposition of their sister Catherine hardly formed an exception to the general liveliness and gaiety which pervaded the circle, and rendered the members of it peculiarly liable to be led away by the various temptations to which they were exposed. Their earlier years were, in fact, distinguished by much which they afterwards felt to have partaken largely of the vanity of youth, but which was yet singularly mingled with not a little of an opposite character. The evening dance, with its whirl of mirth and merriment, the excitement of the youthful day-dream, gave place, in their turns, to days of industry and study, to concern for the poor, and at times to religious seriousness. The contrast was striking and not without promise.

In this large family, Joseph John Gurney, or Joseph as he was then called, was the tenth in order of age, there being but one brother younger than himself.

"My first recollections of our dearest brother," writes one of his sisters, "are those of a lovely boy, who, from his great beauty and sweetness of disposition and manner, was a very gratifying child to his mother. He was so quick that he learned French words almost as soon as he could speak at all; full of tender feeling, of love, and gentleness, and possessing a temper that nothing could irritate, or render fretful. After the death of his mother he became closely attached to his sisters, and very dependent upon us, choosing ever to unite with us, and to follow us in our gardening, building, and other projects.

"Joseph had been nursed by the gardener's wife, who lived in the park by the bridge. He was very fond of 'nurse Norman,' and, when five or six years old, would escape to her cottage, and share with her children their usual homely fare. We would amuse ourselves by following him, and finding him seated at the little table with the poor family by the cottage window.

"He was always studious, and fond of reading, and had a real taste for his lessons, to which he applied with industry. Whether at school or at home, he bore the character of a boy of unsullied conduct, of fine disposition, and excellent talents.

"As he grew older, he became more and more delightful to his father, and brothers and sisters. He was fond of joining the latter in their schemes of benevolence, and frequently accompanied them in their visits to the poor. His return home at the vacation was always peculiarly agreeable. His life and playfulness, his spirit and zeal in every pursuit, rendered his company most enlivening. He spent his holidays with great method, allotting much time to study, reading Latin with Louisa, and books on serious subjects with Rachel, and would join our family circle in the evening in hearing amusing reading, while he drew."

Many years later, Joseph John Gurney, in his autobiography, thus recalls his own impressions of his early life.

"I remember that in the family order, my three eldest sisters, Catherine, Rachel, and Elizabeth, were classed together; after them came John, my eldest brother, who was succeeded by Richenda, Hannah, Louisa, and Priscilla, usually ranged together under the familiar name of "the four girls;" Samuel followed between Priscilla and me, and my youngest brother Daniel concluded the series. It was a material disadvantage to this circle of young people, that Norwich, soon after my mother's death, was remarkable as the residence of certain talented unbelievers; and these persons were the means of introducing occasional visitors, [at Earlham,] who united decided democracy in politics with very low sentiment on the subject of religion. * * * * But the God of all grace had better things in store for us. He did not permit us to be carried off into the cold regions of infidel speculation. Catherine, our eldest sister, was naturally of a sober mind, fond of reading, which had some approach at least to subjects of a serious import; and she gradually became the decided Christian. Her influence was soon found to be invaluable with her younger brothers and sisters. By degrees she became to them a check on the vanities of the world, a faithful guardian against loose and dangerous views of religion, and a cherisher of all that is good and valuable, whether intellectual or spiritual. * * *

"I do not look back upon my childhood with much comfort or satisfaction. * * * I was a very fearful, nervous child, not, I believe, fractious in temper, nor by any means destitute of a relish for enjoyment, but acutely alive to suffering of mind. Often in the night I was overtaken by an indescribable nervous agitation, as if the very walls were falling down upon me to crush me; and many a time did I spring from my bed, and seek refuge with some kind friend or sister, particularly my sister Elizabeth, who well understood me, and never failed, as occasion required, to pity and protect me.

"I was by no means insensible, in very early life, to religious considerations; being no stranger, from the first opening of my mental faculties, to those precious visitations of Divine love, which often draw the young mind to its Creator, and melt it into tenderness. If religion has indeed grown in me, (as I humbly believe it has, though amidst innumerable backslidings,) it has pretty much kept pace with the growth of my natural faculties; for I cannot now recall any decided turning point in this matter, except that which afterwards brought me to plain "Quakerism." Cases of this description are, in my opinion, in no degree at variance with the cardinal Christian doctrine of the necessity of conversion, and of the new birth unto righteousness. The work which effects the vital change from a state of nature to a state of grace, is doubtless often begun in very early childhood—nay, it may open on the soul, with the earliest opening of its rational faculties; and that its progress may sometimes be so gradual, as to preclude our perceiving any very distinct steps in it, we may learn from our blessed Lord's parable: 'So is the kingdom of God, as if a man should cast seed into the ground, and should sleep, and rise night and day, and the seed should spring and grow up, he knoweth not how; for the earth bringeth forth fruit of herself—first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear.' I have no doubt that some seed was sown in my heart when I was little more than an infant, through the agency of my watchful mother; and afterwards *that* seed was sedulously watched and cultivated by my dearest sister Catherine. Yet I believe that much of the feeling into which my young mind was at times brought on the subject of religion, was the simple result of those gracious visitations, which are independent of all human agency, and like the wind which 'bloweth where it listeth.'

"My pursuits as a child were very far from being of the hardy order; I was fond of reading, often made verses, and loved to keep company with my sisters, rather than unite with my elder brother Samuel in manly games, and in following the farming men in their various pursuits, riding on the team to the hayfield, &c. * * *

"I was about twelve years old, when I rode on horseback from Earlham to Colne, in Essex, the residence of Fowell Buxton's mother, in company with her and her children, and spent some weeks in their society. It was a very wholesome change for me, and under the influence of my companions Fowell and [his brother] Charles, whom I heartily loved, I was trained to greater manliness of pursuit, and by their favourite attendant, Abraham Plaistow,* through a somewhat severe disciplinary method, I was taught to swim. Well do I remember plunging into a deep stream, with a rope round my body, and that when with a vast effort I had contrived to reach the opposite bank, my teacher pulled me back again, in a state of great exhaustion, to the bank from which I had made the leap. However, by the help of my comrades, I recovered my spirits, and soon mastered the art; which I am the more inclined just to mention, as it was, many years afterwards, the means of saving my life. * * * During this pleasant and useful visit at Colne, the strong foundation was laid of that warm friendship which I have always since maintained with Fowell Buxton, who afterwards married my sister Hannah. * * *

"It was when (as far as I remember) I was eight or nine years old, that my brother Samuel and I were sent to a boarding-school at Norwich, kept by Simon Browne, a person eminent for his penmanship; his son a respectable clergyman, superintending, with considerable ability, the classical department. The old gentleman died, and John Henry Browne, his son, removed after a time to Hingham, a country town, about twelve miles from Earlham, where I continued at school until I had nearly completed my fifteenth year. The classics and some other parts of literature, were well taught by our master, who had been one of Dr. Parr's scholars; and being much inclined to study, I made considerable progress under his care, filling up some of my leisure hours with English reading. * * It may be remarked, that in sending us to this school, our dear parent did not much protect our Quakerism.

* See Memoirs of Sir T. F. Buxton, ch. i, p. 6, first ed.

However, even this subject was not entirely forgotten; for he arranged with a Friend, who lived at a distance of about two miles, to convey us every First day to Wymondham Meeting. Many a pleasant drive have we enjoyed in this worthy farmer's cart, and seldom did we fail to partake of his generous hospitality on our return from Meeting."

In the autumn of 1803, soon after Joseph John Gurney had completed his fifteenth year, he was sent to Oxford, with his cousin Gurney Barclay, to pursue his studies under the care of John Rogers, a private tutor then resident there. His elder brother John had lately finished his education with the same tutor, and his ever watchful sister Catherine had prevailed upon her father to allow her brother Joseph a similar opportunity of improving himself. Previously to his leaving home, she addressed to him a letter of advice, from which a somewhat lengthened extract may be here given.

"That I may not quite lose my influence over thee, in thy absence, dear Joseph, I mean to give thee, in writing, some general principles of conduct, which it would be a great comfort for me to believe thou wouldst attend to. * * The next two or three years will be most important to thee; and on the right use of them thy future good will in great measure depend. * * Nothing but experience will fully convince thee of this, but I can now see it for thee; and will leave nothing undone that it is in my power to do, to satisfy my own conscience concerning thee, and to make thy path safe and easy. I wish thou mayst sometimes recollect what a friend thou hast in me, and that if I know my own heart, there is scarcely anything I would not sacrifice for thy sake.

"Whilst I have anxiously and affectionately thought over all that concerns thee, it has struck me that thy duties may be comprised under three principal divisions. Those of

religion, those of social life, and those more particularly owing to thyself, or which relate to thy own objects and pursuits.

"First. — The duties of religion differ in their external form, according to the capacities and circumstances of the individual, though the internal principle must be the same in all, and this principle leads to a simple endeavour to make *acting right*, whatever may be our situation, our first object, and in order to do this, to make inclination and impulse *secondary* to conscience. * * * It requires little or no appearance of peculiar devotion, but it resides in the heart and manifests itself in the conduct. Something external is however necessary to confirm the internal principle of religion, and as thou wilt now be circumstanced, it will be more incumbent on thee, than it has before been, to attend to this; for the more external temptation there is, the more do we require to have that principle fortified which can alone stand against temptation. Thou art now about to enter upon a new era of life, in which thy own principle must be thy chief security, and hence whatever tends to confirm this is of far more importance to thee than ever. To require a peculiar degree of strictness, as to the externals of religion, at thy age, [is not my aim.] All I desire of thee is to *avoid* a few things, and to *do* a few things. Above all, I desire thee to avoid joking on religious subjects, a fault which is very common to young people. Whatever relates, either remotely or immediately to religion, I wish thou mayst be able to treat seriously, or say nothing about. Much depends on the habit of mind acquired by conversation and sympathy. And though I do not ask thee to stand forth as the champion of religion, yet shouldst thou hear the subject unworthily spoken of, I earnestly wish thee to avoid taking a part in what must corrupt thy heart, and is moreover a proof of a narrow, prejudiced, illiberal mind. And if the temptation be ever thrown in thy way, I also beg of thee to avoid reading books written against religion, of whatever kind, whether of argument or satire — at least till experience shall have fully confirmed thy own principles. As to what thou art to *do*, it is but little, but that little ought to be more conscientiously observed. Thou

wilt, of course, always go to meeting on a Sunday, and perhaps sometimes to church also, and if it is only to oblige *me*, do not lay aside the distinction of Sundays from other days, in thy own mind, nor in thy pursuits. Taking it only in a moral point of view, but much more in a religious one, recollect how salutary an institution it is, and how much it is for the general interests of society, as well as for our own individual good, to set the day apart, as much as we can, for sober reflection on our own conduct, for reading the Scriptures, and any other reading of a moral or religious tendency. I believe thou hast too much principle, and good sense, as well as good taste, to pass the day in idleness, as so many loiterers do: I had far rather thou shouldst work hard at the common business of a week-day, than do so. * * * Do not fear being ridiculed for appearing religious. Amongst well-bred and judicious people, such as I trust thou wilt be with, there is no danger of it; on the contrary thou wouldst be the more respected for it. Thy father and I have so fully made known our sentiments, on these subjects, to Mr. and Mrs. Rogers, that they would rather expect, than be surprised at such an appearance. And when thou art reading the Scriptures, remember that there is much that thou must expect to find mysterious, and some passages perhaps to thee wholly unintelligible; but let not this shake thy confidence in their divine authority, nor thy belief in Christianity, nor lead thee into reasonings above thy understanding.

"Secondly.—With regard to thy social duties, I must entreat thee to beware of entering into any pleasures, or forming any connexions, of whatsoever kind, that thy conscience tells thee thy father or I would disapprove. This, till thou hast attained more experience, will be thy best and safest guide; and I earnestly hope thou wilt attend to this precept, as being one of the most important of any I shall give thee. * * And, dearest Joseph, cultivate a principle of true honour, which comprehends much. Though in different terms, it appears to me to be almost the same thing in spirit, as the Christian maxim of 'doing to others as we would they should do to us.' Beware of satirizing those who may not suit thy

temper or thy taste; and endeavour to speak generously, as well as to feel benevolently, towards others. Be very cautious never to betray secrets, especially the affairs of thy own family, through inadvertency, for otherwise thou wouldst never do it. Recollect how important it is for our conversation to be well-timed. I need scarcely advise thee to be, as far as thou art able, the gentleman. Thy taste evidently leads thee to this, as well as to despise low and debasing pleasures and associations. Equally avoid low and debasing subjects of conversation, vulgar jokes, &c.; which, more than almost anything, undermine virtuous principle.

"Thirdly. — As to thy objects of pursuit, thou wilt be chiefly regulated by Mr. Rogers, and to him I wish thee to look, in the first instance, for every thing of the kind. * *

In thy leisure hours have a decided object, either of exercise and recreation, or of intellectual amusement; and if the choice of books depends at all on thyself, choose the best, and those of the most established repute of every kind; and if it is only from a principle of honour towards me, refrain, dear Joseph, from reading any that are said to have a licentious tendency.

"Whether or not it is Mr. Rogers' plan with his pupils for them to rise early, I recommend thee to keep to the practice of it. I have mentioned it to him as one of thy good qualities, and I have no doubt thou wilt find it more and more beneficial as thy employments increase upon thee. General temperance and sobriety of conduct I scarcely need mention; but I must observe, that as years increase, temptations increase; temptations to pleasure under various forms; and as temperance is the law which forbids all kinds of immoderate or unlawful pleasures, it becomes, as we advance in life, a most important duty to cultivate this principle in our hearts. * * All unnecessary indulgence degrades, while the reverse ennobles our nature.

"'My son, forget not my law; but let thy heart keep my commandments.' 'For length of days and long life and peace shall they add to thee.' 'Let not mercy and truth forsake thee; bind them about thy neck, write them upon the table

of thine heart.' 'So shalt thou find favour and good understanding, in the sight of God and man:'" Prov. iii.

To this striking illustration of sisterly love, the following extract may be subjoined as an additional proof of the place which the young student had in the hearts of his sisters, at this critical period. It is from the journal of his sister Rachel:—

"*Evening*—walking and talking with Kitty of dear Joseph's going to Oxford. It is a trial to us both. I went to bed under the sweet influence of religious hope, and, therefore, with more comfort about him. I humbly endeavour to tranquillize my mind by committing him to the merciful care of the Searcher of all hearts, who alone knows our earnest desire for this dear boy."

Was this solicitude—were these prayers in vain?

CHAPTER II.

1803—1808. ÆT. 16—20.

JOHN ROGERS; EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS; LIFE AT OXFORD; STUDIES; "REST WEEK;" RETURN HOME; SETTLEMENT IN THE NORWICH BANK;" "QUARTERLY REVIEW;" DEATH OF HIS BROTHER JOHN'S WIFE; EXTRACT FROM THE JOURNAL; EDWARD EDWARDS; FRIENDS' WEEK-DAY MEETINGS.

JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY continued at Oxford two years, with the exception of the vacations, which he spent mostly at home. His tutor, though resident at Oxford, was not in that character connected with the university, or with any of the colleges. "He was," in the words of the autobiography, "a very worthy man, but in no small degree singular." His eccentricity had manifested itself early. "Born in the neighbourhood of London, he had been accustomed, when young, to ride about Epping Forest, standing on his horse, and spouting Homer as he went." Previously to the present period he had been the incumbent of a considerable living in Dorsetshire, which he had resigned from conscientious motives, but had again joined the Church of England, and besides his labours in private tuition, he was now the corrector of Greek for the Clarendon press.

"For him," writes Joseph John Gurney, "I soon felt a warm affection. He was an admirable tutor, taught us

thoroughly, worked us hard, and gave us variety of study by way of recreation. We often read fourteen hours in the course of the day. The habits which he enjoined upon us corresponded with my taste. * * [Under him] I pursued my classical and other studies with a delightful relish, and was enabled to form the *habit* of persevering literary labour."

Whilst at Oxford Joseph John Gurney was accustomed to write a weekly account of his proceedings to one of his sisters. Most of these letters have been preserved. They are full of liveliness and good feeling, and as characteristic of the youthful student, a few extracts may be not unsuitably given. He highly prized the opportunities which his journeys to and from Oxford afforded him of more frequent intercourse with his sister Elizabeth, who had been married, three years before, to Joseph Fry, and was now settled at Mildred's Court, in London.* The decided change had already taken place which had been marked by her adoption of the principles and practices of Friends, but her example in this respect had not as yet been followed by any of her family.

Soon after his arrival he writes

TO HIS SISTER CATHERINE.

Oxford, Friday evening, Sept. 10th, 1803.

My examination took place this morning; I can hardly say what it was to me. Mr. Rogers put into my hands Cicero's Offices; I read and construed some lines to him. He then made me construe an ode of Horace. I got through with the Latin better than I expected; but I am

* See Life of Elizabeth Fry, ch. 5.

sure I should have been much better off, if I had not been in such a trepidation. Greek came next, a still harder trial. He gave me Xenophon's Memorabilia; I luckily construed three or four sentences without much hesitation, and with no mistakes. He then set me directly into a difficult part of Euripides, which I had never read; but by summoning up my fortitude, I got through as well with that as with Xenophon: afterwards he made me write Greek and Latin, in which I made no mistakes. As soon as this long and terrible examination was over, Mr. Rogers began quite a discourse: he said that he had never had a boy who had been so well taught, and thought I had made great progress under Mr. Browne's care, which he heard was aided by my own industry, &c. As I feel disposed to tell thee the real state of every thing, I thought I ought to put this in with other things, and I cannot say what a relief it was to me when his judgment was pronounced. As to Gurney, I begin to like him extremely; he is really clever, very agreeable, and is quite free in his conversation from too much joking. * * I was quite discouraged when I heard him talking of reading 1000 lines of a Greek Play in one morning, but as Mr. Rogers says that I am very nearly equal to him, I hope, by application, in time to be entirely so. * * As to my own feelings, I see no reason for being uncomfortable: but still the parting from you has had a great effect upon me. I am sure I feel all that you have done for me, though I was not able to express it. * * I value thy writing more than any thing I have, and shall often read it.

TO THE SAME.

Oxford, Friday, Sept. 17, 1803.

We began our regular studies on Monday. * * * Mr. Rogers has fixed seven o'clock to be the time of beginning before breakfast, but Gurney and I get up a little before six, and take some exercise in the public walks to fortify us against the literary fatigues of the day. We stay in the study till nine o'clock, which is our breakfast hour; the time is employed in algebra, geometry, writing, and ciphering in

their turns; and we constantly read a chapter of [the] Greek Testament before we go up to breakfast. We are allowed an hour, from 9 to 10, for breakfasting and taking a run. We then go in and settle to Greek, &c., till one. At one we either take a walk, or go to bathe till two, when we settle to our studies till three, which is our dining time. The remaining two hours are taken from the afternoon, and much to my comfort, the evening is leisure. Perhaps eight hours may seem too little, but we are kept so close to study during these eight hours, that I seem to do more than I did at Mr. Browne's. * * There is not the least probability of my getting acquainted with any of the young collegians, so thee need have no anxiety on that head. * * I read thy writing over last Sunday, and intend to do it every week, as *nothing does me so much good*, and I shall endeavour as much as I can to keep to thy injunctions.

TO HIS FATHER.

Oxford, Sept. 25, 1803.

* * * Mr. Rogers is a very pleasant and learned gentleman; he makes us fag, but treats us very kindly and sociably. Altogether I like him extremely. * * We write copies every other morning, besides exercises and themes, which, according to thy injunctions, he makes me *write neatly*.† * * On Sunday we go to meeting about 11 o'clock. There is only one family besides Gurney and me, and we sit in a private room. The family is very respectable, and I see no reason for not having as good meetings there as any where else.

TO HIS SISTER CATHERINE.

Oxford, Sunday Morning, May 28th, 1804.

I often think that I never lived more pleasantly anywhere than I do here, for in such continued occupation, I have really no time to think of anything uncomfortable. We are going

† See the remarks on writing well, in the Thoughts on Habit, p. 123, 8vo. edition.

on better than ever in our different pursuits. In Latin we are wading through Tacitus, and have almost got to the end of Lucretius. * * What time I have to spare, which has been actually none for the last week or two, I employ in writing Latin.† * * In Greek we have read, this half year, a great

† He thus describes his daily habits in a Latin epistle, which he wrote about this time to his sister Louisa. As the production of a boy not yet sixteen, the extract may not be without its interest to some readers.

* * * * procedo semper iisdem
In studiis constans; tempusque volubile currit.
Cum primum Phœbus dispergit lumina grata,
Assiduus surgo; recipit me bibliotheca;
Lectito, vel scribo; cerebrum geometrica vexant.
Sobria post hæc solantur jentacula fessum;
Butyrum panisque novus cum lacte recenti.
* * * *
Mox iterum petimus Musis sacrata sacella,
Ac modo Thucydides, Sophocles modo conterit horas.
Cum vero Phœbus,—namque is mensura diei,—
Cœruleam cœli curru jam transiet arcem,
Et declinat equos, libros dimittimus; atque
Aut animum recreant corpusque, virentia rura,
Aut apud Oxonii collegia sancta vagamur.
* * * *
Ad libros tandem redimus; doctrinaque rursum
Gaudia, sudores præbet. Mox advenit hora
Lætarum dapium, mensæque struuntur opimæ.
Vescimur; atque focum pransi circumdamus omnes,
Dulci colloquio major pars tum fugit horæ.
Jam Rogera sales, jam nunc Gurneius edit
Germanus noster; Rogerus et ipse relaxat.
* * * *
Cætera pars studiis solitis devota diei;
Annales Taciti legimus, Carumque profundum,
Aut Popius noster delectat carmine mentem.
Adveniunt tandem tenebrosæ tempora noctis,
Tempora defessis, credas, gratissima nobis!
* * * *

deal of Thucydides and Sophocles. What we do least of is Mathematics. * * We attend a good deal more to the different kinds of Philosophy, Law, and History. * * I have finished reading Ecclesiasticus on Sundays; I like it very much, but not nearly so well as the New Testament.

TO THE SAME.

Oxford, June 11th, 1804.

I have not spent my time quite so pleasantly since I last wrote; for our tedious "rest week" pursuits have, as usual, thrown a gloom over our party, particularly over poor Gurney, who is certainly liable entirely to lose his spirits, by being too much fagged. To explain this to thee in the most concise manner:—we have been reading aloud constantly every day to Mr. Rogers, and writing down sheet after sheet of what he has dictated to us, from about seven before breakfast till nine or half-past nine at night, at least with but few intermissions. Thee may imagine how tedious this must be.

The following extract from the Autobiography will throw further light upon this singular misnomer.

Sometimes the eccentricities of my preceptor puzzled me not a little. I well remember that when we were reading Livy together, he insisted on our writing down the patriotic harangues which he poured forth at every lesson, in defence of the People, *versus* the Patricians. It was an unprofitable task, until I bethought myself of writing down in Latin the effusions which my teacher spouted in English. This impromptu translation was of course extremely inaccurate, but it gave me a facility in writing Latin, of which I find myself even now not wholly destitute. I observed that Rogers allured us into industry, by frequently varying our lessons. One exception to this rule, however, fell to our lot during the closing week of the half year, which went by the name of "rest week," when he insisted on our re-construing to him the whole of the Latin or Greek which we had been

reading for months previously. Never, while memory lasts, shall I forget our thus translating to him the whole of Longinus in a single day. I knew the book pretty well, and went on glibly enough with the work, but my companion stumbled sadly, and at last lost his temper and half kicked down the table at which we were sitting, but it was all in vain; our master was peremptory, and the task was finished before we retired to bed.

TO HIS SISTER CATHERINE.

Oxford, 8th July, 1804.

I had kept my learning Italian a secret, in order to surprise Priscilla with a letter in that language. I like it extremely, and am reading Davila and Tasso. * *

He thus notices his holiday pursuits in a letter to his future brother-in-law Thomas Fowell Buxton, then a student at the University of Dublin,* who had recently returned thither after spending his vacation at Earlham.

5th September, 1804.

I have passed another very pleasant month with my sisters. Dan came home from Cromer, and I was appointed his master in classical studies; but this, though pleasant, was but a poor substitute for reading Xenophon's Memorabilia with you. With Priscilla I continued to study Italian during the course of the morning, and in the afternoon the whole party used generally to assemble in the dressing room and listen to some interesting work. My father headed these parties and seemed highly to enjoy them. * * We continued our nightly wanders in the garden, but really their spirit had well nigh fled away with you to Ireland. * * I stayed at Earlham over the 1st of September, carried my gun, and shot—nothing. How I long to borrow a little of your power in that line!

* See Life of Sir T. F. Buxton, chap. 2.

TO HIS SISTER CATHERINE.

Oxford, Sunday, 10th February, 1805.

We began on Tuesday with putting all our things in order, after which I once more commenced fagging. I walked a good deal about the town in order to find one of Dr. Kidd's advertisements, but as I saw none, in any hole or corner, all good judges considered it as a proof that he had not begun his lectures, and therefore, by their advice, I staid quietly at home, employing myself chiefly with Greek and Hebrew. * * On Thursday evening, the next lecture night, I sent the boy to the Cellar, as it is called, in order to make myself quite certain that Dr. Kidd had not yet begun, when, to my surprise and mortification, he brought me word that he had seen a light and heard a voice. I flew directly to the place, and, sure enough, found the Dr. in the midst of his harangue. I was really disappointed to find I had missed *three* lectures upon the Nitric, Muriatic, and Carbonic Acids; but have partly made up for my loss, by studying an account of them in chemical books.

TO HIS SISTER RACHEL.

Oxford, 23rd February, 1805.

My studies go on in rather a flourishing way. I have read this week almost half through one of Æschylus' plays, a great deal of Thucydides and Josephus, two or three acts of Plautus, a great part of Caligula's reign in Suetonius, four cantos of Dante, and a proportionate quantity of Davila; a tolerable number of verses in the Hebrew Bible, some Euclid, and a great deal of algebra; a crowd of German grammarians, with portions of Locke, Gregory, and Ferguson. Besides these things, I have been employed by exercises of all kinds, Latin verses, chemical lectures, and, to conclude the whole, the composition of a long dissertation in Greek:—rather a good week's work.

TO HIS BROTHER DANIEL.

Oxford, 9th July, 1805.

I am truly glad to hear of the very satisfactory manner in which you are now going on with your studies. Never despair; fag on, and you will soon have your reward. I know I have not made much proficiency myself in different languages; yet little as I may have made, there is not one of them that does not now afford me real pleasure. Learning Greek is so arduous an undertaking, that I should not wonder if you now and then felt a little damped about it. Never imagine yourself more backward than you really are. I hope Mr. —— does not follow ——'s method of not laying sufficient stress upon the grammar. Unless you know *that* perfectly, you will always find Greek difficult. * * *Never let a word pass without knowing every circumstance belonging to it.* You will find this method tedious at first, but it will, I assure you, soon smooth down your difficulties.

He was scarcely seventeen when he was removed from the care of John Rogers, in the 8th month, 1805. He had become attached to his tutor and to his studies, and quitted the place with regret; but there was brightness in the thought of settling at home.

"In three months I shall be with you," he wrote to one of his sisters, "What a delightful prospect! I have set my mind upon cutting some figure in business!"

The bank, in which his father was a partner, had been established in Norwich, in the year 1770. Since that time the concern had been considerably extended, and several branch banks, at Lynn, Fakenham, Yarmouth, and other places, were now

connected with it. His elder brother John had been placed in the establishment at Lynn. His brother Samuel had been sent up to London, where he finally became the head of a distinct concern; so that circumstances had prepared the way for that which Joseph John Gurney had himself all along desired,—a place in the bank at Norwich. Here, in the enjoyment of daily communication with his father, and a home at Earlham with his sisters, the ensuing three years passed in what then appeared to him almost uninterrupted happiness. The family circle was, for some time, but little broken in upon. Of his sisters, Elizabeth only was married. The two elder ones continued to watch over the progress of his mind, and the gradual formation of his character, with an almost maternal solicitude. All were ardent in their thirst for knowledge, and anxious for self-improvement, and their society was at once delightful and stimulating to their younger brother.

In the year 1806 he accompanied his father, and a large family party, in the tour through Scotland, and the English Lakes. Several important changes in the family circle quickly followed. His sister Louisa became the wife of Samuel Hoare, of Hampstead and his sister Hannah was soon afterwards married to Thomas Fowell Buxton. A warm friendship had long subsisted between himself and his new brothers-in-law, which more frequent association and closer intimacy served only continually to strengthen as they advanced in life. Bright, indeed, appeared these days of his early manhood. Happy in his family circle, the world around seemed to him to partake of its loveliness. His fondness for

music and dancing gave an additional fascination to some of the more specious allurements of pleasure. and whilst the duties of business were not neglected, and his studies were pursued with unremitting eagerness, he became at this period a frequent visitor at balls and other similar entertainments, where his engaging manners and person, and varied accomplishments rendered him an object of general attraction. It is plain, however, from his private memoranda, that Divine Grace was through all secretly working in his heart. He had early accustomed himself to the habit of self-examination, and soon after his return from Oxford he commenced the practice of periodically reviewing his conduct upon paper. The following are from the earliest that have been preserved of these "Quarterly Reviews," as he called them:—

22*nd February*, 1807. * * Alas! I am still a prey to evil desires. But thanks be to God, his grace has visited me at seasons. I do feel and know my own great weakness, and have been enabled at times to pray fervently to the Lord of our salvation for his gracious assistance. * * * He knoweth the frailty of our natures, and I am humbly led to hope that the spiritual light with which he has lately favoured his sinful servant may be the beginning of his work on my heart, and may fortify me in time against the many temptations that surround me. O may a continual watchfulness and unshaken perseverance on my part bring down upon me the increase of his grace and prepare me for the more constant influence of his Holy Spirit. * * * * My studies have been subject to family interruptions. But since the marriages have been completed, and a few of us have been left at home in delightful quiet, I have accomplished a great deal, and that with much satisfaction to myself. I have not yet by any means perfected myself in the habit of digesting, and reason-

ing upon what I read. I am, however, improved in this respect, and am more than ever sensible of its importance. As to my *manners;* would that I could stamp that doctrine more firmly on my heart, of preferring others in all things little and great to ourselves. This, I have often thought, is the true spring of politeness. Another consideration which has lately occupied much of my attention is this, whether or no I should give up the amusement of field sports. I have often taken great delight in the pursuit of them, but am in my heart convinced that they are morally wrong. I have this day come to my determination, and have solemnly renounced them for ever. May the Spirit of the Lord support me in this, as in all other good resolutions, for of myself I am nothing.

December 20th, 1807. * * * It is impossible for me to express how deeply I feel that the *grace* of God has been exercised towards me. I ascribe to myself no merit. The Saviour of the world, and the Lord of Light has been my comfort and my cure. O that my gratitude may be commensurate with his *gift*. O that I may continue to be conscious in deep humility of my own entire insufficiency, and of the excellence and necessity of his redeeming grace. * * From the experience which I have now had, I am sure that if I do really humble myself before my gracious Creator he will continue to protect me, and that all my failings will be expelled, at last, by the power of his grace. * * For if our nature were not capable of perfection, Jesus would never have commanded us to be perfect, even as our Father which is in heaven is perfect. But how impossible for us to attain to such a state without the merits of our Redeemer and the grace of our God.

March 20th, 1808. * * * It has struck me most forcibly this day how constantly the thoughts of all mankind are occupied about their worldly business, and though many may believe in Christ, yet how little they think of him. O that our souls could be enlightened, so that we might not only believe, but know, not only know but feel that we are now existing in a state of trial, that it signifies little whether we

are rich or poor, fortunate or unfortunate, that the period of this life is but as a *speck in eternity*, and that if we continue to be thoughtless through that little life we lose our chance of happiness for EVER. O think what these words imply.

O Father all-merciful, be thou pleased to lighten our darkness so that we may be convinced that the things of this world are as a flower that withereth, as a shadow that fleeth away Be pleased to make us careful of our eternal welfare, and so to order our lives that we may walk in thy way, and through Christ obtain thy mercy. Establish us upon the rock of thy faith, that when the floods beat, and the winds blow, we may stand fast, and be thine for evermore!

It was not long before an event occurred which was made the means of effectually confirming these impressions. His sister-in-law Elizabeth, the lovely and accomplished wife of his eldest brother John, the daughter of his uncle Richard Gurney, and the favourite of the whole circle, sank into a rapid decline, and died about a year after her marriage, on the 12th of the 5th mo. 1808.

"This," he writes in the Autobiography, "was our first grand draught of family affliction, since my mother's death—a draught, which, in the bitterness and dismay of our spirits, we all drank together to the very dregs. Never, I believe, shall I forget the solemn summer evening, when our sister's remains arrived at Earlham, the hearse slowly advancing to the house through the avenue of lime trees. Never shall I forget the overwhelming woe of our beloved brother. His bodily health was dangerously affected by his long watching and nursing; but, thanks be to the Author of all good, the affliction was blessed to his soul, and was the means of bringing him, in repentance and humiliation of spirit, to the Saviour's feet. There he found his home, for this world, and I humbly trust for that which is to come."

Joseph John Gurney's "Quarterly Review," written soon after this event, records in a striking manner the state of his mind at this period.

June 19th, 1808. Many things have conduced to render this last quarter deeply interesting. In March, I was in London, attending a brother's wedding;* in May, how different was the scene produced by a sister's death! I pray God that the impression of this last sad event may never be lost on the minds of any of us; at least that the effects of it may last for ever. I may truly say, it has left upon me a comfortable impression. While it has convinced me by bitter experience of the instability of every human thing, it has led me to look forward, at times, in deep humility, to that eternal rest, which is awarded to the righteous by "the Father of lights," and which ought to be the constant object of our desires and our energies.

O may this blessed prospect incite me and all of us, not only to call Lord, Lord! but to do the will of our Father which is in heaven. Indeed I have strongly felt lately that it is not by word alone, not by making profession, but in acting up to the precepts of a Saviour in all humility, that we must expect salvation. We have the comfort to think that the mind of our dear departed Elizabeth had long been influenced by the religion of life: we may reasonably hope, therefore, that she is blessed in the sight of God; and if we also strive in the same good cause, we may trust through the grace of God that we shall be reunited to her, and that in bliss; not in this motley, passing, and unsatisfying scene, but in the purity of heaven, and the everlasting presence of our Lord.

How light is affliction, if Christ be our refuge—"Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest; for my yoke is easy, and my burden is light."

But I must turn to the review of myself. It is discouraging, amidst such lessons, to find myself still a prey to many

* The marriage of his brother Samuel Gurney.

imperfections: — but I am improved. I have been less addicted to my various faults this quarter than I was before: may I not say that I have been more devoted to Jesus my Saviour? May I be patient, therefore, under all my discouragements till the Lord shall have perfected his work. My principal faults I have enumerated in my nightly questions;* they are still with me, but I trust they are diminished in substance, though not in number. They arise from my nature, which is very weak, far weaker, I believe, than that of my neighbours. Thence it is that I do not always boldly adhere to the plain unaltered truth — thence that I am immoderate in my diet or unseemly in my thoughts—thence that I am personally vain—thence that I am ever afraid of the rebukes and accidents of life. In proportion as I become in any degree more devoted to religion, I find these defects decrease; which convinces me that religion and only *that*, affords a remedy; and that in religion I may finally experience a *complete* remedy. It remaineth, then, that I should more and more fervently pray for the assistance of my Saviour—more and more earnestly endeavour to do his will.

Almighty and everlasting Father! I thank thee that thou hast been pleased to chastise me, because I know that thou chastisest him whom thou lovest. I thank thee that thou hast vouchsafed to draw me one step nearer to thee; to wean me in some measure from the transitory scenes of this life; and, O Lord, I entreat thee to perfect the work which thou hast begun, to make me daily more humble, more pure, more godly; and not me only, but all those whom I tenderly love; that in union of spirit we may serve thee here, and together partake hereafter of thy rest eternal in the heavens!

Business.—I have but little to say on business. It has gone on much as usual. I am not sufficiently diligent. In a late instance I fear I have exulted in the misfortunes of others. This must not be.

Studies.—On a review of my studies, I find that they have

* See *infra*, p. 51.

been much interrupted by my journey to London, my sad sojourn at Lynn, and other succeeding circumstances; but they have, at times, unusually prospered, and on the average, have been very fairly getting on. I hope I begin to learn not to consider study, that is to say, literature, my first object. May I more and more keep the first of all objects in view, through this and all other of my pursuits. I have felt great satisfaction lately in many of my studies, themselves conducing to the furtherance of the great cause in my own heart.

As a consequence of the above event, his brother John was brought into an intimate acquaintance with Edward Edwards, of Lynn, a pious minister of the Church of England, the friend of Charles Simeon and of Henry Venn, who became a principal means of drawing him, together with his sister Catherine, and several other members of the family, into a more decided religious course in connexion with the Church of England. Joseph John Gurney's own course, however, continued for some time undecided, though every year strengthened the hold of religion upon his mind.

"Daily prayer," says he in his Autobiography, "was, I believe, my unfailing practice at this time. Possibly," he adds, "it might sometimes be too much in my own strength; but I am thoroughly convinced that the duty of private devotion demands, on our part, a real diligence; and that very great care is requisite, that, under the plea of our natural inability to seek the Lord, we do not, in this primary concern, fall into neglect and indolence. The promise remains to be sure, "Ask and ye shall receive, seek and ye shall find, knock and it shall be opened unto you."

Further on he remarks, in allusion to his attendance of the Meetings of Friends,—

In the retrospect of the period now alluded to, and, indeed of my whole life since my return home from Oxford, I can with truth acknowledge that no greater means of usefulness and happiness have fallen in my way, than our week-day meetings. These I have regularly attended from my seventeenth year to the present time. Deeply am I responsible for the refreshment and edification which I have often derived from them. Their quietness, the seriousness of those Friends who were in the regular habit of attending them, the sweet feeling of unity in our worship, and the liveliness of the ministry sometimes uttered on these occasions, are all hallowed in my mind and feelings; and were I asked, what has been the happiest portion of my life, I believe I should not be far wrong in replying, the hours abstracted from the common business of the world for the purpose of public worship. The sacrifice is greater than that which we have to make on the First Day of the week, when all business ceases; and the reward graciously bestowed has been to me, and I believe to many others, great in proportion. May none of my young friends and relations, who belong to the Society, ever throw themselves out of the way of so precious a privilege.*

* On this subject, see also his remarks in the Thoughts on Habit and Discipline, p. 210, 8vo. edition, a work which can hardly be too strongly recommended to the youthful reader.

CHAPTER III.

1808—1809. ÆT. 20—21.

STUDIES; BUTLER'S ANALOGY; HIS LITERARY ASSOCIATIONS; HABIT OF SELF-EXAMINATION; QUÆSTIONES NOCTURNÆ; EXTRACTS FROM HIS JOURNAL AND LETTERS; DEATH OF HIS FATHER.

NOTWITHSTANDING his regular attendance at the Bank, and his other frequent interruptions, the first few years after Joseph John Gurney's return from Oxford had been characterised by considerable literary effort. "I do not know," he writes in his Autobiography, "that I ever exerted myself in this way more than during the first two years of my residence at home." Whilst maintaining his acquaintance with the Greek and Latin poets, his attention appears to have been at the same time steadily directed to the ancient historians, most of whose works he carefully perused in the original.

"The course of Greek History," he remarks, writing to a young friend many years later,* "which I adopted for myself, and which I went through with great pleasure, was nearly, if not exactly, as follows:—Diodorus Siculus, up to the time at which Herodotus commences; Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon's Hellenics, Xenophon's Anabasis, Polybius, Diodorus Siculus again, filling up all the gaps with him. He is a delightful historian. * * I forgot to mention Josephus, the latter part of whose work ought to be read."

* Under date 3rd mo. 17th, 1820.

Gradually, however, his attention became increasingly devoted to Biblical literature, which continued for many years to absorb much of his leisure. To an enlarged knowledge of the Old and New Testaments in the original languages, he added a diligent study of Jewish history and antiquities, and a critical acquaintance with the ancient translations of the Scriptures, more particularly with the Septuagint and the Syriac version of the New Testament. His ardour in these pursuits led him to the study of the Chaldee Targums, and of the works of Philo and Maimonides and parts of the Talmud; and to the careful perusal of most of the extant monuments of the early Christian Church. The writings of Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, Eusebius, and Athanasius, with the Commentaries of Chrysostom and Theophylact, may be named among those with which he became more or less familiar. These, however, were the labours of maturer years. The picture of him at the present time, given by Edward Edwards, who was introduced to him soon after the decease of his sister-in-law, is that of "an extraordinary young man, about twenty, actively employed in the bank at Norwich, yet in the habit of devoting so much time to study early in the morning, as to have read nearly the whole of the Old Testament in the original Hebrew."

His habits of study were eminently methodical, exemplifying his favourite maxim, which he was afterwards accustomed strongly to inculcate upon his young friends, "Be a whole man to one thing at a time." The facility at composition which charac-

terised him in later years, was doubtless, mainly the result of the severe training to which he thus early disciplined his mind. Among the works of English authors, few, perhaps, impressed him more deeply at this period than those of Bishop Butler. He was introduced to them by his sister Catherine, who had long known their worth.

"My first recollection of this valuable old book," (to use the words of a memorandum written by her in the fly-leaf of her copy of the 'Analogy,') "is seeing my mother reading it in her early morning walks on the Earlham lawn. I do not remember that she ever mentioned or recommended it to me, but several years afterwards, when she was no more, and I was groping my way to find the truth, I read many books in search of it, and being greatly perplexed by 'philosophy and vain deceit,' I was led to take up Butler, which immediately fastened me. My inquiring mind was met by his just and comprehensive view of the truth of religion. I was fully convinced, and my future course became decided. * * I read Butler over and over again, and always with profit, so that I have ever considered it as one of the marked providences of my life that I was first instructed by so sound and comprehensive a writer. From my recommendation, the other members of the family took to it, especially Louisa and Joseph. The latter profited greatly by it, and infused much of its spirit into some of his own writings, the Portable Evidences in particular."

His position and tastes introduced him to the highly cultivated society for which Norwich was at that time remarkable. At the house of his cousin Hudson Gurney, in particular, he was accustomed to meet many persons eminent for their parts and learning.

Among these, he writes in the Autobiography, were "the late Dr. Sayer, the poet; Dr. Middleton, afterwards the first Bishop of Calcutta; Walpole, the author of 'a Tour in Greece'; Wm. Taylor, abounding in learning, but very unsound in sentiment; Pitchford, a pious and well-informed Roman Catholic, and several others. After I became a decided Friend I lost my interest in this kind of society, and it soon ceased of itself. Dr. Sayer, the brightest and the wittiest of the circle, died. Middleton and Walpole left Norwich; Taylor's infidelity became intolerable to me; and Pitchford settled in the neighbourhood of London. Thus the whole affair passed away just after my own change had given a new turn to my thoughts and feelings."

He had early become a favourite with Dr. Bathurst, then Bishop of Norwich; and their intercourse gradually ripened into a warm friendship, which was maintained unbroken until the Bishop's decease in 1837, at the advanced age of 93.

"He was a man," remarks Joseph John Gurney, writing soon after his decease, "of singular liberality of mind, an orthodox Christian, and friendly to the cause of religion; a staunch advocate of the Bible Society, over which, in Norfolk, he presided; remarkable for a tenacious memory, a great quoter, much read in the ancient classics, and general 'belles lettres,' full of anecdote respecting olden times, and one of the most amiable and gentlemanlike persons, with whom I have ever communicated. His memory will always be dear to me."

Whilst at Oxford, and for some time after his return, Joseph John Gurney's motives for study were not unconnected with literary ambition. But religion failed not to bring with it humbler views.

Writing to one of his sisters, under date "December 1st, 1809," he says:—

"I once thought of establishing a learned name. I now see I have no chance of doing any thing more than very partially to instruct myself. But I often think that fifty years hence, and perhaps far less, it will signify nothing."

From the time of his sister-in-law's decease his periodical reviews of his religious and literary progress become more instructive.

"This practice of self examination," he writes in his Autobiography, "was, I think, useful to me, and afterwards resulted in my keeping a regular journal, the writing of a perpetual letter to myself for my own private use. Thoroughly as I am aware of my own deficiencies, I may venture warmly to recommend to all my young friends, the two practices to which I thus early habituated myself;—the reading of the Scriptures in the original languages, especially the New Testament, and the keeping of a private journal chiefly with a view of close self-examination before Him who 'searcheth the reins and the heart;' and who will render to every one of us according to our works."

The most remarkable feature of his private memoranda at this period consists in the anxiety which they manifest, that whilst study is pursued with regularity and diligence, the culture of the heart and the formation of moral and religious habits may ever be the first object of desire. With this view we find him accustomed to test himself by a series of heart-searching questions, often recording with humiliation a variety of faults, and at other times

thankfully noting apparent improvement. The following will illustrate the general character of the questions. They are from an isolated page of the Journal, headed

QUÆSTIONES NOCTURNÆ.

Have I this day been guarded in all my conversation, saying not one thing inconsistent with truth, purity, or charity?

Have I felt the love towards my neighbour?

Have I done my part towards my own family?

Have I been temperate in all respects, free from unlawful desires, habits, and anxieties?

Have I been diligent in business? Have I given full time to effectual study?

Have I admitted any other fear than that of God?

Have I passed through the day in deep humility, depending constantly upon, and earnestly aspiring after divine assistance?

And have I in every thing acted to the best of my knowledge according to the will of God?

Have I worshipped him morning and evening?

It is possible that in the early stages of his experience, there may have been, in the habitual use of these questions, somewhat of a bondage to form; but the honest diligence and earnestness which they manifest are highly instructive. Gradual as, from his own description,* the work of conversion in his case appears to have been, his Journal affords convincing evidence of its reality and depth. Faith and holiness are here every where spoken of in their mutual and essential connexion. No less

* See *supra*, p. 22.

emphatic is the testimony borne to the absolute necessity of the inward and immediate operations of the Spirit of God. With no object in view but his own improvement, and not knowing the things which should befall him in later years, he here speaks with plainness and simplicity of what he himself had heard and seen and handled of the Word of Life. High indeed is the standard of moral excellence which is set before us in the Gospel. And in proportion as the mind is raised to it, so does the judgment upon the thoughts, words, and actions, become more and more severe. This may in part account for the depression that appears predominant in some of the following extracts; yet it is instructive to observe how hope breathes through all, still cheering onwards in the path of faith and holiness. Doubtless there is something, may it not be said, of sacredness, belonging to such communings of the soul with itself, and with its Maker, and it is right that this should be felt. The sense of it is calculated to awaken that seriousness in which alone we can profit by their perusal. And happy will it be for the reader if he be thereby stimulated to seek with equal diligence, that through the power of the same Spirit his mind and heart may become as effectually disciplined to "the habitual exercise of love to God."

July 8th, 1808. It is really wonderful, after even the little experience I have had in a Christian course, that I should be in the state I now am. * * I feel no longer; believe no longer; remember no longer; I seem entirely a prey to the weak and wicked inclinations of my own self;

and as my spiritual, so my temporal concerns—all go on badly; late in the morning; lazy in the afternoon; little study, and no relish for that little; and an inattention to all that is good. I put myself down upon paper that I may see my deformity more clearly. I feel as if I could not look for the divine help, because I do not deserve it. Indeed I do not deserve it; yet whither else can I fly? O cleanse my foul heart, Lord! that it may [be] rendered a fit vessel to receive thy mercy. I can indeed say with the publican, "have mercy upon me, a miserable sinner."

I feel a spring within me at this moment, as if I could return to the right path; may the blessing of the Lord attend it, and I shall prosper once more.

August 8th. I often think of that passage in the [New] Testament, "not those who say unto me Lord! Lord! but those who do the will of my Father which is in heaven, shall enter the kingdom." To do my duty surely is to do his will; and what is my duty? My duty appears to be threefold —to myself, to my neighbour, and to my God.

My duty to myself is to keep myself pure, avoiding every thought that cometh of evil, and keeping my spirit fixed upon the one simple and principal thing. It is also a part of my duty to myself to attend diligently to my studies and private pursuits, inasmuch as they clearly tend to enlighten and improve me.

Secondly. My duty to my neighbour. To fulfil this, let me be diligent in business, and careful of the interests of those under whom I act; let me attend to social claims, by cheering my father, and being constantly yielding, obliging, and polite, in my family circle: let this extend in the proper proportion to other relations and friends. Above all let me become more and more active in serving the distressed and poor; and let me, on all occasions, prefer others to myself; walking with all humility in the sight of my fellow creatures.

In my duties to God, are included all that I have classed under the [other] two heads; but my devotional duties are those peculiarly due to Him. To fulfil these I must study

the Scriptures diligently; pray every morning and evening with a fervent and honest spirit, adding the tribute of thanksgiving and praise to the Almighty. Moreover, I must constantly humble myself before him, acknowledging my weakness and sinfulness, and giving glory to my Redeemer, through whom I hope for pardon. I must bear a steady testimony to the truth in this world, I must bow with perfect resignation to the will of my God in all temporal and spiritual trials. In short I must draw near unto Christ, and if need be, take up my cross to follow him.

The hymn which immediately follows the above extract, although subsequently published, is too characteristic of his present feelings to be here omitted.

HYMN.

Whilst, lost in universal dream,
The giddy crowd is hurl'd
Along the gaily eddying stream
Of this deceitful world;

Jesus, in secret still to thee
O! point my holier way;
Bid me from each gay chain be free
To own a Saviour's sway:

Bid me, beneath thy parent wing,
Still, Lord, in peace remain;
That every charm the world can bring
May tempt my soul in vain.

So shall that soul to heaven above,
To thee in heaven aspire;
And thy celestial light and love
Be all that soul's desire.

August 19th, 1808.

He thus alludes to the progress of his studies in a

letter to his brother-in-law, Thomas Fowell Buxton, under date

September 4th, 1808.

* * * My time is occupied by the minor prophets, Greek poetry in Sophocles and Brunck's Analecta, some Italian reading, Josephus, Livy, and the Eastern Travellers. Besides these, I am endeavouring thoroughly to study the Greek Testament, writing notes and making extracts as I go along. I sincerely hope you will not absolutely give up Greek, if it be only that you may read the New Testament in the original. Schleusner's Lexicon of the Greek Testament is a book I have just bought, and find of the greatest use. * * I do not go on with Arabic, which is a work of fifteen years; but have enough of it to be of considerable use to me. * *

Notwithstanding this apparent diligence, he writes in his Journal:—

September 22nd. I was to have passed September in the most industrious, steady manner; alas! how frail are all our resolutions. I have done scarcely anything for the last three weeks. * * I will endeavour, if possible, for the remaining week, to make a great exertion, be up at four every morning, doing at least a chapter of Hebrew, one of Luke, and then Josephus till breakfast; beginning in the afternoon at five, Livy till half-past six, Josephus till half-past eight, and Sandys till bed time; endeavour not to go out once, and to be extremely temperate all the while, which will render the effort easier.

The memorandum appended is instructive.

Not done, nor anything like it. O, the folly of an extravagant resolution!

September 25th. * * I have felt not only an indifference, but an antipathy to religion. I have been disposed to look in a gloomy point of view upon that which at this moment I feel to be the source of all light and comfort, and joy and peace.

Now that my eyes are more open to the truth, I see that there is nothing in the Christian religion which warrants either gloom or discontent. * * If therefore I have looked upon revelation with a gloomy mind, it must be, because that mind has been misled by the temptation of worldly and sinful pleasures. This is the explanation and the fact. I have [been] in a worldly state, and when in such a state, it is impossible to look upon religion, which condemns it, but in a gloomy point of view. Religion has no comforts for the unrepenting sinner. It is to this worldly spirit, which has been unusually predominant in my mind, that I trace all the evils of the past quarter. I speak it with sorrow — I am not improved; I am gone backward. I mean more particularly in those duties which respect myself; in that duty, I should say, for the whole may be comprised in one word, "*Temperance.*"* O the blessing, the beauty of temperance! how ardently do I desire it, and how constantly, through the weakness of my soul, do I fail from the attainment of my object. I have been intemperate in my love of worldly dissipation. I believe and hope that it is not our duty to give up general society. We are made to live in it; but we should enter into it with pure hearts and clean hands, with all the caution of careful Christians, lest it should, at any time, steal away our hearts from that which ought to be our primary, nay, only object.

TO THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON.

December 1st, 1808.

* * * * I am obliged to attend at the Bank at nine o'clock every morning, which cuts off a good hour from my

* The comprehensive meaning attached by Joseph John Gurney to the word *temperance*, may be best illustrated by the following extract from his Thoughts on Habit and Discipline. "The 'temperate' man of the New Testament," says he, "is ἐγκρατὴς, which means, 'the man who has power *in* himself *over* himself.' Hence it follows that the temperance (ἐγκράτεια) of Scripture is a most comprehensive virtue, embracing the whole scope of that internal government, which, under grace, it is our duty to exercise over our own propensities." 8vo. edition, p. 182.

time before breakfast, and tends not a little to prevent my getting on with anything. Whatever be the cause, I am sorry to inform you I get on with nothing. It is well that learning is not absolutely essential, for I begin to discover I shall never be learned. * * Nor am I conscious of being really improving in my moral capacity, which fills me at this moment with rather despondent feelings, but I trust in time I shall be enabled to make a little progression. Of one thing I am certain, that I much require it. I am reading Butler, whom, as far as I now know him, I exceedingly admire.

January 1*st*, 1809. I sit down in a weak state of mind to perform a duty, which would only become heavier by being deferred. It is the first day of the new year. This is to me a most serious consideration. I wish I could feel it more than I do. But as it is, it imperiously demands of me to think where I am, what I have been doing, and what I am going to do—whether I am advancing or going backwards in that path which alone leads to eternal life. * * *

During the last three months, my external temptations have been such nothings, that there is little excuse for my not having conducted myself *entirely* to the approbation of my conscience. I have at many times had deep religious feelings; I have felt faith in the Saviour of the world; true love to God, and the things of God; and have often prayed to him fervently, that he would vouchsafe to visit me with his Spirit, that I might in all things be obedient to his will. But then, O how wonderful it is, that in the time of trial I stand no longer with the Lord. I have in several instances yielded to present temptations, and have been so blinded as not to see during those seasons of probation, how infinitely preferable is the light and purity of a Christian soul to the foul deceitfulness of sin. O how hateful is sin in its nature, yet how does it tempt us and carry us away.

It is a consideration of the utmost importance, that sin, independently of the punishments which are due to it from the justice of God, must, in its nature, unfit us for heaven. A

sinful man, a sensual man, must be incapable of heaven. * * May he who is powerful, vouchsafe to supply my weakness. May he do that, which I can never do myself—renew a right spirit within me, and so regenerate my foul heart, as to render it truly incapable of sin.

Who shall say that we may not be perfect, even in this world? We may, by the divine grace, or otherwise we should never have been commanded to "be perfect, even as our Father, which is in heaven, is perfect."

I proceed with the order of my nightly queries.* Have I, in honesty of heart, constantly adhered to the truth? Not entirely. I have at times fallen into equivocation. I am not straightforward enough; I am not, in this respect, like Edwards, John, Hudson, my uncle Joseph. Let me propose them to myself, as examples on this head.

Have I been charitable? This query embraces much—very much. * * I observe a want of politeness; a want of activity, in exerting myself, in very little things, in the service of others. * * My calling prevents my making exertions for the poor, which I should otherwise wish to make. I fear I have not sufficiently counteracted this effect of business. As to the widest notion of charity, I am not Christian enough to be always charitable. I am still incautious in my manner of speaking of other people; and surely my feelings towards them have been, very often, far other than brotherly. Yet is not this one of my heaviest trials, because my temper is smooth, and very little teased by others. * *

Have I been free from vanity and worldly pride? Far from it. The more I think on this subject, the more I see that Christianity is the only remedy for the evils in question. Christian humility is indeed rarely attained to, yet, doubtless, absolutely necessary to prepare us for the blessings of heaven. May the Lord abase me to the very earth; show me, with full light, what an insignificant, corrupt, worthless creature I am. Then may I, indeed, become ripe for exaltation—for the true honour, which cometh from God only. * *

*See *supra*, p. 51.

I begin this year with an earnest desire to be, throughout its course, careful in business, diligent in study, straightforward in speaking the truth, careful to perform my social duties, moderate in my diet, temperate in all things, charitable to all men, without fearfulness and without vanity, trusting in the Lord, obedient to his will, and full of his Spirit; and whenever he is pleased to call me away from this transient scene, may I be ready to give up all for him.

TO HIS SISTER HANNAH BUXTON.

January 27th, 1809.

* * * I do not know when I have felt more easy and happy. * * I am reading Daniel, the Greek Testament, Apollonius Rhodius, Prideaux, (an excellent book in its way,) Livy, and Ariosto. I have lately finished Butler, from whom I hope I have derived real advantage. His comprehensive and clear view of religion, and his unanswerable arguments are very confirming to me as far as they go. Though at the same time I deeply feel the extremely superior importance of the religion of the heart, over the religion of the head, and that, after all, the doctrines of religion are of importance to us now, *only* as they affect practice. But then I fully see of how much practical importance these doctrines are, because the relations which, according to them, exist between the Deity and us, have the most positive duties annexed to them.—But Fowell will kindly tell me I am stealing out of Butler. So farewell my dearest H.

The practical tendency of his mind, indicated in the foregoing letter, is also instructively apparent, notwithstanding some obscurity of conception, in the following extract from his Journal. His published writings abundantly manifest the increased clearness, though not less practical character of his views in later years, on the points more particularly adverted to in the first paragraph.

April 2nd, 1809. I believe I am prejudiced against that set of people who call themselves Evangelical. But independently of all prejudice, I certainly clearly differ from them in some points. I differ from them in their favourite doctrine of the *inefficacy* of good works; though my opinions may bear towards the same point. St. Paul frequently tells us that no man is saved by his works, and why? not because good works are inefficacious to salvation, but because no man has good works sufficient for salvation. * * *

As to prejudice, it is a sin, and I pray that I may be delivered from it. Pain I certainly have felt, in the inclination of our family towards Calvinism and Calvinists. At the same time, I deeply feel, that as long as the grand thing—practical Christianity—is kept in view by us all, we have no reason to be discontented at differing from one another on secondary points. * *

This is now the time for reviewing my own conduct during the last quarter. How inexpressibly do I long for a manly spirit, that I may fear nothing but God, and for a heart so pure, as to be incapable of corruption. I can, at this moment, say that I am humbled under the sense of my own sins and weakness. At what an infinite distance am I from doing *all* that Christ has commanded. May the Lord bring it home to my heart that of myself I am *nothing*. This is the first step towards confidence in him, towards that faith whereby I may be saved.

TO HIS SISTER HANNAH BUXTON.

Earlham, Sunday, April 30th, 1809.

I rather think the family have given up their old habit of writing letters on a Sunday, but I confess I do not feel alive to the impropriety of the practice, especially if our letters are made the means of our communication on those subjects which are of infinitely greater importance than any thing else. I was very much struck at Meeting an hour ago, by the extreme injudiciousness which there is in our not communicating more freely with one another on those points which I

trust we all feel to be our chief concern. How plainly is it a matter of importance that we should endeavour to help one another along in our spiritual path, or at least, that we should be open and intimate on the subject! If it does not lie in this, in what does lie our intimacy and brotherly love? I was induced to write to you, my dearest brother and sister, by reading a sermon of Paley's with John this morning, which is most strikingly applicable to me, and to you, Fowell, and to all of us as men of business. It is that in which he lays down in such clear colours, the danger there is lest men of business should be brought by a continued round of temporal interests and occupations, to a state of religious indifference. * * * John and I both agreed that it was absolutely essential to us all, that we should, while engaged in business, even at the most hurried times, abstract the mind from the cares of this world, if it were only for a few moments, to think of those of the next. Forgetfulness and torpor are the evils which of all others, we are in the most danger of incurring.—I am ready to make an apology, even to you for writing on these subjects, yet I am sure this is a false feeling. It appears to me to be a crust which it is our positive duty to break through; only you must not imagine me from this to be much advanced in my own spiritual course. * * I am fully conscious of the need I stand in of improvement, and that my own endeavours are not alone sufficient; I may also say that I do look for help to him from whom cometh every good and perfect work.

My father is certainly better, and much more comfortable, though I believe him to be still fully persuaded that he is in great danger. This idea is most groundless, according to all the best opinions, but it is impossible to root it out of his mind. Priscilla is thoroughly engaged by her poor, the school, and her bible. As for myself, I am, as you know, rather an unsteady reed, but have seldom been more comfortable in all respects than at present. My studies really flourish very tolerably, though I give up the idea of being a colossus in learning. I wish to say before I conclude, that I am far from approving the practice of never writing to each

other without filling our letters with religion; but when our minds are alive to the subject, I do not see why we should not communicate on our highest, as well as on our lowest interests.

On the 2nd of the 8th month, Joseph John Gurney completed his 21st year. A few days afterwards he writes:—

August 6th. * * It has been forcibly brought to my mind this morning, that my manifold transgressions and defects, though known only to myself and my Maker, are sufficient to weigh me down for ever, had I not a merciful Saviour to whom to look for support. I deeply feel that I have no power in myself, to extricate me from my present imperfect state, but that there is a Spirit, and a Comforter, who will lead me in time, if I put a humble reliance in his mercy, through a pure path to eternal rest; who will dissipate these dark clouds of indifference and insensibility, and fill my soul with light. * * Certain it is that much of our dissatisfaction on religious points, much of our impious doubting, is owing to our not sufficiently yielding up our reason and our souls to the *word* and to the *will* of God. * * * *

I have not yet learnt to keep strictly on every little occasion to the straight-forward path of truth. I feel as if I possessed integrity, yet in very little things, and in a hurry, without thinking, I sometimes exaggerate or equivocate. This is mean and pitiful, a disgrace to the religion I profess, and to myself; it arises entirely from the fear I have of other people. This fear is, I think, subsiding. May the grace of God so strengthen me, that in future I may totally banish it.

I am improved with respect to the manner in which I speak of others. The tongue is, indeed, the sign of our faith. Nothing can be more unlike a Christian than to blab the faults of others, and [it] is infallibly joined to forgetfulness of our own.

Worldly pride and vanity, I trust, have not been increasing in my mind. I see their folly, and earnestly pray that I may

indeed become a *humble* follower of him who humbled himself for us.

I am often uncomfortable, when I think how little I do for the distressed. I have only one or two objects under my care. Yet I trust I have not lost what opportunities I have had of doing good to others, and I am comforted when I think [that] every man does good by filling up his own station in life, as he feels to be, each day, his duty. * *

I am just come of age. I feel it a striking period, and am thankful to the Almighty giver of all good things, that he has vouchsafed to bring me into it, through a path of peace and prosperity.

Most merciful Father, succour thou the weak-hearted. Help me, for I know that I am a sinner, and that of myself I cannot stand. I thank thee for all the spiritual blessings wherein thou hast mercifully vouchsafed to lead me unto this age, and I pray thee that they may daily increase, so that I may be truly born again of thy Spirit, that I may become, in all things, devoted unto thee, as a little child, in simplicity and submission of soul; that no impurity may lead me away from thy paths, which only are the paths of pleasantness and peace; but that I, and all of us, in union of spirit, may receive the one faith, and hold it fast, and so walk in activity and watchfulness, that we may be ready, at thy call, to consign ourselves into thy hands, that we may live the life and die the death of the righteous; even in Christ Jesus the Lord.

In the autumn of this year he was deprived of his beloved father, who sank under the effects of a surgical operation, on the 28th of the 10th month. The whole family assembled at Earlham on the occasion of his funeral, which was rendered additionally touching by the few words of solemn thanksgiving, which his daughter Elizabeth Fry, was strengthened to utter at the side of his grave;

being her first public offering in the ministry.* To this Joseph John Gurney alludes in a memorandum penned a few days after the funeral.

Sunday, November 5th. "Marvellous are thy works, O God, most merciful, thou King of Saints! Accept thou the thanksgiving of our hearts." May I be enabled heartily to join in this prayer, which was pronounced by dear Elizabeth, at my father's grave! Is it not indeed marvellous? He who was my greatest pleasure, and greatest stimulus in life, the constant object of every day, whom I fondly hoped to have retained with us yet many years, is gone for ever.

On Tuesday, the 10th October, he submitted to the operation. It was too much for his nervous system — he was thrown into spasms, and on Saturday, the 28th, he died. While he was on his death-bed I was seized with the scarlet fever, which, though not severe, has thrown my feelings into a distressing maze, from which they are only now beginning to recover. Yet shall I ever look back with joy, to Wednesday, the 25th, the day before I was ill, and during which I attended him constantly. It was a day of joy. His mind, which has passed through the deepest contrition, on that day rested in the assurance of hope, rested on the mercy of God through Jesus Christ.

How unspeakably great has been thy mercy O God, in thus preparing his soul for the last stroke of thy providence. May we also be mercifully led to an end as blessed, through lives of purity, charity, and peace!

* See Life of Elizabeth Fry, vol. i, p. 144.

CHAPTER IV.

1809—1811. ÆT. 22—23.

REFLECTIONS AFTER HIS FATHER'S DECEASE; REVIEW OF HIS OBJECTS; STUDIES HIS FIRST ESSAY AS AN AUTHOR; CORRESPONDENCE WITH SIR WILLIAM DRUMMOND; GRADUAL ATTRACTION TOWARDS FRIENDS; ATTENDS THE YEARLY MEETING; EXTRACTS FROM HIS JOURNAL.

Joseph John Gurney was but just 21, when, as one of his father's executors, as a partner in the Bank, and his father's representative at Earlham, new and grave responsibilities devolved upon him. That he felt the blow most keenly, is sufficiently evident from his Journal. But religion had already instructed him to seek relief, not in "nursing his sorrow," but in zealously turning his mind to the performance of duty. His father upon his death-bed, had exhorted him "to persevere," and nobly did he strive to respond to the exhortation.

Thus he writes two days after the funeral:—

Now that the funeral is over, and every earthly trace of my beloved father is gone for ever, I begin most painfully and deeply to feel the void that is left. It is indeed a wide void, and God alone can supply it. But, under all circumstances, I feel it my duty to enter with spirit, once more, into the engagements of life. To begin to-morrow, at an early hour, and re-commence my studies, to attend carefully and with activity to the gloomy offices of an executor, and resolutely to apply to business.

An extract from a letter addressed to his sister Hannah Buxton, dated "December 1st, 1809," will introduce the reader to the family party at Earlham under their altered circumstances.

We are going on remarkably comfortably; Catherine, Rachel, Richenda, Priscilla, and I, form so harmonious a party, and are so entirely united in all our cares, pleasures, and pursuits. * * I am extremely busy, having my time and mind quite crammed with the variety of my pursuits. The executors' accounts, banking, and study, are alternately uppermost. In the last item, I go on as usual, sometimes flourishing, more often thwarted and unsuccessful. * * Last week I was interrupted every day. * * We had a delightful visit from Edwards. I never enjoyed his company so much before, and never felt so much at ease with him. I strongly feel how invaluable a blessing it is, to have such friends, now we are so bereft. The loss of one hold makes one cling to the supports which are left behind. I am sure the afflicting event has had a powerful effect in bringing us more closely together.* *

His objects in life are thus reviewed in his Journal:—

November 19*th*, 1809. Launching afresh into life, as I now am, under totally new circumstances, and in a situation wherein I shall always be obliged to act for myself, I feel the various objects of my life crowding upon me so thickly, as to render it absolutely necessary to make a proper and strict arrangement of time.

My objects are these:—

1st. Prayer, reflection, and waiting upon God.

2ndly. My studies.

3rdly. The bank.

4thly. The business devolving on us by my father's decease.

5thly. The poor.

6thly. Bodily exercises.

7thly. Recreation and social pleasures.

Let the regular time allotted for the first head, be when I first rise in the morning, and last before I lie down to sleep. Also the time of public worship, on a Sunday and a Tuesday,* which I desire more and more to prize and turn to account. Let me also throughout the day, wherever I am, and whatever I am doing, be mindful of the Lord, and from time to time, silently turn my soul to him in prayer, doing all in the name of the Lord Jesus. * * *

January 7th, 1810. * * In reviewing myself during the last quarter, I humbly trust that the deeply affecting scenes it has presented, and carried away for ever, have left somewhat of a right impression upon my soul—have in some measure brought me nearer to the fountain of light and life. Yet many have been the imperfections in my conduct during that period. It is not only in particular actions, but in the *spirit* of every action, great or small, that I want and desire an improvement. To wear in all things the spirit of Christ Jesus; and to do all in his name. In this general *spiritual* manner of acting, which is something I know but cannot describe, I desire to make dear Elizabeth my example. * *

April 1st. O Thou, that art light in our darkness, grant me a single and enlightened eye, that I may see and know thy truth; and an obedient and courageous spirit, that I may be enabled to follow its precepts. Grant, O Father! that my will may more and more be subjected unto thine; that I may not fear to make sacrifices for thy sake. Whatever be the temptations and trials which assail me, be pleased to uphold me with thy right hand, and finally to bring me to thine everlasting kingdom, for the sake and merits of thine only Son, my Lord Jesus Christ.

April 22nd.—Sunday after meeting. * * * I do indeed live amongst those who are faithful to the Lord Jesus—whose conduct is regulated by the principles of Christian

* The day on which the meeting for worship of Friends at Norwich, during the week, was usually held.

truth. A most affecting and striking instance I have had of this in one of my beloved sisters* this morning. May I be enabled to follow her example; may I, like her, walk through this world without selfishness; willing to bear the burthens of our neighbours, for the Lord's sake; and, without fear, willing to risk anything in the cause of duty, and humbly walking in the liberty of the children of God. * * * I thank God that he has given me many objects in life; and I pray that he may be pleased to enable me so to give them my diligent attention that my course may not be run in vain; at the same time that I may always remember, it is but a short course, that eternity is at hand; that all I do here, is, or ought to be but a preparation for what follows: that I may do all, therefore, in the name of the Lord Jesus.

May 20th. I thank my Almighty and All-merciful Father that he has been pleased to preserve me through this past week in the path wherein I should tread. My nightly catechisms, with one or two small exceptions, have been satisfactorily answered. I have been uniformly diligent, and I humbly trust, generally speaking, under the wing of the Lord. I, indeed, know that it is he that worketh in us both to will and to do of his good pleasure. * * I desire to humble myself more and more before him, that he may be willing more and more to exalt me with that true honour which cometh from God only.

The ardour with which, amidst the other numerous engagements now pressing upon him, he continued to pursue his varied studies at this period, is evident from many passages in the Journal. The following may suffice as an example. It is under date

January 7th, 1810. I wish to complete the Psalms, attending a little to Syriac and Chaldee as I go along. After that,

* Elizabeth Fry, then on a visit at Norwich.

to read Solomon, then Job again; to make myself master of the Jewish laws, and translate the "Yad Hachazekah," of Maimonides; to study the New Testament critically, and with a particular view to the great doctrines of the Trinity and the atonement; to finish Ancient History in Plutarch, Sallust, Cicero, Cæsar, &c., after that to read Tacitus, then Gibbon; to read every afternoon a hundred lines of Greek Poetry, and go on with Pindar. After I finish Michaelis I shall launch into English History, and follow it up, if possible, with English Law.

It was at this period, when he was little more than 22, that he made his first essay as an author, in an article published in the Classical Journal, in the 9th month, (September,) 1810, under the title of a Critical Notice of Sir William Drummond's Dissertations in the Herculanensia. The late Sir William Drummond, a name well known in literary circles, was for some years the representative of the British Government at the Court of Naples, and had long cherished the idea of editing the Herculanean Manuscripts, and with that view he had published the dissertations, which thus became the object of Joseph John Gurney's animadversion. It was the first and the last time that the latter appeared in the character of a critic. The article extends over twenty-three octavo pages, and contains an elaborate exposure of Sir William Drummond's mistakes and shortcomings, which are detected with great acuteness. The comments upon them are pungent, and at times severe; displaying on the part of the youthful critic no common acquaintance with Latin, Greek, and Hebrew learning, and with the remains which had then

been discovered of the old Etruscan. His numerous references and quotations, made apparently without effort, evince a surprising familiarity not only with the great writers of antiquity, but also with those whose works are, by ordinary students, but little read or consulted, such as Apuleius, Macrobius, Aulus Gellius, Maximus Tyrius, Pausanias, &c. Whilst regretting the small degree of attention paid in England to the cultivation of Hebrew, he will not admit this as any justification of Sir William Drummond's errors; observing, with some warmth, "Nor are the boldness of his assertions, or the inaccuracy of his quotations, the less to be lamented, because they are characteristic of the age." He even ventures severely to criticise Sir William's Arabic, producing several quotations to show that "it is still more extraordinary than his Hebrew." The whole is written in a style at once forcible and graceful, neat and easy, devoid of mannerism, clear, and very pleasing. Though not in its spirit and object what in his calmer judgment he even then fully approved, the effort may be regarded as some index of what he might have accomplished, had he yielded to the fascination of a mere literary ambition.* In consequence of the ability which the article displayed, Sir William Drummond was induced to submit for Joseph John Gurney's perusal an essay which he had subsequently prepared for publication.

* The article is in the Classical Journal, Vol. II, No. 3, p. 524. Having been myself unable to procure a copy of it, I am indebted for the substance of the above account to my friend James Grant, of the Middle Temple, barrister-at-law.

SIR WILLIAM DRUMMOND TO JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY.

No. 47, Harley Street, London,
September 29th, 1810.

SIR—I take advantage of the liberty which you gave me to send you the proof sheets of my essay. I flatter myself that you will have the goodness to correct any errors which may strike you. * * *

Upon coming to town I looked over some of my notes, which prove to me beyond a doubt, that some of the errors which you have pointed out have resulted from errors of the press, to which I did not sufficiently attend, when I transmitted the printed sheets from Palermo. * * In your *critique* upon my "dissertations" you have been more fortunate in a printer. You made a mistake, however, about that same Arabic word for which you have given me so sharp a reprimand. When I was with Mr. Valpy, yesterday, I told him of the error. He informed me that it had been already corrected: *but not by you.* Do not suppose, however, that I shall not do justice to your acuteness and learning, of which I really think very highly. I have not yet had time to consult my books, nor do my notes furnish me with means by which I can account for some of the misquotations which I have made; but with respect to some particular words I have found some of my papers which have, in some measure, explained the causes of the mistakes. * * In deference, however, to your opinion, I mean to cancel the 109th page of my present *opusculum*. I am afraid you will think that my suggestions concerning Hannibal, in my letter to Lord Aberdeen, (prefixed to the Essay,) are too bold. I think them so myself, but some of my friends have encouraged me so much as to make me leave the statement as I first drew it out.

When you have a little leisure I shall be happy to hear from you.

I remain, Sir, your most faithful,
humble servant,
W. DRUMMOND.

Sir William Drummond subsequently writes, under date

October 5th, 1810.

* * * I feel that I have taken a great liberty in troubling you with my work in its present state, and in begging you to examine and correct it. I cannot conceive that much of it goes beyond the sphere of your learning, unless it be that part which relates to the Ethiopian. Of the inscription you are quite competent to judge.

Gratifying as these expressions must have been to a young man, Joseph John Gurney could afterwards thankfully acknowledge that the restraining hand was near to preserve him from being allured out of his own proper field of labour into one more flowery, perhaps, but far less usefully productive. In his Journal under date "September 2nd, 1810," he thus adverts to the subject:—

During this time, besides business, the school, and somewhat of my usual studies, I have been much employed in finishing my *critique* on Sir W. Drummond. In this I am apprehensive I have not strictly followed the light that was given me. I now sincerely wish I had never engaged in it, for it has not been a work of *Christian love*. I have offered to withdraw it: whether it is too late or not I do not yet know, but I am resolved, if it please the Lord, never more to engage in a similar undertaking, unless it be in the simple service of God and religion.

His mind was now becoming increasingly drawn towards the principles of the Society of Friends, and many of his allusions to his feelings on this subject are peculiarly interesting and instructive. "My course in religion," he writes, in his Journal,*

* Under date "July 14th, 1811."

"is a matter of great weight to me. It is my indispensable duty to stir myself up to greater diligence, to more earnest investigation. Above all," he emphatically adds, "may I never fail to *watch and pray*. For I believe he will guide us, if we look to him as the Shepherd of the flock."

The example of his sister Elizabeth Fry, as well as of his sister Priscilla, who, like her, became a decided Friend and a minister of the gospel, strengthened his growing convictions. But the influence of the other members of the family who resided at Earlham, as well as of many other estimable persons with whom he was intimately associated, tended in an opposite direction. This peculiarity of his position should not be overlooked by those who would trace the gradual course of his mind. The change was to him emphatically a work of conviction and of faith.

July 1*st*, 1810. During the last week I have derived some spiritual advantage, by God's grace, from the preaching and influence of Friends, particularly Priscilla Hannah Gurney, and Ann Crowley. I attended the Quarterly Meeting throughout, with much satisfaction and peace of mind; and I trust I am more and more desirous of subjecting my will to that of my heavenly Father. At the same time I am not yet a believer in the peculiar pretensions of Friends; nor has anything which I have witnessed this week, tended to make me so. Yet if it be the will of God, to bring me more nearly to them, I earnestly pray that no countervailing dispositions of my own may stand in his way. This day I am going to London. Most merciful Father! grant me thy protection during this journey; that I may, in no one thing, disobey thy heavenly will; but that I may cautiously and diligently keep in the path, wherein thou wouldst that I should walk.

September 2nd. "Shew me thy ways, O Lord! teach me thy paths! lead me in thy truth and teach me, for thou art the God of my salvation."

"The secret of the Lord is with them that fear him, and he will shew them his covenant."

That I may experimentally know the ways of the Lord, his truth, his teaching, his secret, and his covenant, I may say is the desire of my soul. Shall I not know them if I fear him, that is if I so fear him as to become humble in his sight, and subjected to his holy will? * *

The last four months contain a motley history. From April 22nd to July 1st, I was much employed. At home I made some progress in my studies; abroad, I was much occupied with business of all sorts. In June, Ann Crowley, and other Friends were at Norwich. Their preaching animated and affected me; but I am apprehensive that I, in measure, deceived myself into throwing off the effect, by entering soon after, into gay and dissipated scenes, at Oxford and Cheltenham. I think I have had experience enough to shew, that this sort of dissipation improves not the heart, but rather, that it forcibly turns it away from things of infinitely greater importance.

* * I have been a good deal under the influence of Friends; and am more aware of their opinions, and better understand their system than before. I have also great doubts about the sacraments; and am at this moment perfectly uncertain, whether it will, or will not, be required of me to become more of a Friend. It would indeed be difficult to the outward man. It is [the] path of [the] cross. I humbly desire that the Lord may be willing to help me through all external and spiritual conflicts, with which it may please him to visit me, — that I may become victorious over myself, in whatever way it may be required of me, through the Spirit and grace of Christ.

Dost thou desire to have eternal life? Then must thou do the commandments; thou must take up the cross, and follow the Lord Jesus, *denying thyself.* St. John says, "And I looked and lo, a Lamb stood on the Mount Zion,

and with him an hundred and forty and four thousand, having his Father's name written on their foreheads. And I heard a voice from heaven ;—These are they which follow the Lamb *whithersoever he leadeth them.*"

September 9th. In the first part of this week, which has been spent undisturbedly at home, except one day's company, I was blessed with the presiding wing of divine Providence sensibly protecting, enlightening, and comforting my soul. I have, I believe, endeavoured, throughout the week, to pray for divine aid, and to follow divine guidance; yet I certainly mark a relaxation in the last three days. O how deeply does it impress me with the knowledge of my own weakness, that I cannot, even for one week, persevere in holiness unbroken. before God! That, at the very moment after earnest prayer, and eager desires after righteousness, I should be ready to sink into indifference and false rest. This false rest is the greatest danger to which I am exposed. I long to have my soul more alive to the infinite peril of doing wrong, or forgetting the Lord. The natural and infallible consequence of continued sin is death. There is but one means of escape. —justification through the blessed Saviour. And in this justification we have no part if we are not sanctified by his Holy Spirit, and *always* walk in obedience to his will.

January 6th, 1811. * * I believe I may say that my desire to live under subjection to the only safe Guide is increased. May He be pleased to render this desire effectual. I have had some powerful doubts on my mind, whether or not it was my duty to adopt the phraseology of Friends; whether in not doing it, I was not paying something like a false tribute to other people. I desire that I may not drive away these, or any other scruples, and yet that I may be favoured with a clear discernment of what is really my duty. At present, as such a step would involve large consequences, and as the thing itself is not now very forcibly on my mind, I believe I may rest, till I have more closely investigated the differences which exist between Friends and others. For this purpose I wish, (D. V.) to read Barclay and Hooker, and to renew a diligent search into the Scriptures. But in this research, I know

how important it is, not to lean to my own powers of understanding, nor to suffer in my own mind anything like sophism, but to be willing to be moulded, even as the Lord would mould me. * * I pray that I may be quite independent of all the world, doing simply that which is RIGHT.

March 4th. For the last few weeks, I believe I may say, I have striven against my sins and imperfections. But I still labour under the same want of feeling and want of power. In keeping to my resolution, [as to early rising] I have found it necessary to be pretty firm, and I desire to have a renewed care this week about it, and to guard myself if possible against discouragement. O for more of the life, and the spirit, and the faith! Gird me, O Lord, to a diligent and watchful conduct throughout this week, that in all my works begun, continued, and ended in thee, I may have peace.

May 19th. I am this day going to London, chiefly for the purpose of attending the Yearly Meeting of Friends; also with much business on my hands.

It is my earnest desire, that I may keep myself alive, whilst I am there, to a humble, religious, and diligent state; that I may remember, that I am only an inquirer, and that I may conduct my inquiry under the wing and protection of Almighty God. Above all, I desire that nothing human may influence my judgment, that my eyes may be open to the truth, my heart sensible of the life of the gospel, and my whole soul brought under subjection to the Author of all good; and may he be pleased, graciously to regard the extreme weakness of his servant, to lighten his eyes, confirm his steps, and finally accept him, for the sake of his ever blessed Redeemer!

June 25th. I came down this morning [at] a quarter past seven, after having determined to be down always at a quarter past six. I am sensible this is a transgression, an act of disobedience to the Spirit of light within, and I desire to impress upon myself the necessity of obeying that call more punctually in these little things, (which in themselves, however, are to me of great importance,) lest the Spirit be grieved and my strength impaired.

July 14th. It is now more than half a year since I regularly reviewed myself on paper. It has been a half year full of business of many sorts, and, I trust, not entirely unproductive of good. * * At *some* times during this period I have known what it is to live, as it were, in the presence of the Beloved; and O may that blessed and only satisfying lot become, through faith and patience, more my constant portion! * * * I believe that if I do more humbly and more sedulously endeavour to observe and to follow the will of my Great Master, he will in his own good time give me more power and more light. In the meantime let me humble myself in his presence, acknowledging, with contrition of spirit, that *of myself I can do nothing;* and let me come unto Jesus, as a little child, desirous, in simplicity of heart and eye, to know and to do his will.

In May, I went to the Yearly Meeting of Friends. It was an interesting time, and I think wholesome to me in many ways. In the first place it afforded me a fresh stimulus, on general grounds, to seek the Lord with all my heart; and secondly, it introduced me to a more particular acquaintance with the Society. I thought, some time since, I was advancing to a greater agreement with this most excellent religious body; but I now feel a little thrown back;—but this is at a time of general weakness.

I can, in theory, agree with them in much of their doctrine of spiritual guidance; but I fear greatly that my practice is contrary to the precepts they build upon it. If it be true, that there is this living power which will direct us, under all circumstances, in the sure path which leadeth to life, O what a happiness to know it; and what a misery to be without it! O that the Lord would be pleased to give me this holy gift in larger measure, and to bestow upon me a heart to follow and obey him.

I also think, that Friends have reason on their side with respect to the ministry; because I can hardly conceive any other authority for the ministry, than the direct gift of the Spirit. * * Their testimonies about oaths and war, put them, I think, upon a very high ground; and their ecclesiastical dis-

cipline is very admirable. I also think there is some reason in their minor testimonies, about plainness of speech and dress. Indeed, I have felt so much about the former, that I have adopted their modes in some degree. How far the reason of the thing will bear me out I know not; but my having made such a change, should induce a state of watchfulness and prayer, in a far greater degree than is at present my portion. If it be the Lord's pleasure that I should adopt these things, may I be enabled to do so with all Christian boldness. Let me not be afraid of approaching my Saviour in solemn waiting to know his will. With respect to the sacraments, I own they are matters of great doubt; may I use all my efforts to discover the divine will respecting them!

O blessed Lord and Saviour, who willest not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should turn from his wickedness and live, redeem me by thy holy power and Spirit from the lusts, cares, and affections of this life; and be thou pleased, O Lord, to centre my soul on thee, the eternal rock of salvation; that I may, with fuller purpose of heart, dedicate myself to thy service, which is perfect freedom.

CHAPTER V.

1811—1812. ÆT. 24—25.

GROWING INTEREST IN THE WELFARE OF OTHERS; LANCASTERIAN SCHOOL; ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NORFOLK AND NORWICH AUXILIARY BIBLE SOCIETY; PARTIES AT EARLHAM; COURSE ON BECOMING MORE OF A FRIEND.

WHILST Joseph John Gurney's religious convictions were thus gradually drawing him into a narrower path in connexion with the Society of Friends, his heart was becoming increasingly enlarged in Christian concern for the welfare of others. He had already warmly interested himself in the formation of a Lancasterian School in Norwich, an institution which long continued to have his effective support. The establishment of an Auxiliary Bible Society in that city, was an object into which he now entered with youthful ardour. The General Meeting for its formation was held on the 11th of the 9th mo., 1811.

"We had a rare day indeed on Wednesday," he writes, two days afterwards, to his Aunt Jane Gurney; "nothing could pass off more pleasantly than our Bible Society Meeting. Understanding that considerable numbers would attend, we were obliged to transfer ourselves from the Market Hall to the Hall of St. Andrew's. Every thing was prepared; a scaffolding for the speakers, and seats for the company, which was most respectable, unexpectedly clerical, and mustered about six hundred in number. John Owen and myself con-

trived the order of business with the Bishop in the morning. * * The Bishop first harangued, and admirably well, upon the excellence of the British and Foreign Bible Society, its objects, constitution, and effects. He then introduced the Secretaries. Steinkopff, a most interesting German and Lutheran, and (as far as I can judge from an acquaintance of three days) a remarkably simple and devoted character, first came forward. He told the tale of what the society had done in Germany and other parts of Europe, in broken but good English; and by degrees warmed the meeting into enthusiasm. He was followed by Hughes, the Baptist Secretary, an eloquent, solid, and convincing orator. The company was now ready for the resolutions. The Bishop proposed them, I seconded them; and after I had given a little of their history and purport, they were carried with acclamation. Fellowes moved thanks to the Bishop; Kinghorn seconded, with some excellent remarks upon the Bishop's liberality. The Bishop replied, and said some fine things of Kinghorn. It was really delightful to hear an old Puritan, and a modern Bishop, saying every thing that was kind and Christian-like of each other. The Bishop's heart seemed quite full, and primitive Kinghorn, when the Bishop spoke of him so warmly, seemed ready to sink into the earth with surprise and terrified modesty. Owen closed the meeting, with an unnecessarily splendid, but most effective address. More than £700 was collected, before the company left the Hall. * * *

FROM JOHN TALWIN SHEWELL TO A FRIEND.

Ipswich, 9th mo. 13th, 1811.

* * The opening of the Auxiliary Bible Society at Norwich has been delightful and most satisfactory in every respect, and we have returned much encouraged to try and do likewise. * * * * The union of all denominations of Christians, in this great and glorious work, was very interesting; and has left an impression upon the minds of most present, not likely to be soon effaced. At five we adjourned to Earlham Hall to dinner, where we sat down to a bountiful

entertainment, thirty-three or thirty-four in number, a mixture of different sects and persuasions, eminent for their parts, their piety, and their virtue. Words cannot adequately express the delightful feeling that reigned; so pure in its nature and object, it seemed somewhat like a foretaste of that blessed communion which the just of all generations shall finally partake of. Soon after the cloth was removed, our dear friend, Elizabeth Fry, knelt down in supplication, in a most sweet and impressive manner imploring the divine blessing upon the present company, upon the peculiar labours of the day, and for the general promotion of truth upon the earth. On her rising, the Secretary, Joseph Hughes, observed in a solemn manner—"Now, of a truth, I perceive that God is no respecter of persons, but that in every age and nation, those who fear him and work righteousness, are accepted of him"—and the conversation becoming more general, flowed on in so pleasing and edifying a strain, as surely "had less of earth in it than heaven." The wine and dessert were kept back, and the servants dismissed for half an hour, that nothing might interrupt the soul-refreshing current. The like was never witnessed by most of us before,

> "For this was converse, such as it behoves
> Man to maintain, and such as heaven approves."

After tea, most of the company still remaining, we again assembled, and that chapter of Isaiah being read which begins, "Arise! shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee," the Foreign Secretary, C. F. Steinkopff, in his usual affectionate and simple manner, knelt down in extempore supplication, and we all retired to rest. Amongst the family present on this occasion, were Samuel and Louisa Hoare, Joseph and Elizabeth Fry, and Catherine. Rachel, Priscilla, and Joseph John Gurney. Of Priscilla I had known a little previously, but she appears to more advantage, if possible, at home than abroad. She is the nearest to Hannah More's Lucilla, of any one I ever saw, in person and manners, in benevolence and piety. We left

this interesting and peculiar group with feelings of regret, mingled with a belief, that he who is guiding them in different ways, no doubt for purposes of his own glory, will conduct them to peace and happiness, as his wisdom sees best, for although they do not "walk by the same rule," they "mind the same thing," and appear all equally earnest to follow their Guide and Pattern in all simplicity and lowliness of mind.

The simplicity and deep Christian importance of the objects of the Bible Society attached Joseph John Gurney warmly to it, and henceforward it ranked amongst the objects nearest to his heart. He was appointed one of the Secretaries of the infant Association, and for many years he was accustomed to devote the principal part of several weeks in each year, to visiting, on its behalf, various places in his own county, besides not unfrequently, as occasion offered, advocating the cause in other parts. The anniversaries at Norwich became connected with Earlham by associations which imparted to them a peculiar interest. The large dining room at the Hall, which had been built by a former occupier for electioneering purposes, was now, to use Joseph John Gurney's words, "devoted to the friends of Christ and his precious cause." Here, for a full quarter of a century,* a large company of Christians of various denominations, the party sometimes amounting to

* These meetings at Earlham were continued from the year 1811 to 1836 inclusive, when they were given up during Joseph John Gurney's lengthened absence in America. In the latter years of his life, after his return, he usually invited large companies of the friends of the cause to breakfast at Earlham previously to the Annual Meeting.

eighty persons, were accustomed to meet on the day of the anniversary, many of them remaining as guests in the house for several days, to attend other meetings usually held about the same time. His beloved daughter, in a short sketch written during the brief interval between his decease and her own, thus vividly recalls her impressions of these anniversaries:—

"From the time that my dearest father put me as a little child on the table at dessert to look at a party of 90, (the largest we ever had,) until they were discontinued, I looked forward to them as a great treat. But they were, for better reasons, occasions of extreme interest, and I have no doubt were the means of great good in uniting many in Christian fellowship, who would otherwise have known each other only by name.

Though my father steadily maintained his own views as a Friend, he was always ready to give a warm welcome to the individuals who came down to attend the meetings of the Missionary and Jews Societies; which were held in the same week with that of the Bible Society. He treated the missionaries and agents with the greatest kindness, and helped them in those parts of their objects in which he could do so consistently with his principles, especially in the distribution of the Hebrew Scriptures to the Jews, and in the schools of the missionaries. He certainly had a remarkable power of showing love and friendship towards his fellow-christians, while he always openly acknowledged and maintained his own opinions on particular points. A more complete illustration of this part of his character there could not be, than in his mode of conducting the very large parties at Earlham of which I am speaking. There were always three dinner parties on the 3d, 4th, and 5th days of the week of the meetings. His brothers-in-law (my uncle Buxton and my uncle Cunningham) were generally his helpers on such occasions, and invited whom they pleased; and certainly the dining room filled on those days was no common sight. There were

persons of all denominations; among the rest, many of the Norwich Friends, most of them indeed, on one of the three days. It was so different from a party called together for mere amusement; so fine a feeling pervaded the whole, while he, as master, was wonderfully enabled to keep up the tone of conversation, so that I should think it never sank to a mere chit-chat level. My impression is that while he greatly felt the responsibility of these occasions, he most truly enjoyed them, having often around him those whose conversation was a feast to him, such as Wilberforce, Simeon, Legh Richmond, John Cunningham, and many others. I never saw my dearest father look more beautiful, than he did at the bottom of those long tables. As soon as the cloth was removed, he would extract from his guests their varied stores of information in the most happy manner.* Thus the time was turned to account, and I have no doubt these days were often very profitable to many, as it was his most earnest desire they should be. He was careful to be attentive to guests of every degree, and was particularly kind to those whom, from their position in life or otherwise, he thought liable to be overlooked."

His watchful endeavours to maintain, with steady consistency, his own religious principles was not the least striking feature of these anniversary meetings. To this they doubtless owed no small measure of their peculiar interest, and many who have been privileged to meet there can recur with genuine satisfaction to the sweet and tranquillizing influence

* "I recall one day," writes one of his nieces who was frequently present, "when the sitting at the breakfast table was prolonged half the morning, by a deeply interesting conversation, and comparing of notes between him and the present Bishop of Calcutta, on the important subject of the Christian ministry, the late Sir Fowell Buxton also taking a lively part, and pointing out the defects to which he considered the delivery of the message the most liable."

that has appeared to preside over the large and varied party, when the liveliness of conversation has been succeeded by the calm of an impressive silence; and they have been permitted to feel, amidst all outward separations, something of that communion which subsists between the members of the "one fold," under the "one Shepherd." "Very sweet and solemn," he writes in his Autobiography, "have the family readings and other religious opportunities been found at these times. It has been a rallying point, a point of union to many, in this world of uncertainty and dispute." Rare indeed were the circumstances in which so many individuals, separated by so many differences of character and position, could be thus drawn together as to a common centre. Rarer still was that peculiar combination of learning, talent, and refinement, dignified by the graces of the humble Christian, and exercised under the powerful influence of Christian love, which was required in the host who could give the tone to so varied an assemblage, making the occasion of their meeting at once delightful and instructive.

To turn once more to the Journal:—

November 10*th*, 1811. I am now in my twenty-fourth year, and surely it behoves me to delay no longer coming into the fold of my Saviour, there to remain in his service established for evermore. * * I feel deeply the weakness of my nature, which is constantly retarding all my efforts to enter in at the narrow gate. I labour, and may say, mourn, at this moment, under a sense of deplorable indolence and want of power; of a sluggish inability to receive and dwell on the sacred truths, upon which are founded all my hopes. I grievously fear lest the foundation I have laid should at length be found sandy. My principles want clear-

ness, strength, and depth. I long for that well-grounded undeviating faith, which will produce a persevering and unalterable course of righteousness, and bear [me] up beyond all the trials of this world and death itself. "This is life eternal, to know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." To have an experimental knowledge of God our Saviour, to feel that we are kept by his power, and thus solidly to trust in his living grace and the multitude of his tender mercies—this is indeed life eternal; this is that joy which the world can neither give nor take away. O the entanglements of the world! I have many pursuits; many cares; and though these cares are generally of a nature pertaining to the duty of a Christian, yet in these very things I fall from the Lord. * * "My spirit cleaveth unto the dust; quicken thou me according to thy word. My soul melteth for heaviness; strengthen thou me according unto thy word." How can we walk in peace on the waves of this troubled sea; this sea of hopes, and fears, and cares; unless we have faith in him upon whom help is laid? * * O thou, in whose presence is fulness of joy, merciful Redeemer, thou Lamb without blemish and without spot, may it please thee to purify thy servant. Burn up the chaff, O Lord. Let not thine hand spare, nor thine eye pity, till thou hast made me that which thou wouldst have me to be: that when this world and all its vain cares and lusts are passed away for ever, thou mayest still be my Light, my Lord, my present Saviour, and my God.

In allusion to the meeting of the Bible Society, at Norwich, he says:—

It was a profitable thing to be thrown into the company of so many good and zealous persons; though I fear I did not reap that benefit from it which some experienced. During the whole of this period my dear sister Fry's example and ministry were affecting to me, and I hope useful. But how is every earthly help in a religious life apt to become of no avail, unless the mind is thoroughly awake to receive the gift!

His convictions in favour of the principles of Friends were now gradually deepening, though it was his lot for some time longer to struggle with many conflicting feelings. It is instructive to mark how strongly he continued to feel the discovery of the truth to be chiefly, or indeed only important, as it affected his practice; how the earnest disciplining of his heart in righteousness appears, through all, as his primary object.

November 10*th.* * * When I wrote my last review,* I had been under strong impressions from Friends; these impressions were increased by all that passed about the time of my uncle's funeral.† Henry Hull, Ann Burgess, and Elizabeth Robson, were in Norwich. The first a most excellent simple-hearted American, was, I think, very deep in his religious experience: wonderfully devoted to his Master's service, and embracing a large and orthodox view of religion; but, for my own part, I was chiefly impressed by the ministry of Ann Burgess, which, on one Tuesday morning, in particular, was delightfully encouraging to me, when I was in a state of doubt about my religious course. I was now plainer in my dress and using Friends' language in part. The month of August I spent with John at Yarmouth and Aldborough. Priscilla, with Louisa and her children, joined us at Aldborough. I read some of Butler's Analogy with Louisa, and had many opportunities of becoming more nearly acquainted with the sweetness and greatness of her character. During this time the impression from Friends, certainly, I believe, through my own weakness subsided.

December 15*th*, *Sunday*. The present day has been passed satisfactorily. * * The burden of it has been the necessity of regeneration; of the knowledge which is from the Spirit; and

* See extract, *supra* p. 77. † His uncle Richard Gurney.

of more complete dedication of heart to the service of Jesus Christ my Lord. O may I be enabled to pass the coming week in the presence and fear of the Lord. May it be my only pleasure and object to do his will; and, aided by his Spirit, to apply myself effectually to the different departments of my business in life; still looking forwards to the city not built with hands, eternal in the heavens.

January 3rd, [1812.] [On] Thursday, [26th December,] to Lynn. Spent a week there with John and Daniel: a pleasant and satisfactory time. At church on Sunday afternoon, where E. Edwards preached a striking sermon on the shortness of life. On Tuesday night, the 31st, Edwards with us; the last hour or two of the old year introduced an interesting conversation and prayer from E. Edwards.

TO JOHN TALWIN SHEWELL.

Lynn, 1st January, 1812.

When we were strolling together last summer upon Aldborough shingle, we little expected that we should so soon see two flourishing Bible Associations in Norfolk and Suffolk. The important work has prospered under our hands more than we could have hoped for, and in a manner which ought to lead us humbly to return thanks to him from whom cometh "every good and perfect gift." You appear to have managed your concerns better than we did. You are evidently right in having at once set to work to increase your funds by personal applications, and the establishment of minor associations. I trust *we* shall ultimately effect the same thing. The committee at Norwich, has been lately occupied by the subject of home distribution, which it has at last determined to effect through the subscribers. We began with Norwich where there were more than 1500 families containing readers, entirely without the Scriptures. Many of these have already been supplied by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and I hope that when our distribution is effected, no great deficiency will remain. Our school at Norwich has taken up still more of my time than the Bible Society. It is

already brought into excellent order, and I am at last pretty confident of its ultimate success.

I heartily unite with thee in the sincere desire, that while we are looking to the good of others, we may not be neglecting ourselves. May we all be advancing in obedience to the will of God, and in the knowledge of his Son, Jesus Christ: — the latter is the consequence of the former. "He that hath my commandments and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me; and he that loveth me, shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and will *manifest myself to him.*" This text affords great consolation to those who are very sensible, as I own I am, of the darkness which surrounds us here. If we humbly endeavour to do our Master's will, he will *manifest himself* to us. I humbly hope and pray, that this new year may bring us both nearer to the Fountain of living waters. I write it with a deep impression of my own instability; but may we, through divine assistance, not be "of them who draw back unto perdition, but of them that believe to the saving of the soul."

The following are from his Journal: —

Sunday, 5th January. The new year is now before me, and I can truly say, that I earnestly desire it may be spent more to the glory of God, and more to my own peace, than the year which is gone by. My objects are numerous and important. O may I not fail from my duty in any of them, and may my heart be so fixed on my Maker, that all things may be carried on in subjection to his Holy Spirit, and with a view to serving him.

The Bible Society lies pretty easy upon me. The school will require constant attention; so will the Bank; so will the cultivation of my own mind. * * Before breakfast I purpose to employ myself with quotations;* [the] critical study of the New Testament; and Tomline's refutation of Calvinism.

* This refers to the comparison with the Hebrew original of the quotations from the Old Testament occurring in the New, in which he was now engaged. See *infra*, p. 114.

For the present, to be at the Bank regularly at nine, to visit the school daily; to fill up my leisure every afternoon with English History and Greek. I deeply feel how uncertain it is whether my life and health will enable me to execute my plans. Truly I hold everything at the hand of my God; he giveth, and if he taketh away, blessed be his name.

Sunday, 19*th January*. Read with Rachel before breakfast; attended at the Sunday school, where I tasted pure pleasure; a striking visit after Meeting to an insane person; at Kinghorn's chapel in the afternoon, tedious but striking sermon upon Isaiah liv. 13: "All thy children shall be taught of the Lord."

Saturday, 8*th February*. * * I have great doubts whether I have not disregarded Quaker scruples to my hurt. May I be enabled simply to perform the Lord's will in this and all other respects; and may it please thee, O Lord, to strengthen me in that which is right, and to shine once more upon my wandering mind. Let me remember, that it is the very purpose of multiplied trials, whether little or great, to loosen our hold of this world, and to fix our prospects upon the world which is to come.

Sunday, 21*st March*. To-day twice at Meeting. Beautiful testimony borne by dear Elizabeth to the power and offices of our Saviour; — reading satisfactory. Next week must be a busy one. Improved exertion will be necessary before breakfast; let me never enter upon the day without the due preparation. The Bible Society, the school, the Bank, Friends, my studies, will I hope find respectively their right places. May I, by a closer walk with God, enjoy in all things a sweet communion with him; and that direction, safe and clear, which is given to all who seek it in sincerity. Let my watchwords be temperance, diligence, watchfulness, prayer.

April 12*th*, *Sunday*. * * To-day has through mercy been peaceful and refreshing. Read life of Penington with Priscilla before breakfast; walked to Norwich; two very reviving meetings. * * May the good impressions given this day continue with me for my benefit during the week to come. 17th. [After alluding to a religious visit from his

uncle Joseph Gurney and another friend, he remarks,] I have felt that if ever I go forth in the Lord's service, I must first pass through tribulation and deep trials of faith. * * I am conscious of my own manifold past transgressions; I am conscious of the instances in which, I believe, I have fought against the Lord's Spirit; and am truly conscious of my present weakness and ignorance. I believe, I may add, that I feel a simple and sincere desire to be actuated by his grace in the heart, to bow before him and to do his will, whithersoever he may be pleased to lead me.

O Lord, enable me to be faithful unto thee; try me not with greater temptation than I can bear. Give me the knowledge of thy holy truth, and finally accept us all, for the sake of thy beloved Son Jesus Christ.

May 3rd. Since I wrote, it has been, I fear, a dark and unfruitful time in my own mind. The Edwardses here from Monday the 20th, to Tuesday, the 28th of April. Their visit very delightful, and I trust not unprofitable, though I fear my soul was very barren. On Sunday, the 26th April, Edwards preached in the afternoon on forgetfulness of God, and pronounced a very striking comment in the evening, upon the 3rd chapter of John. Priscilla, Rachel, he, and I, read his and dear Elizabeth's correspondence upon the doctrinal faith of Friends. May the Lord graciously enable me, in my course with them, to hold fast to Jesus Christ crucified, the only hope of glory. * * Tuesday, parted with E. E., after a solemn prayer from him. O the vail, the phlegm, the poverty of my spirit, which prevented my reaping more benefit from the society of this dear friend.

May 17th. [After alluding to a Bible meeting at Fakenham.] There is great danger lest self should be exalted in these public matters. I desire to be preserved from this danger. May the Lord be pleased yet to guide me, though I have, indeed, to confess myself a poor wandering sheep.

To-morrow I intend going to the Yearly Meeting. * * My wish is—1st. To stand fast, on fundamentals, in general Christianity. 2nd. To conform to Friends wherever it may appear my duty. 3rd. To seize this opportunity of laying my heart

open to God; to get upon good ground; to expose my chaff to the fire.

O thou Saviour who changest not, be pleased to comfort and restore thy servant. Do with him as thou wilt; enable him on this occasion to do his duty; cleanse him from all impurity; teach him thy ways; clothe him, gracious Lord, in the robe of thy righteousness; give him faith, and present him spotless in holiness to the throne of grace.

June 6th. Returned this day from London, where I have passed eighteen busy and interesting days. The Yearly Meeting, which engrossed me almost entirely, has been interesting, and I hope profitable. I have been enabled to unite with Friends in their spirituality, and have thought I had reason to be satisfied with their mode of spiritual worship. The first few days were to me a season of humiliation and peace; little communication with particular individuals, but great satisfaction in observing generally the striking manner in which the character of Christ, and the doctrine of the cross, were frequently brought forward.

July 12th, Sunday. * * * I desire to thank my God for his unmerited blessings this day; during which I have experienced the necessity of humiliation and watchfulness; a willingness to obey the Lord, and a humble desire to be led about and instructed by him. The principal point in my mind, the necessity of greater and more complete integrity. A questioning, whether it may not soon be right for me to conform, in other little matters, to the habits of Friends.

Sunday, July 26th. Another week passed in considerable indolence, the effect of visiting far from profitable; very little done, and this morning my mind very low. Yesterday I went to ——'s, and doubted whether it was not my duty to go into the room with my hat on. I did not do it, and believe it was not absolutely required of me; still I was afraid of trusting the impression on my mind. Be pleased, O great God, to deliver this poor worm from the workings and scruples of his own creation, but graciously enable him, by thy mighty power, to do whatsoever *thou* wilt; yea, Lord, create an honest and an upright heart within me, and deliver

me, for thou art God: this I pray, for the sake of thy beloved Son Jesus Christ.

TO ONE OF HIS SISTERS.

Cromer, Sunday Afternoon, July 26th.

I am just arrived at this place on a visit to the Grove family. While part of the family are walking, Jane and I are seated by a window looking upon the sea, and I thought I might as well employ myself by sending thee a few lines. * * Every day's experience serves to prove that the Lord leads his children by different ways to the same end. For my own part, though just now faint and discouraged, and feeling with more than common force the obstructions which my nature is opposing to divine grace, yet I believe I am moving on slowly, and in a line somewhat diverging from thine. Far as our external paths may diverge, if we each can but be faithful to the light given us, I believe our hearts and our religious sympathies will always remain strong and near.

I am much and increasingly under the power of some of the minor difficulties which Friends have to bear; my judgment is also increasingly accordant with them on some very important points, particularly about ministry. I have been engaged lately in reading the Bible, with the desire of forming a scriptural view of the mode of the influence of the Holy Spirit, and I must own that, whether it be a warped mind, or whether it be the truth, the result of my researches is much in favour of the opinion of Friends. At the same time I do not mean to say that I have not many doubts. I only wish that I more watchfully and completely acted up to the knowledge given.

The entry in the Journal which follows, written upon his 25th birthday, a few days after he had penned the foregoing letter, is the first which is dated according to the usage of Friends.

First day, 8*th mo.*, 2*nd*, 1812. I believe I may rejoice in having had the assistance of the Lord in the past week. On

sixth day, on my return from Cromer, I made up my mind, I humbly trust, with the divine blessing, to conform more entirely with Friends in plainness of speech and apparel. Another little difficulty, which I mentioned last week, (great in prospect to so poor a creature, but surmounted at ——'s on sixth day, I believe for the best,) has been the only thing which has caused me much pain, though my mind, throughout the week, has been a good deal oppressed. I now feel thankful and at ease, and I trust the experience of the last week has been confirming, through mercy, to my general faith. I do humbly desire to be enabled to look to Christ, as a precious Saviour, who has shed his blood for my justification, and giveth his Spirit for my sanctification. I desire to love and obey him without reserve; conscious, however, that nothing can be done in my own strength.

Many years later, in his Autobiography, he thus reviews this important period of his life:—

I am not sure of the precise time, but I think it was very soon after my father's decease, and after a visit from my dearest sister Fry to our family and meeting, that as I lay in bed one night, light from above seemed to beam upon me and point out in a very explicit manner, the duty of submitting to decided Quakerism, more particularly to the humbling sacrifice of "plainness of speech, behaviour, and apparel." The visitation was strong, but my will was stronger; I would not, I did not comply; putting off what appeared to me almost unbearable, to a more "convenient season." I was then rather more than twenty-one years old, and the morning sacrifice was not bound to the horns of the Lord's altar with the integrity, boldness, and simplicity, which the case required. Many persons might say that, taking into view the danger of imagination in such measures, I did well in resisting this call. After a space of nearly thirty years, full of a variety of experience, I am not of this judgment; for I believe that nothing is more profitable than the ready obedience of faith, and nothing more

dangerous than the contrary. In my own case, the effect of irresolution was a painful state of spiritual weakness; and when at last I made the sacrifice, it was but lamely done, and under circumstances of still greater humiliation to the pride and vanity of my own heart than it would have been at first. In the mean time I enjoyed some very precious religious privileges, two of which deserve to be particularly recorded. The first was a visit to our meeting from our friend Ann Jones, (then Ann Burgess.) I was powerfully affected and subdued under her ministry, almost, if not quite constrained to surrender at discretion by the love of Christ. The second was an attendance at the Yearly Meeting, to which, in despite of my youth and lapelled coat, I was appointed representative. I well remember insisting in our Quarterly Meeting, on the reading of the advice of the Yearly Meeting respecting what ought to be the character of representatives, by way of showing myself unfit, but the Friends prevailed. * * The Yearly Meeting was to me, in this as in other years, an occasion of inexpressible solemnity—I hope of edification.

Soon after my return home, I was engaged to a dinner party at the house of one of our first county gentlemen. Three weeks before the time was I engaged, and three weeks was my young mind in agitation, from the apprehension, of which I could not dispossess myself, that I must enter his drawing room with my hat on. From this sacrifice, strange and unaccountable as it may appear, I could not escape. In a Friend's attire, and with my hat on, I entered the drawing room at the dreaded moment, shook hands with the mistress of the house, went back into the hall, deposited my hat, spent a rather comfortable evening, and returned home in some degree of peace. I had afterwards the same thing to do at the Bishop's; the result was, that I found myself the decided Quaker, was perfectly understood to have assumed that character, and to dinner parties, except in the family circle, was asked no more.

To some readers such an incident may appear almost inexplicable. That true religion leads into

no wayward eccentricities may be readily admitted. Yet if there be, as every believer in the New Testament must acknowledge, a reality in the being and guidance of the Holy Spirit, it cannot surely be denied that, under such a guidance, adapted as it is to all the varieties of individual character and circumstances, there may be cases in which the awakened soul is constrained to do or to leave undone, things which, at other times, and under other circumstances, may be felt to be matters of indifference. The workings of imagination, leading into the ever varying forms of "will worship, and voluntarily humility," have been doubtless, at times, mistaken for divine illumination. But it is not imagination — it is the work of the Holy Spirit alone — which, whilst calling for the sacrifice, humbles the soul, draws it from evil, and establishes it in holiness; which, apart from all excitement, can inspire living faith in Christ, true love to God, and simple resignation to his will in all things. And shall the errors of a misguided fancy, or the mistakes even of good men, lead any to doubt the truth or the safety of his heavenly direction when so evidenced. To the religious mind the view here presented of the young disciple, but a few years before conspicuous for his elegant accomplishments in the ball room, now made willing, in obedience to the call of apprehended duty, to "become a fool" amongst his former acquaintance for the sake of his Divine Master, cannot fail to furnish matter for profitable reflection.

"The wearing of the hat in the house," continues Joseph John Gurney, "is not my practice. I have no wish to re-

peat what then happened; but I dare not regret a circumstance which was, under the Divine blessing, made the means of fully deciding my course, and thus of facilitating my future progress. Here I would observe that when scruples on points of a religious and practical nature are well founded, they abide the test of time and experience. This has been completely the case with me, as it relates to plainness. Never have I regretted the change which I then made; never have I doubted, that in that direction precisely, lay my appointed course of religious duty. I might have taken a more dazzling course in the world, or even in the "religious world;" but I believe that, in proportion to my willingness to be circumscribed within these somewhat humiliating boundaries, has been, in fact, the scope both for usefulness and happiness. Let it always be remembered, that the restraints of the Spirit are most abundantly recompensed by its blessed liberty."

The passage in the Journal under date 8th month, 2nd, after recording his decision as above noticed, closes with the following reflections:*—

In thus entering more completely into a small society of Christians, I feel satisfied on the ground of believing that they hold the doctrine of Christ, in many respects, more in its original purity than any other sect. At the same time, my judgment differs from them about some particulars; I think I may say, it does about the sacraments; and I *seem* to see how much Friends would be improved, by a more extensive knowledge and profession of the great offices of a Saviour's love. I also think, that there is a danger in the Society of laying too great a stress upon trifles. Thus impressed, I earnestly hope I shall ever be able to stand upon a broad basis, whereon I can heartily unite with all Christians.

*The extract given at p. 93 *supra*, with that here inserted, constitute the whole of this important entry. It is hardly necessary to add that it is printed *verbatim* as it stands in the Journal.

I desire a catholic spirit; a truly humble and dependent mind; an increase of faith, hope, watchfulness, and knowledge of Scriptural truth.

This day completes my 24th year. I can with sincerity return my humble and hearty thanks to the Author of all good, that he has been pleased graciously to look upon one who has greatly sinned. May he still preserve me upright and free from error. May he lead me and all of us in the way of life everlasting.

They who have accompanied Joseph John Gurney thus far, conversing with his most retired thoughts, may have been not unfrequently reminded, how gradual is often the growth of conviction, how varied are the phases which the mind assumes during its progress; and that even after the judgment has ripened on some points, there may be others, hardly less important, which remain to be matured under the influence of increased light and experience. In further illustration of this remark, it may not perhaps be unfitting to close the present chapter with a striking passage of the journal, written many years later,* where he thus sums up the convictions of maturer years:—

"I own no priesthood, but the priesthood of Christ; no supper in worship, but in spiritual communion with him and his followers at his own table in his kingdom; no baptism, as an introduction to the hopes and citizenship of the Christian believer, but that of the Holy Ghost;" adding emphatically; "I heartily crave and pray that the blessed principle in me of light and life and love, (even the perceptible operative influence of the Spirit of Christ,) may consummate its victory."

* Under date 8th month, 1st, 1840.

CHAPTER VI.

1812—1817. ÆT. 25—29.

HIS REVIEW OF HIS PROGRESS UP TO 1815; HIS UNCLE JOSEPH GURNEY; BRISTOL; LETTER TO A FRIEND ON HIS MARRIAGE; THOMAS FOSTER'S APPEAL; DEATH OF HIS BROTHER JOHN; HIS COUSINS JOSEPH AND HENRY GURNEY; CAPITAL PUNISHMENTS; WILBERFORCE; RETROSPECT FROM AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

THE following reflections from Joseph John Gurney's Journal, written in his twenty-seventh year, may form an appropriate introduction to the present chapter:—

2nd mo., 27th, 1815. * * Occupied several hours since yesterday afternoon in perusing my Journals up to this period. I could hardly read them without pitying myself. When a mere lad, from 18 to 19½, I appear to have been much the prey of some evil habits and passions, to my own distress; in some degree open to the utility and charm of the truth; but still yielding, yielding; and never established on a sufficiently firm foundation. From the time of my father's death, in the 10th mo., 1809, to the present, many relapses, and very many uncomfortable seasons of weakness and non-performance of duty are noted; but with increasing stability as to practice, in later years, which is some encouragement to me. In the autumn of 1810, I was forcibly impressed with its being my duty to use the language of Friends. I resisted this impression, which was graciously repeated about seven months afterwards, when I yielded to it; and since that time I have

been drawn pretty close to the Society in religious sentiment and habit. I believe that this resistance has been one of my great errors in life; and that want of timely obedience to clear manifestations [of duty] has probably been one cause of my vision having been so long and so much obscured. The years 1810, 11, 12, 13, and 14, have been marked with a constant tide of employment, which has brought with it an unfixed and ineffective condition of mind, to my frequent trial and distress. Greater steadiness and quietness have of late, in some measure, arisen; and I am inclined to hope that, after much stormy weather, my gracious Master will indulge me with a little calm. In my sense of religion I am somewhat clouded; and I still feel the power of silent waiting to be a principal, if not *the* principal desideratum. Nevertheless I hope to remember that I am a traveller; that heaven is the object of my journey; and that my Saviour is my master, leader, and counsellor. The objects which life presents are the duties in which I have to seek to know and execute his will. These objects are much the same as formerly, though a little varied and altered in their proportions. I shall consider it an unspeakable favour if the Lord will enable me to eye him in all that I do; and if he will graciously keep me more abased in my own eyes than my proud heart would have me be. * * [May] the practical result of my restrospection be a deeper feeling that I deserve nothing; and a more constant, and ardent, and faithful aspiration, for the grace which availeth to sanctification, redemption, and eternal life!

His pursuits and engagements during this period, numerous as they were, and calling for close attention, do not present much variety of incident, though the register of them in the Journal affords abundant evidence of his steady diligence. Without fatiguing the reader by too minute a detail, the following selection may perhaps sufficiently indicate the course of his mind, and the more important circumstances.

9th mo., 21*st*, [1812.] The stream of life has been full and rapid. Bible Society; school; banking; Richard Phillips; the Buxtons; Hoares; much pleasure; much business. Yesterday (first day) was, I trust, not without its blessings. Thomas Clarke at the afternoon meeting. His sermon came home to me: addressed to those who were labouring under a sense of not being able to reach divine things. God is faithful who promises; these feelings and difficulties are not his work; the deficiency is all on our side; the true way to meet it is to humble ourselves, and become poor in spirit:—"Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven."

4th mo., 25*th*, 1813, *First day evening.* This day has been, I trust, in some measure, filled with the things of God. In the morning meeting I was enabled to take a clear view of my sins, of my hope in Christ, and of the necessity of clinging to the rock of my salvation. The afternoon meeting very solemn; a deep feeling of the terrors of the Lord, and something of an aching anxiety for the preservation of every individual in our family. Powerful testimony borne, both by my uncle Joseph and my dear sister Fry, to the sinner's hope of salvation in Jesus Christ.

There were, perhaps, few among his immediate connexions by whom he was, at this period, more cheered and assisted in his religious course than his uncle Joseph Gurney, his father's younger brother, and a minister in the Society of Friends. "He had," says Joseph John Gurney in his Autobiography, "as much of native charm of character about him as any person I have ever known; and was a man of original thought, always prepared to look at the 'other side of the question,' when any point was presented to him, and particularly when it was strongly urged. We lived on the most easy and happy terms together, and I was in the uniform practice of dining with him at least once a week.

He was lively in his ministry, though seldom treading any beaten path; sometimes a little obscure, but always interesting, and increasingly evangelical as he advanced in years and experience."

6th mo., *26th.* My uncle Joseph desired me to give him in twelve lines, the account of my faith with respect to the Atonement. I have written the following:—

Under some sense of my own poverty, and a desire not to handle deep doctrines without divine help, I trust I may safely make the following confession of faith.

Had I been during the whole course of my life, perfectly obedient to the Divine law, I should still be an unprofitable servant, without surplus of merit. But since, on the contrary, I have grievously offended in many particulars, I not only deserve no favour, but have become subject to God's just wrath. Under the effects of this just wrath, I believe I must have fallen, had not God provided for me a way of escape in his own free pardoning grace, through the sufferings, death, and sacrifice of his son Jesus Christ.

I believe that God hath appointed this sacrifice, in its nature propitiatory, as the means of atonement or reconciliation, and that he hath therein at once displayed his mercy to the sinner and his judgment upon sin. This pardoning of sinners, for Christ's sake, is what I understand by the term "justification."

In order to partake of these mercies, I believe I must possess a living faith, which shall lead me, first, to place my whole hope of acceptance with God in the merits of my Redeemer; and, secondly, to obey the dictates of the Holy Spirit, whom Christ has sent to bring me to repentance, to purge me from all sin, and to guide me in the way to life eternal. This work of the Spirit, by which we become freed from sin, born again, new creatures, is what I understand by the term "sanctification."

These two, justification and sanctification, I believe to be necessary and sufficient for the salvation of my soul—the

first, the cause—the second the condition; both the result of the grace of God, in Christ Jesus my Lord.

8th mo., 8th. * * This day has been very peaceful and quiet, and I hope profitable. At the morning meeting I endeavoured to examine my conduct in life a little more methodically than I have for some time been accustomed to do, and have several things to note.

In the sight of him, who calleth thee to be holy as he is holy, and whom without holiness it is impossible to please, take care never to entertain an impure idea. Dismiss it, the instant it occurs to thee. Endeavour to be, in this respect, as an infant; knowing nothing and thinking no evil.

Be strong in the Lord. Cultivate a close dependence both on the providence and promises of God. Then, if thou art blessed with a deep sense that the Lord governeth all things for good, and with a certain expectation that "whosoever liveth and believeth in him shall never die," thou wilt live in quietness and hope, and fear no evil.

Never act from motives of fear, contrary to thy judgment. When thou art anxious on any subject, do not magnify evil in anticipation, and learn to expect good rather than evil. Let the presence of the Lord restrain and counsel thee in thy choice of employment; and, having found thy right place, whatsoever thou doest, do it heartily, as unto the Lord and not unto man.

Give thy mind to one thing at a time; nevertheless, in all things maintain thy recollection of heaven. For this purpose allow thyself, during the hours of business, occasional short pauses for devotional meditation. Take care also, not to suffer thy time for recreation to be disturbed by the thoughts and cares of business.

Whatsoever is committed to thy care demands thy attention. Be watchful, therefore, not to forget thy lesser memoranda. But load not the mind with memoranda; rather execute without delay whatsoever can be effected as well at the present as at a future moment. Nevertheless, think twice

about everything, and in all thy concerns endeavour to dwell under the direction of the best Guide.

Keep thy secrets carefully; and, in conducting business with any one, be sure to speak no more words than the case requires. Above all things, be strictly honest and upright in all thy dealings. Rigidly adhere to the truth on little as well as great occasions.

If thou art careful never to act except upon good grounds, thou wilt afterwards have no temptation to be otherwise than candid, fair, and open in thy communications with others. Let thy light shine therefore; be transparent; let thy neighbour see through thee, that there is no evil way in thee.

"Let thy moderation be known unto all men. The Lord is at hand." Present thy body "a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable unto God." Sleep and food are mercifully bestowed on thee for the preservation of thy health. Enjoy them, as far as they are required for that purpose; no further. Judge not, lest thou be judged. Never expose the faults and infirmities of others, except for a decidedly good purpose. Let it be thy general rule, never to mention what is amiss in thy neighbour to a third person, until thou hast been faithful in communicating thy sentiments to the individual himself.

Be in love and charity with all. Love "thinketh no evil," and speaketh no evil, "is not puffed up and is kind." Be kind in sentiment, kind in manner, kind in action; yet away with all ostentation. Take care that thy left hand knoweth not what thy right hand doeth. In all things let self be abased. Be willing to suffer for Jesus Christ's sake. His word will be "a lamp unto thy feet and a light unto thy path." Watch for his guidance, follow it with a firm and manly step; dwell deep in the power of his love; live not to thyself, but live as Christ liveth in thee.

The increasing illness of his brother John now called him to Clifton. After his return he writes:—

1*st mo.*, 23*rd*, 1814. * * * I continued with my dear

brother at Clifton till fourth day, the 12th of this month, a highly interesting three weeks. When in his company, we were chiefly employed in reading together, Pascal, Fox's History, Plato, Greek Testament, Milner.

I was glad to know Bristol. It is a noble place, full of zeal, of almsgiving, and of good works. It was pleasant to form an acquaintance with many individuals—John Hilton, Richard Reynolds, William Lewis, John Waring, &c. Of Mary Ann Schimmelpennink we saw much, and with real pleasure. With our cousin Priscilla Hannah Gurney, who was staying at Richard Reynolds's, we had much intimate communication. * * Upon the whole, I trust, that my sojourn at Clifton has been attended with some spiritual edification. It was a time of leisure, and my mind had, in every way, opportunity for religious progress. I have strongly felt the necessity of having all that belongs to the creature, humbled and laid prostrate at the footstool of the Creator. Yet I have too truly found the great difficulty of being really set free from self-love. I would, it seems, be somebody of importance in the Church, and can hardly reconcile myself to the idea of being kept in the back-ground. I do, notwithstanding, heartily pray that I may be made willing to do and to be that and that only which seemeth right to him "who seeth not as man seeth."

2nd mo., 6th. * * I have been of late in the practice of waiting, morning and evening, in silent attempts at worship. Though sensible of much weakness in it, I have experienced some beneficial result, and desire to persevere in this important duty. * * In my many communications with my beloved uncle, I have lately remarked the weight of sound and real sense to be observed in all he says. O for that true wisdom profitable for this world, as well as for that which is to come.

2nd mo., 12th. * * My endeavours to wait on God in silence have increased. I desire that they may increase and that in patience I may possess my soul. I have felt this afternoon a willingness to fill any station, however low, in religious society; but to fill any, to be in

any degree the servant of Christ, I must fairly bear the cross and the yoke. How often have I flinched from bearing it! May I be led therein, by the power of the Lord my God.

TO A FRIEND UPON HIS MARRIAGE.

Yarmouth, 3rd mo., 18th, 1814.

* * One thing I am convinced of, that your happiness, my dear friend, in married life, will depend much less upon external circumstances, than upon your uniting "in the fear of the Lord, and in walking in his ways." * * I often think of the blessing which David pronounces upon the man who walks "in the fear of God." (See Psalm 128th.) Few things are so likely to afford comfort to persons setting off in life under a right influence, (as I believe you are now doing,) as a just view of the doctrine of providence, which is beautifully unfolded in the psalm I have mentioned. With the Jews, the moral government of God, as it relates to this life only, was, perhaps, carried into more exact fulfilment, than is the case under the present dispensation. With them, definite sins, both national and individual, appear to have been punished, by definite, temporal calamities. Although our views are more exclusively directed to reward and punishment in a world to come, I believe we cannot too firmly trust in that providence which cares for us here as well as hereafter. I give literal credit to David's declaration "that he never saw the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging bread;" and that the saying is in as great a degree, at least, applicable to our times, as it was to his. Neither of us, to be sure, have lived very long, but I question whether we have ever seen an instance of real misery which may not be traced to some deficiency of principle. * * No doubt the most righteous have to bear affliction, but it is the affliction, not of punishment, but of discipline, and can only be intended to promote their more essential happiness. * *

3rd mo., 27th. * * This week I have been favoured with a portion of the Lord's sweet presence. Yet I have to acknow-

ledge the weakness and doubtfulness, the clouds, the indifference which still beset me. I still find it very, perhaps increasingly, difficult not to seek my own glory. Lord! what am I, that I should thus be mindful of myself? Do thou so display unto me my real self, that I may be bowed at thy footstool, as in dust and ashes; to live only as Christ liveth in me.

First day morning, 4*th mo.*, 17*th.* * * The day has been comfortable. After meeting held satisfactory counsel about a school for men. I desired a blessing upon our undertaking. May the instrument in all things be kept low.

4*th mo.*, 24*th.* I long to be so ordered by the prevailing influence of the Divine Spirit, that the tendency to creaturely activity and self exaltation which is still strong in my mind may be utterly destroyed. * * How acceptable would it be to me, how like a shower of rain to dry ground, were I enabled truly to wait on God, were I enabled to reach that deeply internal principle which can alone hold communion with the Author of life and light! Until this point is attained, I can never be fit to serve God in his temple.

5*th mo.*, 1*st.* * * My expedition to Yarmouth is worth remembering. As I rode thither on the outside of the coach, reading parts of Romans vii, and 1 Corinthians xiii, I was favoured with more insight into the truth, than is often my lot. The depravity of human nature, the purpose of redemption, and the extent and tendency of love, were in some degree opened to my view, and sweetly impressed on my mind. The latter part of the 7th of Romans appeared to me, contrary to my former opinion, to describe a state of one not without grace, and I felt it clearly applicable to my own condition. O may I be delivered by the prevalence of the true principle of divine life, even in Christ Jesus, my Lord.

In the 5th month of this year, he attended the Yearly Meeting in London; where he took part in a deeply interesting deliberation upon a case involving the important question whether Friends, as

a body, could sanction the promulgation of Unitarian doctrine. The case will be best understood from his own account written a few years later.

"In the year 1814, Thomas Foster, a man of talent and education, was disowned by the Monthly Meeting of Ratcliffe, for subscribing to the Unitarian Book Society. He had long been supposed to entertain low views of the person of Christ; and had he kept those views to himself, he would probably have been left by Friends to pursue his own course. But no sooner did he publicly assist in the diffusion of them, than he became, from this overt act, a proper object of the discipline of the Society, and accordingly lost his membership. The Monthly Meeting among Friends sometimes acts in a judicial capacity, from the decision of which the appeal lies to the Quarterly Meeting as the superior body, and from that to the general assembly of Friends at the Yearly Meeting.

Thomas Foster appealed to the Quarterly Meeting of London and Middlesex, which confirmed his disownment; but, still dissatisfied, he carried forward his appeal to the Yearly Meeting, at which I had the privilege of being present. Such cases come, in the first instance, before the Committee of Appeals, which is composed of one of the representatives of each Quarterly Meeting, the Quarterly Meeting appealed against alone excepted. I was appointed for Norfolk and Norwich, and acted as clerk to the committee. After hearing a long speech from Thomas Foster, and the answer of the respondents from the Quarterly Meeting of London and Middlesex, we were left to make our decision. I drew up a plain series of resolutions, which terminated with one, confirming the disownment. The resolutions were read *seriatim* to the committee. Each in its turn met their unanimous approbation; and never, I trust, shall I forget the feeling of unity of mind with which, during a most solemn pause, we all gave our silent assent to the concluding resolution. We were twenty-seven in number, collected out of every part of the kingdom, and previously but little acquainted with each other's sentiments; but it was as if we were moulded together

into one man. At length the silence was broken by Jonathan Hutchinson, who expressed, in a few pointed words, his entire concurrence with the decision of the committee. "I do not know," he added, "what may have been the experience of my brethren, but for myself I can truly say, that without Christ I should be of all men most miserable." Our unanimity being ascertained by the signatures of the whole committee, our report, confirming the disownment, was presented to the Yearly Meeting.

Against our decision, Thomas Foster, as in right entitled to do, made his final appeal to the body at large, consisting of about 1200 men Friends, of various ages and conditions, without any written creed, and without any human president. Then, indeed, came on the trial of the Society's faith, the great question being immediately before us, whether orthodox Christianity or Unitarianism was the belief of Friends. The appellant's speech was long and insinuating, calculated to amuse the young and perplex the old. The reply of the respondents was plain and luminous, and accompanied by abundant evidence, selected from the writings of the early Friends, of the uniform adherence of the Society to the doctrines of the Deity and Atonement of Christ. These extracts were compared with the notes of the Unitarian New Testament, and it soon appeared that the contrast between them was as palpable as between day and night. After the appellant had replied, both parties withdrew, and our large assembly was left to form its decision on the vital and all-important question. A solemn silence overspread the whole meeting, and continued for a considerable time uninterrupted. At length William Grover arose; an elderly man, as remarkable for his clearness of mind, as he was striking from his pleasing and venerable appearance. In a single expressive sentence he pronounced his judgment against the appellant. After him our elder Friends rose one after another, all with the same sentiment in their mouths; then Friends in the middle stages of life, then the young, the more and the less serious, the plain, and those whom we somewhat technically call the gay. I never heard so many, or so

various Friends speak to any point in our annual assembly; and, blessed be the name of him whom alone we acknowledge to be our Saviour and our Head, all were of one accord. I am almost ready to question whether 1200 men, gathered together without previous concert, from so many different places; persons of such various ages, circumstances, and characters, were ever before known to manifest, on a theological subject, so perfect an unanimity.*

Soon after his return from the Yearly Meeting, he thus briefly notices his first public effort on the subject of slavery.

7*th mo.*, 4*th.* The latter part of the week, especially sixth day, has been occupied by the slave trade business.† The petition is now signing largely, and on sixth day morning, we were favoured with complete success, after much opposition, at the public meeting. I pleaded for the cause very earnestly, but have since had to understand, with too much "posture," and probably too little simplicity. * * O that the quieting, humbling spirit of divine love may be permitted to guide me safely, through the troubles, cares, and occupations of the present week.

7*th mo.*, 31*st.* On Fourth day to Holt with Brereton. The meeting of the Bible Society not at all elevating to myself. I had to reproach myself for too hastily using, in my speech, the name of the Almighty. May I henceforward never pronounce or write that name, without awe and reverence.

8*th mo.*, 21*st.* * * On the 9th I left home, and was occupied on the 10th, 11th, and 12th by the arbitration in the case of ——. Francis Gibson was my able and exemplary

* See Chalmeriana, pp. 51—55. The Journal contains only a reference to a "paper," which probably contained the account of those proceedings, but which has not been found.

† See Life of William Allen, vol. i, p. 192.

coadjutor. The business, through the divine blessing, ended in the restoration of harmony. On the evening of the 12th to Brampton, [Lady Olivia Sparrow's.] There I staid till First day morning, the 14th, among many of the great of this world; not I trust, excluding the next. This peep at high life was curious and instructive, and I hope not hurtful in the main, though it set me a little afloat.

His brother John, whose declining state of health had been for some time an occasion of much solicitude, breathed his last on the 8th of the 9th mo. He had never recovered from the effect of his anxious watching and nursing during his wife's illness. Partial paralysis soon began to appear, which was accompanied by a general state of bodily feebleness. Notwithstanding his increasing infirmity he successfully applied himself to recover his knowledge of Greek, with a view to reading the New Testament in the original; the study of which, together with the perusal of the ancient Greek historians and poets, became an object of deep interest to him during his protracted illness.

"We were occasionally," says Joseph John Gurney, in his Autobiography, "united very pleasantly in these pursuits. The last few months of his life," he continues, "though humbling to the view of his friends, were to him without a thorn. Obscured as his fine intellect now was on all other topics, it was clearer and brighter than ever on the subject of religion. The part that was to live for ever shone with a mellowed lustre like the setting sun. As the day of his death approached, his happiness increased. Everything was beautiful in his eyes; the hymn sung by one sister, and the prayer uttered by another, were to him, in his childlike condition, like the orisons of angels. * * I loved him dearly, but the cup of sorrow was mingled to us all with hope and peace and joy."

A few days after the funeral he thus writes in his Journal:—

9th mo., 12*th*. * * * The event, which has just occurred, is a precious talent, of which I have much use to make. First: let me consider it as affording an evidence of the truth of religion.

What is practical religion? Is it not the work of God's Spirit upon the soul of man, bringing it to a spiritual knowledge of the Saviour, and redeeming it from all sin? Has it not been marvellous to observe this work carried on, and, humanly speaking, perfected in my dear brother, at a time when his merely rational faculties were so decayed? Does it not evince that, independently of the rational faculties, there is a soul capable of being filled with faith, and hope, and love? Does it not also evince that there is an influence, which works upon the soul, which sows the seed, and rears the plant, and produces the fruit? Our dear brother afforded us a striking instance of the assurance which the Spirit of God gives of the things of God. He was truly brought to the simplicity of a child. In that simplicity he saw the things of God, not clouded and perplexed as we see them, through a maze of fleshly feelings and worldly cares, but clearly, and in their real brightness. He doubted not. He appeared to have that sort of evidence about the truth that the eye gives us of things visible. * * Another great point, which has been particularly manifested in his case, is, that "the blood of Jesus Christ taketh away all sin." He knew it! May I be permitted to know it more and more! * *

Referring to his own position, he adds,—

My worldly situation is altered. I am become the master of Earlham and have received some addition to my old stock of *curanda*. I am very sensible of the importance of order, and true economy of mind and time, rather than of money, in all my concerns. What can I say, but that I desire direction?

10*th mo.*, 10*th*. On fifth day went to the Yarmouth Bible Society Meeting, with —— and ——. Nothing could be less successful than my attempt as it regarded myself. Otherwise I trust it answered some purpose. Their company was interesting, though I am sorry to find them such Calvinists. * * Is there not a predestination *according to foreknowledge?* And does this affect the freedom of man's will? Surely not.

11*th mo.*, 21*st*. * * I exceedingly desire to grow every day in the knowledge of the truth. May I live this week with renewed care and watchfulness, remembering that every day ought to make me one degree fitter for heaven; as it brings me, I trust, one step nearer to it.

First day, 12*th mo.*, 18*th*. * * I hope I am, in some degree, brought to a willingness to be little — to be nothing, if it be the will of God. There is at the bottom of my heart a lurking desire to obtain the praise of man. It certainly is so; it is a drying, limiting, paltry feeling. It is a great enemy, and one which adheres closely to me; but may I not yet encourage a hope that my Lord and Master hath power even over the inmost evils of my soul?

TO ONE OF HIS SISTERS.

Norwich, 1st month, 14, 1815.

* * What are we to say to this full and rapid stream of worldly employment which hurries us along so quickly that we cannot even stop for a minute to speak to one another? I am half ashamed of saying that I have as much on my hands as ever, perhaps more; and were it not for being favoured, just now, with a tolerably quiet mind, I think I should be quite swallowed up. I hope and believe that I am more able than I used to be to give my undivided self to one thing at once. This is a lesson which we shall all do well to learn. And if we can, at the same time, attain the habit of more constantly looking forward to the end of our journey, we may pass through life pleasantly and profitably, even amidst multitudinous worldly cares. I have often felt lately

that I do not sufficiently bear in mind the true object of a religious course, namely, the attainment of a heavenly reward. Religious progress *itself* is too apt to be, as it were, the final object of my wishes. * *

O what a fine thing it would be really to get rid of self, and of self dependence, and self seeking. We may talk a great deal about atonement, and yet secretly and in the centre of our hearts, entertain a feeling, if not a notion, of *merit*. We may talk of humiliation in the presence of God to the exclusion of all human pride, and yet secretly desire our own glory. We may talk of our dependence upon the guidance of our Lord, and yet allow our own imagination and understanding privately to hold the rudder. So it is at times with me; perhaps always; and yet I do not wish to complain, hoping that there is that, which, if sought, will more and more deliver from the bondage of corruption.

His continued diligence in study, amidst the pressure of his varied engagements, is remarkable.

"Our business being extensive," he writes, in the Autobiography, in allusion to this portion of his life, "and requiring great care, and public objects of a philanthropic kind pressing upon me a good deal, my literary leisure was more curtailed than I could have wished; but study was not altogether neglected; and at the period of which I am now speaking, and for a few years afterwards, I read and wrote much, and continued to be greatly interested in my biblical pursuits. One object which I pursued with some industry was to compare the quotations from the Old Testament, contained in the Gospels and Epistles, with the present text of the Hebrew Original, and of the Septuagint; and to show what are the collateral evidences which confirm the evangelical use made of many of these passages in the New Testament. I have by me some rather long manuscripts on this subject; but they were the work of a young student, and, though useful to myself, quite unfit for publication."

"Now is the time," he writes in the Journal,* "for whole mindedness and industry. The Old Testament; the New Testament with quotations; Herodotus, and Bacon's Novum Organum, after Clarendon is finished, I intend shall be my intellectual pursuits."

"I wish to push Justin Martyr," is his observation a few months later.

The spirit in which he studied is admirably indicated in the following sentences from a work ascribed to the last mentioned author, which he copied, in the original, on the cover of one of the early volumes of his Journal.

Οὐδὲ γὰρ ζωὴ ἄνευ γνώσεως, οὐδὲ γνῶσις ἀσφαλὴς ἄνευ ζωῆς ἀληθοῦς.

Ὁ γὰρ νομίζων εἰδέναι τι, ἄνευ γνώσεως ἀληθοῦς καὶ μαρτυρουμένης ὑπὸ τῆς ζωῆς, οὐκ ἔγνω· ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄφεως πλανᾶται.

Epistle to Diognetus, c. xii.

"For neither is there life without knowledge, nor is there any sure knowledge without the true life."

"For he that thinketh that he knoweth any thing without the knowledge that is true, and borne witness to by the life, knoweth not, but is deceived by the serpent."†

He thus notices his "designs," under date—

6*th mo.*, 11*th*, 1814. [After alluding to the Banks.]

Public objects.—Bible Society—Norwich Association; Branch Meetings; School; the Scriptures with the Boys; Adult school twice a week; Benevolent Society—to raise a

* Under date 10th mo. 31st, 1813.

† It has been lately suggested, with some appearance of probability, that the conclusion of this Epistle, in which the foregoing passages occur, formed part of a Treatise of Hippolytus. Sec. 1, Bunsen's Hippolytus, 186—195.

fund; Coals for the winter; Provident Society; Public Houses.

Literature.—To press on in "the Quotations" and in the Hebrew Bible, with particular reference to the subject of the Spirit; Texts regularly; Family reading as before; Robertson to be studied; Œdipus Tyrannus; Demosthenes de Coronâ; Lucretius.

He characteristically adds,—

And what does this castle in the air signify, if I do not hold the *foundation?*

In addition to these objects, it had been of late one of his recreations, to assist his uncle Joseph Gurney's two sons, Joseph and Henry, who were now growing up to manhood, in the further improvement of their minds. Referring to a visit of his two cousins at Earlham, he writes

TO HIS AUNT JANE GURNEY.

Norwich, 11th mo., 18th, 1814.

* * Thou wilt think me a preceptor of some influence, when I tell thee that I have induced them every morning to exchange their beds in pretty good time, for my study fireside, and the Epistle to the Corinthians. This Epistle, of which we have read about half, has occupied us before breakfast; and I have been agreeably surprised to find Joseph so much at home in his Greek. Harry's scholarship I did not doubt, and he has it evidently in his power to become thoroughly accomplished in classical literature. * * In the afternoon we have been reading Cicero's orations, and Juvenal. In the evening Richenda assumes the character of drawing mistress, and something is read aloud for general edification. It is pretty clear from my account that we have not been fagging very hard; but it is something to encourage a taste for intellectual pursuits. This, indeed, is my chief desire in

reading with them, because I see that it is the chief thing wanted. * * No employment is more gratifying to me, and I feel it quite a relief, after Bible Society speeches, banking journeys, &c. Daniel has been with us for a few days, which was the highest delight to the boys, though it was not without the effect of throwing me and my books into somewhat distant background. * *

Upon the whole, I am sure they find the Earlham atmosphere cheerful, though a little inclined to be serious. Not that Joseph objects to seriousness in its place, for he has volunteered several sentiments which have given me real pleasure, and which prove that his mind is a good deal directed to the most important objects; and I trust the same may be fairly believed of Harry. * *

Dressing Room, alone at home, 2nd mo., 27th, 1815.

The Lord has been pleased to throw a gloom over our family, by an event scarcely exceeded in melancholy by any that had before taken place amongst us. On the very day* when I last wrote in this book, my beloved cousin Henry died. We were summoned to the Grove after breakfast, and found him completely overcome by a violent apoplectic attack, and in the strift of death. The scene was overwhelming. The anguish of our spirits, as we surrounded his bed side, was relieved, at length, by earnest and deeply impressive prayer from Priscilla. Then indeed was the time to know the value of a Saviour! About half an hour afterwards, he quietly and almost imperceptibly breathed his last, leaving us all with a sweet impression, that his spirit was returned to the bosom of the Father, and centred in the presence of the everlasting Shepherd. * * The stroke came home to my tenderest affections. I, too, have lost an object which I fondly and dearly cherished.

During the spring of this year, his friend William Forster visited Norwich in the character of a

* 2nd mo., 10th, 1815.

minister of the gospel amongst Friends, and held many religious meetings in that city and its neighbourhood. The mind of Joseph John Gurney was powerfully impressed, and he afterwards spent several weeks as William Forster's companion in a journey through parts of Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire, and the Eastern Counties, an engagement which laid the foundation of a warm and lasting friendship between them, and was the means of deepening his attachment to the principles and practices of Friends. A few days after his return from this journey, he writes,

7*th mo.*, 3*rd*, 1815. * * My excursion has greatly refreshed me. * * I have felt an increase of faith in Christ; more inclination and ability to stay myself upon his merits and mercy. Τὸ ἐπαναπαύεσθαι τῷ Χριστῷ, is I trust a desire increasing in me. This is a great favour.

The year 1816 opens with the following entry in his Journal:—

1*st mo.*, 3*rd*, 1816. I desire not to commence a new year without some effort at self-examination. With regard to my religious state, if I were not so insensible to everything, I think I should be sensible of more alarm about it. It is, in fact, alarming, not to attain to more of the life and reality of religion; and not a little so, that the habit of a wandering mind continues to impede, almost constantly, that spiritual communion with God, which I feel to be essential to my true interest. Sometimes, indeed, I have felt a good deal alarmed, and the prayers of my perturbed spirit have been permitted to bring the blessing of peace: on the whole, I have just now a good hope, that, notwithstanding the many discouragements which I have so long felt, I may yet, through abundant mercy, be amongst the few who shall be led by the narrow

way to everlasting life. * * If I have, with any degree of right vision, seen the guidance of Providence respecting me, I certainly have reason to believe that *the Lord cast my lot among Friends*, and it is on this account that I may well feel discouraged at my peculiar infirmities. More simplicity! Oh, for more simplicity! I believe that if I did but dwell more as a little child, I should more find and feel my right place in the church. * * Lord draw me nearer to thyself, and keep me from evil. Make me sensible that my only safe position of soul, is that of complete prostration before thee. Grant that in this humiliation I may so be permitted to depend livingly upon thy mercy, that my joy in thee may more and more abound. Once more I entreat thee to set my heart upon the kingdom of thine everlasting rest and glory, and mayest thou be pleased so to deal with me during my pilgrimage here, that I may accomplish that whereunto thou sendest me; and continue to ascribe unto thy holy name all honour, praise, and thanksgiving, for ever and ever.

On his return from a short visit to London at the beginning of the year, he passed a few days at the house of Lord Calthorpe. From thence he writes —

Ampton, 1st mo., 23d, 1816.

* * Though I could not kneel at their prayers, I was really cheered by the seriousness and simplicity with which this duty was performed; and by the apparent order of the household. May we, whilst we display our nonconformity, ever remember to what a holy conversation, to what a spirit of love, meekness, and watchfulness, our profession calls us. If we were but sufficiently alive to this call, I think our little peculiarities would be merged, as it relates to others, in the savour of our spirits, so that they would offend no one; and as for ourselves, they certainly help to keep us humble, if rightly adopted; for they are very mortifying to the natural man.

Whilst at home during the preceding autumn he had entered upon the composition of a work, which,

though never published in its original form, afterwards furnished the material for several important chapters in the Essays on Christianity and the Biblical Notes.

"It was," to use his own words, "the history of our Lord Jesus Christ, in its largest character and bearings, as set forth in Scripture. It consisted of three parts: Christ in his pre-existence; during his abode on earth; and in his reign of glory. Each part was divided into chapters, and illustrated by copious notes. This work formed the principal object of my literary attention for some years, and led into no small extent of collateral investigation and study. My chief aim in it was, clearly to set forth the scriptural proofs of the glorious doctrine of our Saviour's proper Deity; and I can truly say, the more I scrutinised the evidence, the more largely I collected, compared, and assorted it, the more complete became my own convictions of this blessed truth. The manuscript of the work was long, and completed with great care; but had I published it, it would, I doubt not, have betrayed, in various points of view, the inexperience of a young writer."

TO HIS SISTER-IN-LAW ELIZABETH GURNEY.

Norwich, 3d mo., 5th, 1816.

* * I am deeply interested in my book, which however proceeds slowly. * * A large field is opening before me; the undertaking is truly an arduous one. * * May I have my dependence rightly placed with respect to it. * *

The subject of Capital Punishments had already claimed much of his serious attention, and ever afterwards continued to be a matter of deep and painful interest to him. Under date 4th mo., 8th, 1816, he particularly alludes to his attendance "on poor Lea," a convict, before his execution, and later

in the year he felt it his duty to make a vigorous effort to save the life of a prisoner under sentence of death for burglary. Gunton, the prisoner in question, had been convicted on the evidence of a young woman, who had lived as servant in the house which had been robbed, and some circumstances transpired, which led to the belief that her evidence had been misapprehended either by the court or by the jury. A re-consideration of the case appeared to be most important, but this could not be obtained, unless the witness could be brought before the proper authorities. In the mean time the period for the execution was approaching; immediate exertions were necessary, but the young woman, after whom inquiry had been made in every direction, could not be found. The case now appeared hopeless. At length, however, the witness was traced, and Joseph John Gurney took her to London, travelling with all practicable speed through the night. He quickly obtained a respite, which was immediately forwarded to the sheriffs at Norwich; and on the following morning he himself arrived, bringing with him a reprieve; and Gunton's sentence was commuted to transportation for life. But though his efforts in this case were happily successful, three other prisoners were left under sentence of death. On the day of their execution he thus addressed his fellow citizens in a letter published in the Norwich Mercury :—

Norwich, 8th mo., 31st, 1816.

I have observed vast flocks of people—men, women, and children, apparently of various conditions, but chiefly of the lower orders, passing through the streets, crowding with

eagerness, and, as it seemed to me, not without feelings of a pleasurable nature, to witness a scene the most dreadful and melancholy, when properly considered, that the mind of man can conceive! They are now returning in large numbers. What is the sight which they have been beholding? Three poor victims of folly, vice, and crime, put to a cruel and untimely death.

It is by such sights, and by *the repetition of them*, that we become callous to the woes and torments of our fellow creatures! The momentary compassion which they excite, is soon exchanged for a feeling of pleasure in the excitement itself, and a most stupid indifference to the sufferings of others! Thus that hard heart, which is the source of every crime, becomes harder and harder still; and, therefore, yet more productive of the same results. The deterring influence of the "example" is seldom felt by obdurate sinners. At any rate, it becomes weaker and weaker by repetition; and were it even much stronger than it is, would be little in point of real effect, in comparison with the contrary tendency of a spectacle which strengthens criminality *in its root!*

Let us, as Christians, look at the facts of these cases. Men who have immortal, accountable souls, are suddenly transferred from their only state of probation to their eternal, unalterable state, by the hands of other men. These sufferers are generally persons of depraved character; and as the tree falls it must lie. The facts, therefore, involve doubts and probabilities of most tremendous magnitude. And is poor frail man to take the responsibility of these doubts upon himself? Is he to throw the die by which the awful question is decided? Are there any considerations of a merely temporal nature, relating either to individuals or to nations, which can possibly justify it, especially in a Christian country? The religion which teaches us, that the eternal allotment of one soul is of greater importance than the temporal prosperity of a whole nation, prohibits us, by its very principles, from taking upon ourselves the responsibility of that allotment, for any purposes which terminate on this side of the grave.

To return to the Journal: —

6th mo., 7th. * * [After spending a few days in London.] The Yearly Meeting was refreshing, confirming, and comforting to my spirit. Let me record my full belief, that the affairs of the society have been conducted, under the weight and power and in the spirit of divine truth. Love and unity have been the portion of the body. I am, I trust, thankful for this renewed evidence of having found my right place in the Christian church. May the Lord be pleased to preserve the savour of divine truth on my mind. How do I desire to be, indeed, one of his servants and children; in all my life to magnify and glorify his holy name.

8th mo., 17th. * * My own experience, which has certainly of late partaken considerably of pain, is sufficient to prove that there is no peace in placing our dependence upon the world, no peace whatever but in a living faith in God, and in a real participation of his promises in Christ Jesus. * * Oh, there is no safety but in the lowest spot. When our own plans, which seem to be the right plans, are unexpectedly overturned, it is a trial of faith and patience. *Then we must get lower.* Lord do all things according to thy will! Help thy children and thy servants. Be pleased to extend the wing of thy pity over us! Relieve the pressure which we are not able to bear! Above all, grant us, we beseech thee, such a sense of thy truth, that, whether in heights or in depths, in prosperity or in trouble, we may ever rejoice in thy love, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.

The ninth month of this year was rendered memorable to him by a visit which laid the foundation of an intercourse, that was, at intervals, in after years, the source of much lively interest and pleasure. The circumstance is thus graphically related in a Familiar Sketch of the late William Wilberforce, which he subsequently published.

"I was introduced to Wilberforce," writes Joseph John Gurney, "in the autumn of 1816. He was staying with his

family by the seaside at Lowestoft, in Suffolk. I well remember going over from Earlham, partly for the purpose of seeing so great a man, and partly for that of persuading him to join our party at the time of the approaching anniversaries of the Norfolk Bible and Church Missionary Societies. I was then young, but he bore my intrusion with the utmost kindness and good humour; and I was much delighted with the affability of his manners, as well as with the fluency and brightness of his conversation. Happily he acceded to my solicitations, nor could I hesitate in accepting his only condition, that I should take into my house not only himself, but his whole family group, consisting of his amiable lady and several of their children, two clergymen who acted in the capacity of tutors, his private secretary, servants, &c. We were, indeed, to be quite full of guests, independently of this accession; but what house would not prove elastic in order to receive the abolisher of the Slave Trade? In point of fact, by dint of various contrivances, we managed the affair with tolerable facility. It was a large party, composed of persons of several denominations, who were all anxious to promote the extension of the kingdom of their Redeemer; and Wilberforce was the star and life of our circle."*

A few days after this visit, he writes in the Journal:—

9th mo., *30th*. The last has indeed been an eventful and interesting week. We have had a vast party in the house. Francis and Richenda,† Samuel Hoare, Fowell and Hannah, the Carrs, John Cunningham, the Wilberforce Family, Langton, Rolleston, G. Kett, &c. No society could have been much more pleasant, and I hope it has also been profitable. The Bible Society Meeting on fifth day passed off delightfully; Wilberforce's speaking most interesting; about sixty at dinner, at Earlham. Since that time, we have been almost entirely occupied by the Wilberforces; his mind is indeed rich, and

* See Minor Works, vol. ii., p, 228. See also Life of Wilberforce, vol. iv., p. 298.

† His sister Richenda had been recently married to Francis Cunningham.

varied, and elevated. It is equally pleasant and instructive to enjoy his company.

I hope I have not materially departed from my testimonies during this week. O, I desire to see clearly what and where I am, and though the heavens have, at times, felt around me as brass, impenetrable and inaccessible, I still hope that the Lord will help me. Sure I am, that an attentive inspection of my own great infirmities is sufficient to prevent all pride or vain glory. O Lord, sanctify me I pray thee with thy truth, that my inmost corruptions may be reached by the cleansing efficacy of thy Spirit. Create in me, I beseech thee, more of a willingness to give up, for thy sake, whatsoever thou mayest require at my hands.

His cousin Joseph, the only surviving son of his uncle Joseph Gurney, had been in declining health since his brother Henry's death. Joseph John Gurney writes —

12*th mo.*, 2*nd*, 1816. The past week has been rendered deeply interesting by the last scenes of dear Joseph's life. He died on sixth day evening, as the clock was striking nine, in great peace and perfect quietude, after a day of much suffering. What heart-rending scenes are we called upon from time to time to witness! To day we are immersed in all the cares, the pleasures, and the business of life; to-morrow we are dead: and, what is still more wonderful, the survivors go on nearly as before, the wheel never stops! How watchful, how diligent, are we called upon to be, by the uncertainty of our tenure!

His review of this and the preceding period of his life, written many years later in the autobiography, may properly close the present chapter.

My spiritual condition from my twenty-second to my twenty-ninth year was by no means a high one,—generally very much the contrary. Notwithstanding all the advantages of my situation I often went mourning on my way, athirst for

the waters of eternal life. Many disconsolate hours after this sort used to fall to my lot, and in looking back upon this period of my course, I have frequently compared it to a journey in the wilderness after passing through the Red Sea. I ascribe this state of things to two causes; first, my own unwatchfulness; for the enemy too often prevailed over me with his secret temptations, so that as a convert, I trust, to the truth, yet not far advanced towards "the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ," I could apply to myself the plaintive language of the apostle, "I delight in the law of God after the inward man, but I see another law in my members, bringing me into captivity. O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death!"* But secondly, I doubt not that this dispensation was allotted me for the trial of my faith and patience, and for my further humiliation, by way of preparation for future service.

Nor can I deny that my gracious Lord and Master was at times pleased to speak comfortably to me. "I will allure her (the church) into the wilderness, and will speak comfortably to her, and will give her her vineyards from thence, and the valley of Achor for a door of hope."† The valley of my soul's humiliation was, at times, made a door of hope to me; and although I was very weak and wandering, a poor struggler after worship at many or most of our meetings, they were, at times, seasons of great refreshment to me. The ministry of Friends affected me greatly, and was often a means of comfort and strength. I never suffered myself to criticise it, but acted on the uniform principle of endeavouring to obtain from what I heard all the edification which it afforded. This is a principle which I would warmly recommend to my young friends in the present day; for nothing can be more mischievous than for learners to turn teachers, and young hearers, critics. I am persuaded, that it is often the means of drying up the waters of life in the soul; and sure I am, that an exact method of weighing words and balancing doctrines, in what we hear, is a miserable exchange for tenderness of spirit, and for the dews of heaven.

* Rom. vii, 22, 24. † Hos. ii, 14, 15.

CHAPTER VII.

1817—1818. ÆT. 29—30.

EXTRACTS FROM AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND JOURNAL; JONATHAN HUTCHINSON; ENGAGEMENT IN MARRIAGE; FIRST SPEAKS AS A MINISTER; HIS MARRIAGE; LETTER TO WILLIAM FORSTER; CHARLES SIMEON; CORRESPONDENCE WITH JONATHAN HUTCHINSON; JOURNEY ON THE CONTINENT; VISIT TO LONDON; VISIT OF THE MAYOR AND CORPORATION OF NORWICH TO EARLHAM; HE IS ACKNOWLEDGED A MINISTER.

"THE year 1817," writes Joseph John Gurney in his Autobiography, "was one of great importance to me — my 29th year. The early part of it was characterized by no small measure of mental weakness and lowness; but the Lord who saw me in my adversity, had two precious gifts in store, both of which were freely and bountifully bestowed upon me in the course of that year; a faithful partner of my joys and sorrows, and a part in the ministry of the glorious gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. The two things were connected in a manner which might appear very singular to those who have not been accustomed to watch the harmonious workings of external providence and inward grace. But 'whoso is wise and will observe these things, even they shall understand the loving kindness of the Lord.'" The course of his mind is thus exhibited in the Journal.

1*st mo.*, 7*th*, [1817.] * * To-day I leave home on a banking expedition to Halesworth and Yarmouth. How beautiful

is that text, "The Lord shall preserve thee in thy going out and in thy coming in, from henceforth and even for evermore." 1*st mo.*, 13*th.* Second and third days and part of fourth, Lord Gosford here; very pleasant party in the house; afternoons swallowed up by it. * * Most earnestly [do I] desire to be preserved and redeemed from all evil, and to be clothed with that pure spirit of faith and love, which will be ever seeking heaven supremely, and which leadeth a man to seek also another man's weal, rather than his own. But, indeed, I have found myself painfully immersed in the world and the flesh, and at a distance from the Lord. O this unstable heart! this wandering imagination! I have no other plea, O Lord God Almighty, for approaching thy holy presence, but this plea; that thou willest not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should turn from his wickedness and live. "Turn me O Lord and I shall be turned; heal me and I shall be healed."

2*nd mo.*, 16*th.* [Last] Third day morning meeting, and the Monthly Meeting were favoured and consoling opportunities. That afternoon I passed an interesting time with poor Aram Mackie on his deathbed. I did not feel easy without commending him to the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ; and afterwards found, to my encouragement, (having been depressed on the subject,) that my visit was acceptable to him. He died the next morning, and I trust is at rest.

Second day morning, [2*nd mo.*, 24*th.*] Yesterday on the whole satisfactory. Rather an unusual concern felt for the body [of Friends]; a doubt on my mind, whether, notwithstanding all my sins and infirmities, it may not lead to speaking in meeting. I have felt this morning an earnest desire that my life henceforward may be to Christ, and not to the world.

The name of Jonathan Hutchinson has been already mentioned. The close intimacy which so long subsisted between him and Joseph John Gurney, seems to claim for him a little further notice in this memoir. Though he had been for

many years the friend and correspondent of his uncle Joseph Gurney, and they had previously met more than once in London, it was whilst travelling in Lincolnshire, with William Forster, in the course of the preceding year, that Joseph John Gurney had been first brought to a nearer acquaintance with the sterling worth of his character. Born at Gedney, in the fens of Lincolnshire, a respectable yeoman in station, he was a man under whose remarkably simple and unadorned appearance lay concealed a thoughtful and well-cultured mind, and a heart subdued and chastened by the power of divine grace. Though a skilful practical grazier, and carefully attentive to the business by which he maintained his family, he had read much and variously, and thought deeply and largely on many subjects; and his lively imagination was no stranger to the walks of poetry. As a minister of the gospel amongst Friends his communications were usually short, but full, pertinent, and lively; his prayers fervent, simple, and emphatic. He had known what it is to doubt, and almost to despair, and was prepared by a somewhat peculiar and severe course of discipline to sympathise with others. "Our close agreement," says Joseph John Gurney,* "on all points of a religious nature, and on many of a merely intellectual character, was the means of bringing us into a near and easy friendship, which I shall, I believe, always look back upon as one of the choicest privileges of my life."

* In a Short Tribute to the Memory of Jonathan Hutchinson; prefixed to a volume of his letters, published in 1841. London: Harvey and Darton.

FROM JONATHAN HUTCHINSON.

Gedney, 3rd mo., 17th, 1817.

* * Thy letter confirmed me in a thought, at which perhaps I hinted in my last, that, however different in some things we may be,—in age this difference is doubtless great,—yet that there are certain experiences common to each of us, and certain sentiments wherein we are agreed; and that thus it should be, with travellers on the same road, and with the same object in view, need not surprise us. I was so far from thinking thee "too open," that, on the contrary, I really have considered myself benefited by those very passages in thy letter, wherein thou seemed to apprehend some danger of being thus thought. There is, though one can hardly tell why, as thy dear deceased relation, Joseph Gurney Bevan, in a letter once said to me, a "kind of consolation in finding that others are no better off than ourselves," especially if we have imagined very differently; and I truly felt something of this, on discovering, by thy affecting complaints, that I had at least one companion in a way wherein I have been often ready to consider myself alone. * * Well, "be of good cheer," for I believe the Master has called, and is calling thee, and whatever difficulties thou mayest meet with in endeavouring to obey his call, yet as thou art concerned to follow him in simplicity, and as *entire dedication* is thy only aim; as thus thou perseverest, thou shalt ultimately witness that "overcoming" to which so many precious promises are annexed. * *

To continue the Journal:—

3rd mo., 24*th.* My corrupt nature has again suffered violent temptation. Thence has arisen the deepest depression I have felt unable to help myself, and have cried out, "The enemy hath smitten my life down to the very ground." * * During this painful season I fear I have been too ready to complain. What little hope I have had has, I trust, been

directed to Jesus Christ and him crucified. This morning I feel more hopeful, and I earnestly pray that the hand of discipline may bring me into a state of greater holiness and nearness to God. May he condescend yet to purify, help, and guide me.

4th mo., *6th.* Visited two poor lads, who are to be executed for highway robbery. How awful and afflicting do I feel their doom to be, and how inconsistent with the tenor of Christian humanity!

He had long cherished a warm regard for Jane Birkbeck, daughter of John Birkbeck, of Lynn. The bond of a somewhat distant relationship had been strengthened by frequent intercourse.

"We had known each other," to use his own words in his autobiography, "from early childhood; our pursuits were similar, and she, like myself, had become a decided Friend from conviction. In some other respects [our characters] were different. Generous, steadfast, and lively, she had one of those hardier souls, on which weakness is prone to lean, but her feelings were nevertheless warm and acute. She knew and adored her Saviour, and remarkably walked by that rule, 'Whatsoever ye do in word or deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks unto God and the Father by him.'"

Her father was now deceased, and she was residing with her widowed mother, Martha Birkbeck, when she accepted Joseph John Gurney's proposals of marriage in the 5th month of this year. He afterwards writes:—

6th mo., *7th.* How extraordinary is the change wrought in my circumstances, and in my mind, since I last wrote! How beautifully has the atmosphere cleared! and after

some of the deepest conflicts, which I have ever yet gone through, how delightful a calm am I introduced into! How do I desire to be bowed down in thankfulness to the God of my life, for his abundant blessings! How do I desire to receive from him renewed ability to love and serve him with my whole heart! Ah! may I never prefer the creature to the Creator, nor any earthly delight, to the cause of the crucified Jesus!

I left home about the 20th of 4th month; arrived at Runcton very unwell; remained a full fortnight, my mind deeply absorbed by the subject of marriage. Inexpressibly deep were the conflicts, and as great the happiness and peace, which were my allotment during that memorable fortnight; I believe the Lord was with me, and laid his hand upon me, in a remarkable manner. Never have I so experienced and known the reality and the power of the religious principles which I had adopted. After acute suffering, I had to rejoice as in the presence of my God. I hope I shall never forget the sweet peace and genuine happiness I enjoyed at Hunstanton,* in the society of one, who is now likely to be brought into such near union with me. This step seems to have been closely connected with something like a change for the better in my spiritual course; something of a clearer atmosphere and brighter view; more of the liberty of the gospel of Christ; less, I hope, of the intolerable impertinence of self.

He adds,

I think it right to record that my mouth has been several times opened in ministry.

On the third day evening, at Hunstanton, after I had been wonderfully delivered from conflict, I expressed, in dear Rachel's room, two or three sentences of thanksgiving; the next morning in our little meeting in the summer house, I

* The country residence of Martha Birkbeck, on the sea coast of Norfolk.

had something to say on the searching of heart, which we had all gone through, and of my confidence that the Lord would rightly direct us, did we put our whole trust in him. The following first day afternoon, at the Lynn Meeting, I simply said, "I cannot feel satisfied to leave this little gathering, without expressing the affectionate salutation of my heart; grace be with you all that love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity." Whether this is likely to go on, I know not. I feel it will be to my encouragement if it do; but I heartily desire to commit my way unto the Lord. * * My chief fear is, lest I should not, on this head, be sufficiently simple; but may I watch and pray, lest I enter into temptation.

Often did he afterwards recur to his feelings in the Meeting at Lynn above noticed; the first in which he was publicly engaged as a minister of the gospel. "O the delightful flow of quiet happiness," is his exclamation many years later in reference to it, "which continued to be my portion, through the whole of that day. No words can adequately set it forth; and the savour of it is even now fresh in my remembrance. Few such days have I yet spent on earth. Similar feelings," he adds, "though not in so high a degree, followed the further exercise of the gift; and the Lord led me gently forward in his work, giving me to feel the sweetness of obedience to his commands, and of a surrender of soul to his service."

6th mo., 15*th*. Last first day was interesting. * * In the afternoon I had to encourage the faithful to closer dedication. * * It was very difficult. I afterwards rejoiced that I did not bring my burden away. On fifth day I had something on my mind at meeting, but did not feel obliged to express it. Yesterday, before dinner, at the foundry, I fear I was not ready for the service, and have painfully felt the deficiency

since. But I trust, unworthy and unwilling as I am, I shall not be cast off.

8th mo., 15*th*. * * My ministerial gift, which I have felt very precious to me, though it is attended by its conflicts and crosses, has continued to show itself. It is wonderful to me, to find myself actually under such an influence. Truly it is "as the wind that bloweth where it listeth." So far the work has been attended by a deeper feeling than I ever before experienced, of my own unworthiness, incompetency, and nothingness; and of the power, love, and present wisdom of the Almighty. Wonderful, indeed, is his condescension to us and care for us!

From Ackworth, where he was engaged on one of those visits the results of which will be hereafter noticed, he wrote to his sister Hannah Buxton, who, with her husband, was then deeply feeling the recent death of their brother Charles Buxton.*

Ackworth, 8th mo., 1st, 1817.

My dearest Hannah,

* * * For thee, for Fowell, for dear Martha, and for all who have more immediately entered into this deep cloud of suffering, I feel most sincerely, and earnestly desire that it may be the means of bringing you individually into a closer dependence upon Israel's everlasting Shepherd. * * I am deeply convinced that nothing will do, that nothing will stand us in stead, but yielding ourselves wholly to the guidance and protection of our heavenly Master. And when we consider how greatly we have all sinned and come short of the glory of God, may we not acknowledge that his love in shedding his precious blood for us, in redeeming us from sin by the influence of his Spirit, in dealing with us and disciplining us after the tenderest mercy, and in speaking peace to us from time to time, in the midst of the necessary conflicts, and finally in

* See Life of Sir T. F. Buxton, chap. v, p. 66.

preparing for us an everlasting inheritance, where the joys of the righteous are far above all that hath yet entered into our hearts; can we not acknowledge that such love is indeed marvellous; and ought we not individually to enter into solemn covenant to serve him with simplicity and godly sincerity in all our ways? * *

As regards myself, my experience during the last few months has been a little out of the usual course, or at least *my* usual course. I wish to say it in reverence, but I seem to have got out of a thick wood, into a verdant and beautiful plain, where the riches of the Lord's bounty are displaying themselves on every side. Deeply and totally unworthy am I of such a favour. I have indeed cause for thankfulness under the sense which is just now permitted me, of my clouded atmosphere being cleared, of my loins being more girt up; of a light within me, not of my own creating, being commanded to burn a little for my spiritual improvement and consolation. I may add to the list of divine mercies, my near prospect of a settlement in life, after my own heart's desire. Yet I have had my conflicts to pass through as well as my joys. May we all abide in true humiliation, and when the sunshine becomes overcast, (for its being so occasionally is, I doubt not, necessary for us all,) may patience equal to the day be afforded. * * I have several times felt it my indispensable duty to break the silence of our meetings, and the work appears more likely to proceed than to wither away, if I am faithful to its requisitions. But my gift is at present very small; and perhaps thou art little aware how entirely it appears to be out of my power to choose for myself [in it.] I may acknowledge that I find it not only a deeply interesting, but a *purifying* work. That it is one calling for peculiar dedication, and submission, must be fully admitted. I feel that I must wholly resign myself to the Spirit which "bloweth where it listeth," and if it be not given me to know "whence it cometh or whither it goeth," I must be content. * * *

On the 10th of the 9th mo., he was married to Jane Birkbeck. He was scarcely settled at Earl-

ham after the event, before other interests crowded upon him.

TO WILLIAM FORSTER.

Norwich, 9th mo., 30th, 1817.

* * Strange and new things have indeed happened to me; and I am but just finding my footing on the new-found land of married life and ministerial duty. It makes me feel as if I could not understand myself; but I trust that thankfulness is the prevailing feeling of my heart. I know that I have been greatly helped, blessed, and comforted; and I know also, from having passed through depths unknown before, that I have needed the help, the blessing, and the consolation which I have received.

But to proceed to more historical information, I am married, happily and satisfactorily married. The event took place, as was intended, at Wells Meeting, on the 10th of this month. The meeting and the day were I think highly favoured by the owning and cheering presence of the Master whom I desire to serve. The former was very solemn. * * I was constrained by a most sweet influence to supplicate that we might be enabled, on that solemn occasion, to enter into covenant with God, to serve, honour, and obey him in all our ways; and that, in things temporal and things spiritual, in heights and in depths, we might be more and more taught to place an unqualified dependence upon his mercy in the Lord Jesus Christ. We lodged at a nice country inn about seven miles from Hunstanton, and arrived at Earlham to dinner on the following day. The sun shone sweetly upon us, and that dear place received us with open doors in all its brightest colours. There we spent some quiet days of solitude before our friends came in upon us. For the last week we have had the house full, a delightful party of brothers and sisters, my mother-in-law, and some interesting friends of the Bible Society, especially Charles Simeon, of Cambridge, a man eminent for talent, for piety, and for singularity. This is a brief sketch of our external history: with regard to the *esoteric* part of it, it has been deeply interesting, and I think

I may add, affecting to me. The change is so great, so important, the union so close, so heart-tendering.

After alluding to his part in the work of the ministry, he proceeds,—

I believe the baptisms I have had to pass through have been intended to prepare me for this work, but they have not taken the shape of discouragement about the work itself: yet indeed I know and have felt its humiliations. How does it behove me to be watchful and dedicated to the Lord's will. I do indeed feel the awfulness of my profession.

The following are from his Journal.

9th mo., 15*th.* [After briefly describing his marriage]—and now I may record the thankfulness I have felt, and do feel, to the Author of every blessing, for the marvellous manner in which he has first suffered my faith to be tried, and then delivered me from conflict, and set my foot upon the rock. In my wife he has been pleased to bestow upon me a most precious treasure, exactly suited to my need, and I feel his presiding wing mercifully extended over us.

9th mo., 23*rd.* It has been our Quarterly Meeting. The meeting for worship was highly favoured by the divine presence. It was upon me to pray at considerable length, and under a very solemn influence, which continued after my prayer was finished. What a blessing,—how high a privilege is the spirit of prayer!

FROM JONATHAN HUTCHINSON.

Gedney, 9th mo., 29th, 1817.

* * With an affection and a solicitude which are as foreign to mere compliment as *it* is a stranger to them, I now congratulate you on a union which has so much of mind in it, as well as of outward advantages, as to promise the greatest share of temporal felicity. And yet I would apprize you that even

these satisfactions and privileges should be enjoyed in reference and subordination to the Giver of "every good and perfect gift;" that they ought frequently to be offered in sacrifice at his footstool; and that whilst you admit no inferior competitor into your hearts, he, the Creator of the heart, must reign unrivalled there. I would also apprize you, that, without any fault of ours, the sweetest, the most innocent earthly enjoyment, is liable to frequent and unexpected interruptions. In this *ordeal*, this prison of the soul, many things combine against our present happiness. The war of elements, the more fierce and cruel war of men's passions, prejudices, and interests, all aggravated by the malice of an unwearied and potent enemy, will one or other of them be frequently reminding the most prosperous and the most happy that this world affords not the ultimate rest of an immortal spirit,—that earth is not its final home. Of these things, beloved pair, though you knew them before, I have thought it might not be amiss, even in the zenith of your allowable enjoyment, to put you again in remembrance. But there is another thing, which perhaps you may not so readily admit, or so easily credit, but which I think it may be at least safe for me to communicate, and that is a belief which has attended me, particularly since your marriage, that the way cast up for you is rather an arduous than an easy one; and whilst I hope it will have many roses in it, I am apprehensive it will also have its thorns;—amidst other causes, on this especial and scriptural ground, that "they who will live godly in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution;"—for though racks and other torments of the body are, for the present, excluded our favoured land, yet there remain in it, in pretty full play, two small but powerful engines of mental disquietude, the tongue and the pen. The former of these, in certain heads, and under a certain direction, is strongly characterized by the Psalmist and the apostle James; and the latter, as perhaps some of us think, is not, when serving the same Master, either less mischievous or poignant.

Sixth day morning, 10*th mo.*, 10*th.* Yesterday was a happy day. In the morning meeting I believed it my duty to pray in the following words:—

"We reverently thank thee, O Lord God Almighty, * * because thou art healing all our diseases, forgiving all our iniquities; because thou art redeeming our life from destruction, and crowning us with loving kindness and tender mercies. We beseech thee, O Lord, so to impress upon our spirits, a sense of thine abundant loving kindness in Christ Jesus, that we may be constrained by his love, to enter in at the strait gate; to walk in the narrow way; to take up our daily cross in simplicity and godly sincerity; and to follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth. Thus, O Lord, though we are indeed unworthy in thy sight, suffer thine own works to praise thee; and whilst thou art making us sensible that of ourselves we can do nothing, enable us to acknowledge, that great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty, just and true are all thy ways, thou King of Saints."

I felt it a privilege thus to be brought to the sense, and to the expression of thanksgiving; but I have since felt in the midst of our large and pleasant party, and abounding luxuries, and indolent tendencies, a fear lest the narrow path should be forgotten. May this never be the case. I do feel a genuine desire that all may be kept in true and right order, by the Spirit and power of my Lord and Master.

TO JONATHAN HUTCHINSON.

Norwich, 10th mo., 11th, 1817.

How is the Christian's faith, at times, permitted to be tried, even to a hair's breadth, and after these seasons of probation, how wonderfully is relief afforded, when perhaps least expected, from the presence of the Lord! I am writing to one who knows far more of these things than I do, but I believe thou mayest receive me, if thou wilt, as a fellow traveller in suffering, as well as in rejoicing. To open my mouth in public ministry, is a duty which I have had deep reason to believe has been required at my hands not unfrequently. It has seemed to me impossible to do otherwise, consistently with my own peace, than to go straight forward in it, without much looking to the judgment of others. What others think of me

I know not, but I heartily desire to live more simply in this and everything else, to the Lord, and not to man.

Towards the close of the year, in company with his wife, his brother Samuel Gurney, his brother and sister Buxton and Francis and Richenda Cunningham, he took a short tour upon the continent of Europe, their principal objects being to establish a Branch Bible Society in Paris, and to procure information as to the systems of prison discipline adopted in the jails of Antwerp and Ghent. In crossing over to Calais they were surrounded by a dense fog, in which they drifted about for two days and nights, and narrowly escaped running the vessel ashore. Joseph John Gurney's own account of this journey has not been preserved, but the reader will find several interesting details respecting it, in the life of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton.* Having accomplished their objects, they returned home after an absence of about a month.

TO HIS SISTER-IN-LAW ELIZABETH GURNEY.

Norwich, 12th mo., 9th, 1817.

* * We arrived late on seventh day evening. A hearty welcome, and a warm, bright house awaited us; dear Catherine and Priscilla looking charmingly, and all the household in good order. What a blessing is there in such an arrival at home!

* * It was very comfortable yesterday to find ourselves once more seated in Goat Lane.† Our morning meeting was solemn. The afternoon meeting was also comfortable, and a satisfactory reading at Earlham, and cheerful evening over the great parlour fire, concluded the day. Yesterday brought the

* See Life of Sir T. F. Buxton, chap. v.

† One of the Meeting-houses of Friends, in Norwich.

usual round of banking, writing, reading, &c. How pleasant is the settlement into regular domestic life!

My wife and I spend our evenings alone together. I do not think our dear sisters will be the least interruption to us. * *

The occasions on which he felt called to speak as a minister were now more frequent, "though often," as he says,* "attended with unusual conflict, and much in the cross and fear." "How vain," he remarks in another place,† "would be my own efforts to minister without the command!"

Early in the year 1818, private business called him to London. His sister Elizabeth Fry had previously entered upon her important labours for the benefit of the prisoners in Newgate, and for the improvement of prison discipline generally. Joseph John Gurney warmly entered into his sister's views, accompanied her to the Committee of the House of Commons on the occasion of her giving her evidence, and afterwards to Lord Sidmouth, then Secretary of State for the Home Department.‡ On his return, he thus briefly alludes to his visit.

3*d mo.*, 9*th*, 1818. The [last] fortnight has been a very interesting one. After two busy days of preparation, we left home on fourth day, (the 25th ult.) by day coach, and arrived that night at Upton. * *

Sixth day, to London, to the Committee of the House of Commons, with dear Elizabeth; afterwards to dine with W. Smith, M. P., where we met Wilberforce and Sir S. Romilly. A very interesting time.

* Journal under date 2nd mo., 1st, 1818.

† Under date 2nd mo., 11th, 1818.

‡ See Life of Elizabeth Fry, vol. i, p. 292—313.

Seventh day, breakfasted with William Smith; corrected my sister's evidence; returned with her in the evening to Upton.

First day began in lowness, followed by deep exercise of spirit, and a great flow in the ministry at Plaistow: in the morning, on giving up the world to come to Christ; "who hath believed our report?" &c., with prayer for the different states in the meeting: in the afternoon, comfort and advice to the discouraged, and prayer for them. * *

Second day, interesting visit to Newgate; solemn meeting there. * *

Third day with my sister to Lord Sidmouth.

Fourth day, breakfasted with Wilberforce; met Lord Rocksavage. * *

His visit to London, and the pamphlet on Prison Discipline, soon afterwards published by his brother-in-law, Thomas Fowell Buxton, tended to deepen in his own mind a sense of the importance of that subject; and an opportunity soon occurred for endeavouring to influence the authorities at Norwich to some exertion respecting it. The Mayor and Corporation, attended by the Sheriffs and other citizens, whilst perambulating the boundaries of the county of the city, were, by his desire, invited to partake of refreshment in passing by the hall at Earlham. Besides those immediately connected with the magistracy, many others assembled, the whole company consisting of about 800 persons. On this occasion, Joseph John Gurney, in an address to the Mayor and Corporation, urged the erection of a new jail, and its establishment on better principles, with a view to the employment of the prisoners and the improvement of their morals;

enforcing his appeal by a reference to the extraordinary change that had then recently taken place in Newgate through the exertions of a committee of ladies, and concluding by offering a donation of £100 towards the object. The effort was not without fruit, though the result was not immediately apparent.

In the spring of 1818, a dissolution of Parliament took place, which was followed by a general election. Upon religious and philanthropic grounds he had long desired to see his brother-in-law, Thomas Fowell Buxton, in Parliament, and now rejoiced with him in his success at Weymouth. His letter to him on the occasion, which is already before the public,* is sufficiently expressive of the hopes which he indulged as to his parliamentary career, hopes not of political distinction, but of the powerful and successful advocacy of the cause of righteousness and love. As regarded himself, he was called into a different sphere. His advocacy of this cause was to be elsewhere than in the House of Commons. Much, however, as he disliked the strife of politics, he was involved in some effort at the election at Norwich, in consequence of the illness of a near relative, who was one of the candidates. "It was my endeavour," he writes in his Journal, "not to yield myself up to the interests of the election, but being called upon, I made one speech to the electors, in which I communicated my whole mind on the subject before us, and endeavoured to raise their minds to something higher than mere politics.

* See Life of Sir T. F. Buxton, chap. vi, p. 78.

The whole effect," he adds, "has been rather lowering to the best things." "When we look, on the one hand," is his subsequent reflection in the Autobiography, in allusion to this incident, "to the party spirit, the dissipation, and corruption which attend these political strifes, and, on the other hand, to the meekness, quietness, impartiality, and purity, which ought to mark the character of Christians, we can scarcely avoid the conclusion that the less we have to do with such affairs the better; at the same time we are not to forget our character as citizens of the state, and ought neither to despise our rights, nor neglect our duties in that capacity. 'Let all things be done decently and in order.'"

It was in the sixth month of this year, that the Monthly Meeting of Friends in Norwich recognized him as a Minister of the Gospel, called to the work by the Great Head of the Church. Referring to this and to his previous attendance of the Yearly Meeting in London, he writes in his Journal:—

6th mo., 20*th.* * * The Yearly Meeting was exceedingly interesting, and, in most respects, quite satisfactory. To me it was a period of much religious exercise; I had frequently to speak, and both to open and conclude the Yearly Meeting in supplication. I met with much kind encouragement and some useful warnings. * * On fifth day, the 11th, at our Monthly Meeting, I was acknowledged a minister; much was felt, and the unity of Friends appeared complete. This has been a consolation to me. I feel the necessity of being very, very watchful, that my practice may not linger behind my high profession.

First day morning, [6*th mo.*, 21*st.*] I feel a good deal at sitting [as a minister] in the gallery, not being to my own

apprehension, adequately spiritual; but I believe help will be afforded. May I be enabled to enter afresh into covenant with my Redeemer, to renounce the whole spirit of the world, and to serve him faithfully!

Night. I feel thankful for the day's experience. In the afternoon I uttered a few sentences in supplication; the first time of opening my mouth in ministry, in my new situation. It has afforded me relief.

CHAPTER VIII.

1818—1819. ÆT. 31.

EARLHAM; FAMILY MEETINGS; POSITION IN BUSINESS AND AS A CHRISTIAN MINISTER; JOURNEY TO SCOTLAND AND THE NORTH OF ENGLAND WITH HIS SISTER ELIZABETH FRY; EDINBURGH; GLASGOW; FIRST "PUBLIC MEETING;" VISIT TO THE EARL OF DERBY AT KNOWSLEY; PUBLISHES HIS FIRST BOOK; "NOTES UPON PRISONS;" LETTERS FROM WILLIAM WILBERFORCE; CORRESPONDENCE WITH EDWARD HARBORD; EXERTIONS TO SAVE THREE PRISONERS; BIRTH OF HIS SON.

AFTER his marriage Joseph John Gurney continued at Earlham, and the hall where his father had resided, and in which he had himself lived from his birth, may be henceforth regarded as his settled residence. To this place, "with its lovely lawn, nested among large trees," possessing within itself those ample accommodations which it was his enjoyment to share with his friends, and combining a convenient proximity to a large and important city, with great quietness and retirement, he was strongly attached. And they who knew him there can still picture him in his study among his books; or in his drawing room amongst his friends, his countenance beaming with love and intelligence, the life of the whole circle; or in his garden amongst his flowers with his Greek Testament in his hand, still drawing from the books "of nature and of grace" that lay open before him, new motives to raise the heart to the Author of all his blessings.

Placed by circumstances, though not the elder brother, in the position which his father had occupied in Norfolk, as master of Earlham and a partner in the Bank, it was his delight as far as possible, to continue Earlham as the family house. Even after his marriage, his sisters Catherine, Rachel, and Priscilla continued to live with him, occupying their own apartments; and it was the custom of the other members of the family frequently to meet there as under a common roof. "How often," (is his characteristic exclamation,) "has the large family circle assembled there; and how often have we found occasion when so collected to acknowledge the loving kindness of the Shepherd of Israel!" Up to the period of his brother John's decease, and for some time afterwards, it was the habit of his brothers and himself, with their brothers-in-law Thomas Fowell Buxton and Samuel Hoare, to improve these occasions by a mutual impartial examination of their conduct, in which each, with brotherly openness, stated what he conceived to be the others' faults. Happy indeed was such an intercourse between such minds. "It has inspired me," remarks Joseph John Gurney, in allusion to it on one occasion,* (and his Journal contains many similar allusions,) "with a fresh desire to be bold, resolute, honest, straightforward."

Beside this, to him, delightful band of brothers and sisters, his house was, as must have been already apparent to the reader, freely opened to a large circle Whilst every year strengthened his conviction of the soundness and importance of the Christian princi-

* Journal, under date 10th mo., 25th, 1812.

ples which he professed, he rejoiced in "that liberty wherewith Christ" had made him "free" to embrace as brethren all those in whom he thought he could discern traces of his heavenly image. His natural character doubtless led him to dwell rather on the points of union than of difference with those around him. With his expansive feelings, it was to him peculiarly painful to be separated in outward religious fellowship from some whom he much loved, from many whom he highly valued, and from the great bulk of his fellow professors of the Christian name. Nothing, it may be said with truth, but a deep sense of duty, an absolute necessity laid upon him, would have reconciled him to such a separation. It is in this point of view that his decision is entitled to the greater weight; and, under his circumstances, the degree in which his natural sensitiveness, almost amounting to timidity, was gradually overcome, the courage and firmness with which he was, on various occasions, enabled to act out his convictions, were not the least striking evidences of the work of divine grace upon his heart.

Whatever may be the advantages of smaller circles, it may be a question whether these advantages have not been sometimes overrated. To the tender plant they are often highly serviceable, if not absolutely essential. But are there not instances in which, if there has been less to obstruct the formation of the character, there has been, on the other hand, less to develope and invigorate it, where, instead of growing up to a healthful maturity, it has been either permanently crippled, or what is equally disastrous, permanently deformed; one limb or member growing out of its due place or

proportion, to the prejudice of the rest. They who have been accustomed always to associate with those of similar opinions, and who are acquainted only with the habits and modes of thought of their own particular circles, are naturally but ill prepared to understand and sympathize with the difficulties of others. That which is known is, in far too many cases, all that exists, to them that know nothing beyond. Ignorance is thus apt to beget exclusiveness, and the mind and the heart become contracted together. And, even assuming the educational opinions of such individuals to be strictly correct, it may well be doubted whether the discipline, or rather the absence of discipline, through which these opinions have been imbibed, has led them to so deep an understanding and heartfelt an appreciation of them as he possesses who has "bought the truth" at the price of much inward and outward conflict, and has had to contest, as it were, every inch of the ground on which he stands.

The reader has now to view Joseph John Gurney not only in the varied relations of private life, but in the important character of a Christian minister. The work of the ministry of the gospel is one of the most serious and responsible in which man can be engaged. In Joseph John Gurney's mind the sense of its importance was not diminished by the peculiarity of his position. He was well aware that it was not his learning or his talents that had qualified him for such a service. He had received no ordination from human authority, nor any "call" or appointment from the congregation. The "acknowledgment" of his friends, was simply a *recognition* of the *gift* which both he and they felt to be

altogether dependent upon the free and unrestrained mercy of the glorified Head of the Church, bestowed through the agency of that Spirit who "divideth severally to every man as he will," and for the due exercise of which the steward entrusted with it must give a strict account. His course of life bears witness to the earnestness of his desire to be found faithful in this stewardship. His labours were extensive and abundant; yet he did not esteem the duties in which he became on this account involved, incompatible with those of his ordinary calling. And whilst his secular occupations led him into a closer intercourse with others, and made him better acquainted with the difficulties and conflicts of ordinary life, thereby enlarging his heart to a more extended sympathy with those among whom he was called to labour, they tended at the same time to refresh and invigorate his mind and affections, by the very diversion of them from the contemplative to the more practical parts of religion. As a man of business he was exact and methodical. Promptness and dispatch equally characterized him. It was his endeavour, through that assistance without which he felt himself weak even in these things, to act out the scriptural maxim, "whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might." Whilst this strikingly marked his conduct in the ordinary duties of business, it became especially apparent in times of difficulty and danger. And on more than one occasion of great commercial distress and anxiety, the quiet firmness and effective decision which he was enabled to evince, afforded practical evidence, of no mean value, of the reality and power of his Christian principles. Deeply was he im-

pressed with the responsibilities of his position. Deeply did he feel that to perform duties so various as those of a man of business, and of a Christian minister, requires (may it not be said) a double portion of divine wisdom and grace. But in his example, as in that of many others, there is encouraging evidence, that the right combination of these services, so far from tending to dim the lustre of the Christian's armour, serves rather to brighten his weapons, and to nerve his limbs the more effectively to wield them. His comparative affluence doubtless materially facilitated the carrying out of his views, and relieved him from those corroding cares which are so apt to absorb or wear down the mind; but it placed him, at the same time, within the reach of other and not less dangerous temptations. Solemn indeed is the language, "How hardly shall they that have riches, enter into the kingdom of heaven!" And whilst the assurance that "with God it is possible," ought to prevent any from being dismayed, it should never be forgotten that the power of divine grace is peculiarly exemplified in the character of those who, amidst the allurements of ease and pleasure, and the temptations of worldly ambition, have been enabled, through unmerited mercy, "to fight the good fight of faith, and to lay hold on eternal life."

In the 8th and 9th months of this year, (1818,) in company with his wife, his sister Elizabeth Fry, and one of her daughters, he took a journey into Scotland, visiting many of the prisons both there and in the north of England, besides attending many of the meetings of Friends. On this occasion, in conformity with the Christian order established

in the Society of Friends, he was furnished with a minute or testimonial expressing the concurrence of the Friends of his own "Monthly Meeting" in his prospects of religious service. They proceeded through Darlington and Newcastle to Edinburgh and Dundee, and thence by Montrose to Aberdeen, where they attended the General Meeting of Friends in Scotland. Returning by way of Perth, after having visited the families of Friends at Kilmuck, the first service of this kind in which he was engaged, and which he describes as "humbling and difficult," —they proceeded to Edinburgh, and thence to Glasgow, where, amidst a pressure of other duties, he held his first "public meeting." After attending the meetings of Friends in Cumberland and at Kendal, they came to Liverpool, from which place they visited the Earl of Derby and his family at Knowsley Park. Proceeding homeward by way of York, they arrived at Earlham in the early part of the 10th month. The particulars of this journey are already so fully before the public in the Memoirs of Elizabeth Fry,* and through the work upon prisons published by Joseph John Gurney, that it seems unnecessary to give more than the following extracts from his Journal.

Stonehaven, 8th mo., 28th, 1818. Our day's journey has been remarkably agreeable. We crossed the ferry to Dundee after an early breakfast; a very pleasant sail of two miles; a fresh gale blowing, and the morning delightful. The mouth of the Tay makes a noble harbour, and Dundee is a place of much trade; the number of its inhabitants 35,000. The return for salmon there is £100,000 per annum, and they manufac-

*Memoirs of Elizabeth Fry, vol. i, p. 328

ture brown linen in great quantities. We called upon two of the magistrates. One of them showed us the jail, which like other Scotch jails, is quite defective. It contains no criminals at this time. It is a rare thing to have a criminal in this jail, which serves not only for this populous town, but for a large district of the county of Forfar. The scarcity of crime in Scotland, which is very striking to an English observer, must be attributed to the early and religious education of the whole people. The population appears in a healthy state of morals. Would it were so with us!

The road hither from Dundee by Aberbrothock, or Arbroath, Montrose, and Bervie, runs along the coast of Forfar, and presents a delightful variety of sea views. The towns are pleasant and prettily situated. At Arbroath we visited the jail, very dirty, though not an old building, and with the usual accommodations of Scotch jails, and nothing more. *Not a single criminal in it.*

At Montrose we were shown the prison by Provost Barclay, a distant relation of the Ury family, strongly resembling some of the Barclays in person. Like every other Scotchman in authority whom we have yet met with, he was extremely civil. There is a real readiness to serve amongst the Scotch, and they often expect no pay for many of the little things with which they furnish us.

The drive between Montrose and Bervie is beautiful, especially on account of the sea views, and the little villages of Johnshaven and Gordon situated at the foot of lofty hills, and on the rocky shore of the sea, quite sheltered from the world but apparently populous. There is also a highly beautiful deep and richly wooded ravine, through which a mountain stream runs over the dark rocks into the sea, in one place forming a cataract seventy or eighty feet in height. There is nothing remarkable between the little town of Bervie and Stonehaven, except the approach down the side of a steep hill to the latter place, which is beautifully situated round a natural basin of the sea.

9th mo., 5th. We left Perth at noon and were three hours on our road to Kinross. Our way lay through some beautiful

scenery. On leaving Perth for Edinburgh, the traveller ascends a hill from which there is a delightful view of the town, the bridge, the mountains, and the river Tay. The hill called Kinnoul on the right of the town is particularly beautiful, finely cultivated, and adorned with pretty white houses on one side, and, on the other, a precipitous barren rock. About eight miles from Perth we came to the beautiful rocky and wooded glen of Nairn through which the road winds for about a mile. On our approach to Kinross we had a fine view of Lochleven, and the old castle where Queen Mary was confined. The jail of Kinross, and a dinner upon Lochleven trout, detained us not an hour, and we reached the North Queen's Ferry by half-past six, we crossed the Firth in about an hour, the wind being contrary, but the evening delightful, and did not reach our hospitable quarters [at Alexander Cruickshank's, Edinburgh] before half-past ten.

9th mo., *12th.* First, second, and part of third day were spent at Edinburgh. Second day was one of great labour and religious exercise. We spent an hour pleasantly at the "deaf and dumb asylum," where the interesting company of intelligent children struck us very much. There is a *naiveté* and cleverness about them which is delightful. They are excellently taught to read, write, cypher, &c.; and had evidently received good religious instruction. Here we were met by Erskine of Mar, a generous old man, a great supporter of public charities and very cordial to us. Ten or eleven family visits occupied the remainder of the day. In the evening returned to supper at Alexander Cruickshank's, where we were met by John Wigham, jun., Thomas Allan, Leonard Horner, &c., and having got well through the labours of the day, we passed the first watch of the night very pleasantly together. On third day morning a fine party collected at breakfast, Leonard Horner, Archibald Constable and family, my friend Andrew Hamilton, Henderson, an active dissenting minister, Sir George and Lady Grey, with their son and daughter. I very much enjoyed their society, and before we parted my dear sister Fry was solemnly engaged in prayer.

First day morning, [*9th mo.*, 14*th.*] In allusion to the public meeting at Glasgow held the preceding fifth day. The class who met us were of the thinking, and rather superior kind. We were both engaged in preaching and in prayer. My text was, "Search the Scriptures, for they are they which testify of me." It was a solemn, quiet, and I trust edifying time; and there seemed much openness and cordiality amongst the people. * * I may truly say that this public meeting, and many other occasions since I left home, have been abundantly sufficient to convince me how near the Lord is to help us if we place our trust in him. I have, from time to time, been made sensible of my own entire poverty; but have never been disappointed when I have gone, with full purpose of heart, to the only true source of help. * * [Last] fifth day was the anniversary of my marriage, and was also marked by my first public meeting. On looking back upon the past twelve months, I have indeed much cause for thankfulness. How have I been blessed and comforted in [my] union; and though we have met with one affliction,* how much cause have I, even for this, to praise him who has thus been mercifully with us, both in prosperity and adversity, in heights and in depths. My gift in the ministry has been very much enlarged, and I humbly trust there may have been some spiritual progress accompanying it; yet on looking into myself impartially, I seem to find nothing but cause for repentance. How often am I brought to feel the necessity of leaving that which is behind, and of clinging to him who can save!

9th mo., 19*th* [Referring to the decease of a devoted servant of Christ.] The account we heard of her mental sufferings in her last days, was affecting; and shows that even the most devoted of the Lord's servants are, at times, permitted to know a deep cloud when they pass through the valley of the shadow of death. Too much stress ought not to be laid on death-bed scenes, nor ought the expectation to be too much fixed on sunshine in that awful hour; though it is sometimes my prayer, that sunshine may be my portion in it.

* In allusion to his wife's confinement, and the death of the infant.

9th mo., 26th. * * We have more than once been cheered in the course of this journey by meeting with dear friends green in old age, alive in the truth, and evidently fast ripening for the garner. Such instances strongly confirm the truth of religion, and, as I think, more particularly so, when they are attended by a decay of intellectual powers. * *

——— breakfasted with us, and afterwards met us at the prison, and to dinner. I was much pleased with him. He is evidently a man of remarkable amiability, uncommon cultivation, and very considerable talent. His company and conversation afforded me real pleasure; but it grieved me to think that he never attends any place of worship, and is probably not thoroughly convinced of Christianity. Such characters may do much harm. Here is a man, presenting many charms, with a life of excellent morals, and yet not publicly professing Christianity, and perhaps, not believing in it. There may be, and I believe there is, a deception of the enemy in this pleasant picture!

Referring to their visit at Knowsley, Joseph John Gurney writes:—

Lord and Lady Derby, with others of the family, met us at the door, and received us most heartily. Lord Derby is an elderly man, remarkably kind and attentive, and without anything of manner to make one feel his rank. Lady Derby is somewhat younger; a very interesting and pleasing woman; her mind much too great for affectation or pride; her disinterestedness conspicuous in the little occurrences of the day; and her conversation attractive from the force of her mind, which is evidently under the power of religion. She lost her only son about a year ago; a chastisement which appears to have had much effect upon her. They were surrounded by a large patriarchal family party, consisting chiefly of the Stanleys, and Hornbys. The most conspicuous individuals were Lord Stanley, his daughter Charlotte, and his son Edward;* Lady Mary, Lady Derby's only remaining child; the mother of the Hornbys, Lord Derby's sister;

* The present Earl.

surrounded by several pleasing daughters, besides sons and sons' wives. There were also some agreeable guests in the house; the whole party about thirty-five in number, exclusive of many children. I have seldom, if ever, seen so much love and harmony prevailing without any form, over a large family circle. Lord and Lady Derby took a walk with us before dinner, and showed us the pictures and the house. The afternoon and evening were agreeably spent in not trifling conversation. A crowd thronged around my sister, whose tales were thoroughly relished. I passed part of the evening in a very interesting conversation with Lady Derby on religious subjects. * * Before breakfast next morning, the ladies Mary and Charlotte took us in the carriage to see their girls' schools, which are in excellent order. They seem to take great pains with their poor neighbours. Lord Derby gives prizes annually to those of his cottagers who most excel in neatness, propriety, &c. After breakfast we ventured to propose that the whole family might be assembled. My dear sister had felt a strong concern for this object, and I was ready to bear her burthen with her. The proposal was readily acceded to, and nearly the whole party, including the servants, about seventy persons in all, assembled in the dining room. After a short pause, I began by reading the third chapter of John. The religious opportunity which followed lasted nearly an hour, and was truly solemn. I have scarcely ever known a time of such apparent baptism of the Spirit. My sister prayed almost as soon as I had concluded reading; much power attending her. I afterwards felt unusual liberty in preaching the gospel to this interesting party, from one of the verses we had been reading; "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness," &c. My sister afterwards spoke, and I was enabled to pray in conclusion. We may thankfully acknowledge that our blessed Master was pleased on this occasion to send us "help from the sanctuary." Almost all present, both old and young, appeared to be brought to tears; some to many tears. I felt thankful for having so favoured an opportunity of plainly declaring the truths of Christianity to the family of a great nobleman, and as the ground was evidently pre-

pared, I trust the seed did not fall into it in vain. I think we read of circumstances very much resembling this visit, in the journals of the earliest Friends. May all the praise be attributed where alone it is due! We left Knowsley about twelve o'clock on sixth day morning, and dined at Warrington with two dear old friends, John and Elizabeth Bludwick. They seemed to be ripe for eternity! With them also we were sweetly engaged in waiting and prayer.*

10*th mo.*, 5*th.* Fourth day [at York] was devoted to the Quarterly Meeting, which was large, but not so large as I expected. The day was very interesting to me. The meeting for worship was marked principally by the ministry of Benjamin White, from America, and Ann Alexander. The meeting for business appeared to me remarkably well conducted. The afternoon sitting was chiefly taken up by considering the best mode of distributing and using the Yearly Meeting's address on the subject of the religious instruction of children. It was peculiarly gratifying to me to find in this Quarterly Meeting so great an unanimity, and such an uncommon weight of exercise on this great point of religious instruction. It was agreed that a committee of men and women Friends should be appointed in each of the Monthly Meetings to read the address, and communicate advice on the subject, in the families of Friends. * *

On fifth day morning, 10th mo., 1st. we all breakfasted at Samuel Tuke's, where a large party of Friends and others met us, including J. Graham, a very active evangelical clergyman. He seemed much satisfied with a religious opportunity, which took place before we parted. [The meeting for worship, which followed,] was largely attended, principally by Friends. The ministry lay entirely on my dear sister, Jonathan Hutchin-

* In his autobiography, Joseph John Gurney adds, "I afterwards carried on a correspondence with Lady Derby, and some of the young people. I had recommended their searching out texts on particular subjects in the Bible, as a useful exercise. This became their regular weekly practice; and, at the close of the week, some one of the party was appointed judge of the selection, and expressed his decision in writing, in the form of a brief essay."

son, and myself; and I think that very many were truly baptized that day into one body. It was a great consolation after our heart sinkings, and low feelings, in Scotland and Cumberland, to be brought amongst so many, who appeared settled and established in the blessed truth. After my sister had been engaged very beautifully in supplication, Jonathan Hutchinson preached in a peculiarly touching manner, on the case of those who had at one time been enabled to testify, "Behold the Lamb of God," and were afterwards induced to inquire "Is this the Christ, or look we for another?"—also of those who were *almost* persuaded to be Christians. After he sat down I felt much liberty in speaking on the apostle's exhortation: "I beseech you therefore, brethren, that ye walk worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called." It was a time of real feeling, and love seemed to flow like a river. It was truly comforting, thus to finish our course with the warm sympathy and concurrence of our friends. We left York immediately after the meeting, and proceeded to the Archbishop's palace. There we were kindly received by the Archbishop, and Lady Ann Vernon, his wife, with their son and daughter. He is a fine dignified looking man, and very polite. He entered cordially into the prison cause, and Lady Ann is to preside over the York ladies' committee.

We arrived at Lynn after a comfortable and quiet journey, on seventh day, the 3d. There I left my sister and my dear wife, and reached Earlham to breakfast yesterday morning. I feel like a vessel which has been filled, but is now empty; quiet and not uncomfortable, thankful in my small measure for the help and preservation experienced in the course of our long travel, and desirous to resume my home duties with vigour, as "unto the Lord, and not unto men."

10*th mo.*, 17*th*. This week our party [has been] almost entirely confined to our own family. I have felt it no small privilege thus to renew my old affection for my brothers and sisters, and to find these affections living with unabated force. I am indeed remarkably and most undeservedly favoured by a gracious Master and Saviour; a spiritual course open before me in a manner which at one time I little expected, and to

which I was altogether a stranger, and old fears and sorrows, best known to myself, completely done away. "O for a closer walk with God."

11*th mo.*, 8*th.* To Hunstanton on second day; my ride in part, at least, profitable by reading and reflection. I thought very intently for some time on the subject of religious instruction—perhaps the seed of a future pamphlet. Whilst there, I wrote a good quantity in my prison book. Fifth day; Lynn meeting; a comfortable time, after much feeling of lowness. I went to meeting impressed with the sad account of Sir Samuel Romilly's death, and preached on the evils of the world, and on the only remedy. I afterwards prayed for all in affliction, and particularly for the king and queen, in which I felt much satisfaction. Home on sixth day: delightful to be there again; Fowell, Hannah, and Priscilla, our almost constant companions. I felt burthened this morning with business, but am now very much relieved. May grace govern me through the day. Second day morning; I may acknowledge that this was in a degree, my case yesterday, for I was drawn out of *cares* into *duties* to my own consolation.

TO JONATHAN HUTCHINSON.

Earlham, 12th mo., 3rd, 1818.

* * It is now more than two months since we reached home, and very swift and full has been the stream which during that period has been carrying us along. Almost the first object was the Bible Society, and a large meeting, not only of our own family, but of several religious and agreeable guests at Earlham. This was attended by some exertion, but the scene passed off very pleasantly, not without real edification. * * Amongst our guests was the Countess of G———, a lady who, through many sufferings, internal and external, has been brought to a deep, and at length, a consoling sense of religion. Our large party has been for some time dispersed, except that Fowell Buxton and his wife are living for a few months at Earlham lodge—a house which was occupied when thou wast last here by Charles Brereton. I wish thou knew something of Fowell. He has one of those noble and excelling minds with which it is very useful and stimulating to come

into contact. He is rather a singular instance of a person going into parliament for the simple purpose of doing as much good as he can. * *

Notwithstanding all my weaknesses, I have frequently felt the privilege of being united in the bonds of love with many righteous servants; and more especially have I prized my connexion with our own Society; which though it may be in a very low state, certainly contains much substantial worth, and does not yet fail in supplying our minds with a home, in which we are often permitted to experience true rest. Whether it be declining or not, I know not—I hope the contrary,—in most parts of the kingdom. With *us* certainly, there does not at present, appear a very bright prospect; our young people are so estranged from the simplicity which ought to distinguish them, and seem to have so little of an ear open, that one hardly sees what is to become of us, when the support of our church will come to depend externally upon this rising generation. But let us not encourage a shortness of faith. "The husbandman waiteth for the precious fruit of the earth, and hath long patience for it, until he receive the early and the latter rain." This is a good example for Christian ministers, who are sometimes led to suppose, by external appearance, that their labour of love is nothing availing.

"On my return home," he writes in his Autobiography, after alluding to his northern journey, "I published my *first book*,—Notes of a Visit made to some of the Prisons of Scotland, and the North of England, in company with Elizabeth Fry, with some general remarks on the subject of prison discipline. Buxton had published his extraordinary pamphlet on prison discipline the year before, which had met with a warm and very general reception; my little work was regarded in the light of a supplement to his, and three thousand copies of it were sold. I trust it might be useful in calling the further attention of the public to a

subject of much practical importance, but some of the local managers of the prisons whom I had not spared, were angry enough. This was of little consequence, and I believe in some cases, they were shamed into reformation."*

2nd mo., *1st*, 1819. I have been troubled about the Norwich jail, but having done what I could, I must leave it to Him, in whose hands are the hearts of all men. The idea of being the object of a sort of sour grumbling feeling with some of my fellow citizens, is somewhat depressing; but I desire afresh to live near the source of quietude and true peace, that I may be clothed, far more than I am, in the righteousness of Christ.

TO HIS SISTER ELIZABETH FRY.

Earlham, 1st mo., 19th, 1819.

My dearest Betsy,

"He that giveth, let him do it with simplicity." In the desire to fulfil this precept, I may state that I have, on the settlement of my accounts, £500 to spare; and after some consideration, believe it my duty to apply it to the oiling of thy wheels. I therefore put it into Samuel's hands, to whom thou mayest apply for the money, as wanted. My intention is, that it should be a little stock in hand, to meet thy private and personal exigencies. My condition is, that thou wilt not say a word about it to any one. Of course I take no refusal, and can admit but very little gratitude. I finished correcting my press last fifth day, and am wishing to know whether the book is published. I have ordered copies to John Smith, Wilberforce, and the Derby family.

In haste, thy very affectionate Brother,

J. J. Gurney.

P.S.—I shall consider myself very ill used, if thou art ever detected in walking, when it is better for thy health that thou shouldst ride, or if thou art ever denying thyself any of the comforts of life, which are needful for thee.

* An edition in 8vo. was published in 1847, uniform with Joseph John Gurney's other works.

FROM WILLIAM WILBERFORCE,

(who had, three days before, presented a petition from the Society of Friends, against the severe enactment of the penal code.*)

London, February 12th, 1819.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Your affectionate letter, just now perused, calls forth a feeling which must have vent.

The subject of our criminal laws, (more especially as it regards capital punishments,) has long occupied my mind, and I own, I think, the just principles on that subject are clearly ascertained. But [on presenting the petition] I sincerely, as well as explicitly, disclaimed all idea of bringing any proposition forward myself; and I called on the House, not without a previous anticipation that Sir James Mackintosh would answer the summons. He has many of the requisites for such a task; though it is to be regretted that he is so much a party man. I believe *we* never have discussed that question of party. I own I have a strong sense that when pushed to any extent, (for of course occasional co-operation and concert, among those who concur in sentiment, is advisable and even necessary;) the political, and not less the moral evils of party, are very great. Shall I confess to you what I assure [you] is the honest truth, that I do not recollect a single occasion of any kind of importance, in which I was so dissatisfied with my own performance, as on that of presenting the petition; and my surprise was as great as my pleasure, when I found that Mr. Samuel Gurney, and one or two others, had been pleased. The fact is, that the House, before I got up, had been very inattentive and noisy. It grew latish, and it appeared to me that everybody was in haste to get to dinner. Under this impression, though I had ideas and principles sufficient, I did not at all put them together, or arrange them in my mind, but got up wholly unprepared, as I may say, meaning to utter but a very few words. But when I had begun, I found

* See Life of Wilberforce, vol v, pp. 12—14.

a very attentive, and, contrary to my expectation, a very sympathising audience. So that then, if I could have collected myself sufficiently, I would have gone somewhat into the *rationale* of the subject. But like a general, whose troops were scattered, I could not at once call them into order, so that I was fain merely to pour forth what was uppermost. This happened to be what interested my own feelings deeply, and when that is the case, we often interest the feelings of others.

Though I have rather *felt* than *seen* my way along my paper, my eyes feel overdone, and I must say farewell;—begging you to continue your prayers for me and mine, and to believe me,

Ever your sincere and affectionate friend,

WILLIAM WILBERFORCE.

It was about this period that Joseph John Gurney became acquainted with Edward Harbord, afterwards Lord Suffield, an acquaintance which soon ripened into friendship, and was maintained at intervals, until the death of the latter in 1835. "Connected as he was by family ties, and by the predilections of education, with the high party in church and state," writes Joseph John Gurney, in allusion to the period when Edward Harbord first offered himself, in 1818, as a candidate to serve in parliament for the city of Norwich, "the internal struggle of liberal principles had made great way in his mind. He was already a friend to public improvement, especially adverse to all kinds of warfare, opposed to capital punishment, and zealous for the administration of prison discipline. These common interests presently united us. In company with his wife, (a daughter of the late Lord Vernon's) he visited us at Earlham, and we commenced a correspondence which lasted for many years."

The shameless system of bribery which then unhappily disgraced the municipal elections at Norwich, had called forth a public remonstrance from Joseph John Gurney. This at once excited the attention of Edward Harbord, who immediately wrote

TO JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY.*

March 20th, 1819.

DEAR SIR,

I have this instant read in the Norwich paper, with the sincerest pleasure, your note, or postscript, relative to certain ward elections. I willingly surrender to you the glory of having struck the first blow, but as the field is yet open, I must beg leave to put in my claim as an ally and coadjutor, not of the past, but of your future efforts, in a scheme which I hope I may now say *we* have in view. * * I formed my determination while I was last at Norwich, and was once on the point of communicating my purpose to you; but contemplating it as a work of difficulty, and one in which the concurrent exertion of two hostile parties, is indispensable, I deemed it prudent to deliberate a few days upon the best mode of opening the campaign, before I hoisted my standard. I will tell you candidly the course I thought of pursuing. * * If you should be disposed to favour me with any suggestions, you may draw upon me to any amount of caution, for the attainment of our mutual object. There shall be no more "cooping." * *

JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY TO EDWARD HARBORD.

Earlham, 3d mo., 22nd, 1819.

* * The corrupting effects of our ward elections I have not painted in too strong language. Nothing can exceed them.

* For this correspondence I am indebted to the interesting unpublished memoir of Lord Suffield, by Richard Mackenzie Bacon See pp. 71–81.

Independently of the utter annihilation, by dint of bribery, of all right political motives in the minds of the poor men, the dissipation, drunkenness, and confusion produced by this annual battle are excessive. Husbands are taken from their families, kept in a state of intoxication for two or three weeks, and then returned upon them wholly unfitted for the duties of domestic life. Young men not yet settled in life, are plunged into scenes of dissipation, from the effects of which they never recover. And young and old are wrought up into that state of violent excitement and enmity one towards another, which keeps the whole town in almost constant fermentation; and all this really for NOTHING—the object being one perfectly unimportant as it regards the general elections.

I fear that nothing now can prevent the "cooping" and the bribery of this season; for it is already begun, and I believe each side is already provided with a purse. On this subject, however, I mean to make some further inquiries in the course of to-day. With regard to the future, perhaps a public declaration, signed by everybody of any importance in the two interests, might prevent it. If both sides would agree not to open a single public house, and not to spend one farthing, the object might be effected. Why should not the poor men go quietly up to the hall and vote, and then go back again to their homes? * * I conceive, however, that it would not be thy wish to confine thy views to the *ward elections*. Let us get rid, if we can, of the whole system; for at present, our general elections bring with them an immense mass of corruption. Perhaps thou art hardly aware to what extent "cooping" is carried on on these occasions also. * * *

EDWARD HARBORD TO JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY.

Park Place, March 23d, 1819.

MY DEAR SIR,

I received your very obliging letter this morning, and shall gladly avail myself of your suggestion. Our sentiments are in perfect unison on the subject of elections. A declaration signed by principals on both sides, may be, and

certainly is desirable, but we must have better security than *that* will afford, I fear, to accomplish our purpose. Impossible as it has been for any man of character to defend or justify the proceedings alluded to, each party has hitherto reconciled itself to the system, under the necessity of keeping pace with the measures of its opposite. Each charges the other with its origin, and both console themselves with the belief that good will be the result, however bad the means.

Our endeavour must be to invert and transpose this mode of reasoning. First, if the law will enable us, we must make it the object of both parties to detect the other in a breach of covenant; and to punish it when detected;—in this measure the lamentable hostility which prevails, will leave us little to perform. Secondly, we must endeavour to inculcate the errors of the principle at present acted upon; and persuade our friends that, however good the object aimed at, the means used in its attainment should not be bad; that, however bright the gem laboured for, its lustre may be tarnished by the instruments employed in procuring it. * * *

Some months elapsed before Joseph John Gurney again wrote upon the subject.

TO EDWARD HARBORD.

Hunstanton, 8th mo., 18th, 1819.

My dear Friend,

I suppose thou wilt deem it a proof of some neglect, that I have not sooner reported our proceedings, in the matter of the Norwich elections. I can, however, assure thee that, in the midst of many engagements, and with the interruption of a journey into the North, our joint important concern has not been laid aside. I have no objection to the allowance of a little *time* in the case. There is a great deal of labour connected with it, and as far as I am concerned, this labour must be brought to bear gradually. I also think that the difficulties which we now have with several individuals, will be surmounted by patient

perseverance; and that the *determined* guilty ones will be at length effectually *blockaded*. I am inclined to hope that the mere step of getting the declaration generally signed, and the subsequent publication of it with the names attached, will be sufficient to give a deadly blow to these corrupt practices. But this hope will not prevent our forming in *due time* a committee of management to draw up certain regulations; and in the end to carry forward the necessary prosecutions.

* * * * * *

I am now going to perform the office of a true friend, and to find a little fault with thee. Thy heart is remarkably set upon a variety of benevolent objects; and I can truly say, *Euge frater, i, secundis afflatus zephyris;* but it has appeared to me, (and I have heard it remarked by others,) that thou art too much in the habit of making these matters the subject of conversation. Thou wilt perhaps think me heretical, but it does not suit my notions about these things that they should much intrude themselves into the intercourse of private life. I would not entirely exclude them, but I feel that these things are our *business*, our *labour;* and that the intellectual and social intercourse between friends is our recreation, our refreshment, our *play*. I very often have to communicate with others on these subjects, and when this is the case, I endeavour to take a suitable opportunity of saying "my say" rather as a matter of business and duty than anything else, and the "say" if necessary can be repeated, and then there is probably an end of it. I do not find it answer with others (nor do I like it for myself) to make these things very prominently the subjects of what may be called social intercourse. I know not whether thou wilt quite understand me, for I find it difficult to express my meaning clearly; but I am confident thou wilt bear with me, and we can talk more about it when we meet.

* * * * * *

Believe me with affectionate regard,

Thy sincere friend,

J. J. GURNEY.

TO THE SAME.

Norwich, 9th mo., 11th, 1819.

My dear Friend,

The exceeding pressure of many engagements must be my apology for not proceeding quite so quickly as we should both wish. I must acknowledge that my hopes are somewhat dashed by the kind of suspicious and determinately prejudiced feeling, which appears to prevail against the object amongst the decided party men; but we must do our best, and leave the result to him, in whose hands are the ends of it. I have kept back the idea of *prosecution* because I find it *very* unpopular. We pledge ourselves in the declaration to no particular method, and I have simply stated our intention of calling together those who sign it, and of then considering the mode to be adopted. On the other hand several have expressed their opinion that prosecution is the best mode, and I have not hesitated to state, *when called upon*, that this is my *own* view.

I suppose that the anonymous letters in our papers on the subject of prison discipline are thine. I like them exceedingly, and have no doubt they will do real good. I truly rejoice in thy thus being enabled to employ thy time, talents, and influence in the cause of humanity, and may I not say Christianity? Most heartily do I wish thee well on thy way, and may the preserving power of the Lord be with thee to protect, bless, and sanctify all thy proceedings, and thy whole self, in body, soul, and spirit!

Notwithstanding these efforts, the elections at Norwich still continued to present disgraceful scenes of bribery and corruption. Joseph John Gurney was more successful in his exertions, in connexion with the same zealous coadjutor, to save the lives of three men who had been convicted of burglary in the spring of this year. In allusion to this effort he writes in his Journal:—

4th mo., 11*th*. A busy, broken, and rather troubled fortnight; the chief interest in it, the case of the three men left for execution, which took me to Bury to see Judge Graham on fourth day week. The case alluded to has cost me much labour of head and heart, and, amongst other things, led me into a remarkably interesting correspondence with Edward Harbord. Two of the three [are] saved, the third [Belsham] suffered yesterday.

JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY TO EDWARD HARBORD.

Norwich, 4th mo., 10th, 1819.

I spent some little time with poor Belsham yesterday afternoon, and was much comforted by my visit. I was engaged with him in prayer. * * He wept much, but in the midst of his weeping, he displayed a quietness and a steadiness which will, I believe, go far to disarm death of its terrors. * * May God have mercy upon him, through Jesus Christ.

I cannot conclude without saying, how much I have rejoiced for thy sake, and the sake of many others, in the zeal, energy, judgment, and feeling, which thou hast manifested on this occasion. To flatter thee is very far from my wish, but I must say two things on the subject. The first is, that after what is past, it is impossible not to feel a warm personal interest in thee. The second is, that such a heart and mind, are talents to be employed in thy Master's service.

TO HIS SISTER ELIZABETH FRY.

Norwich, 4th mo., 30th, 1819.

* * With regard to the attacks made upon our prison book, they are of no importance, and do not now trouble me. I have ascertained my correctness in all the cases. The Yorkshire magistrates are already answered.* I am right in every point

* This answer will be found printed at the end of the last edition, published in 1847, of the Notes on Prisons.

between us, and they have made me appear wrong, only by stating the improvements made since our visit, as if they had existed at the time when we made it. I quite think with thee that there is as much inclination to set us down as to raise us up, but if our motives are pure, our dependence rightly placed, and our conduct correct, neither praise nor blame will hurt us.

I was much interested at Yarmouth a day or two since, by a mantua-maker, who has been induced to give up the time and earnings of one day in every week, in order to visit the wretched prisons in that place. She has surmounted many difficulties and has produced great effects.*

TO JONATHAN HUTCHINSON.

Norwich, 5th mo., 8th, 1819.

* * I cannot think that my business claims a very inferior share of my attention, for it is extensive, and multifarious, and, if not attended to sedulously, would soon bring me and all my profession into disrepute. Yet why should I be so circumstanced? Is it right for one who feels called upon to preach Christianity to occupy such a station in life? Indeed, my dear friend, I must leave it to thee, to answer these questions. I can only say, that such is the situation in which my predecessors placed me, in which I have long continued, in which I now am, and from which, as far as I now see, I cannot extricate myself. On the other hand I must acknowledge, that if business were less prevalent with me, I should probably have more both of time and mind, to serve the Lord and his people. On the whole, I believe it to be best quietly to wait, and to watch the divine dispensation towards me. Perhaps the day will come, when circumstances will, at least in part, relieve me of my burthen. In the mean time let me be thankful for all the blessings both temporal and spiritual with which, though thoroughly unworthy, I continue to be so bountifully supplied! * * *

* See the brief but interesting sketch of the life of the late Sarah Martin, of Yarmouth, published there in 1844.

First day evening, 5th mo., 16th. Began this day with several uncomfortable impressions, thoughts and feelings not to be admitted; but through silent, though earnest, prayer I found my rest in God. The day has been spent leisurely, for I have so far done very little but attend the two meetings. I have felt "waiting on the Lord" to be my main duty, connected with a watchfulness to fulfil the calls of my ministry.

5th mo., 25th. [Last] third day, the 18th, my plans of quietude interrupted by a summons to attend the Parliamentary Committee on Jails.* I determined to go, though I felt real difficulty in leaving my wife. After a hot, restless journey, I arrived on sixth day morning at Plashet; [thence] to Gracechurch Street meeting, which was very comfortable and restoring. From meeting, rapidly to the House of Commons; met by Buxton, Bennett, and others. My examination before the Committee lasted about two hours, and was on the whole satisfactory. I found it very much so, on the correction of my evidence. Pleasaut interview with Wilberforce, F. Calthorpe, &c.

TO JOHN HODGKIN, JUN.

Earlham, 7th mo., 11th, 1819.

* * * During my very short stay in London, my time was chiefly occupied by the Parliamentary Committees, and I had not that room left for friends which I should so much have liked to enjoy. I was quite pleased to get even a peep of thee, and should have been truly so to have obtained more of thy company. But the world is full of *vortices*, and amidst the variety of circumstances which hurry every one of us separately down *our own* stream of life, it is well for those who love each other, to have their friendship grounded on that rock, which will abide when the world, with all its interests and casualties, shall vanish from our view. I have no very important intelligence to communicate respecting myself. My time is fully occupied with the usual variety of business,

* See Life of Sir T. F. Buxton, chap. vi, p. 87.

meetings, public objects, study, and home delights. In the last particular I believe I spend a great deal more time than would be consistent with thy elevated standard of *perennial industry*. But thou knowest how I fail in this respect, and whether it be owing to the mental occupation which my avocations in life occasion me, or to bodily constitution, *I cannot help it.* * * A certain portion of time after breakfast is, however, devoted to my book* almost daily. I have written the dissertation on the Hebrews again, on a new construction, and with emendations; and have since been employed chiefly by the other notes, which I find must, with little exception, be written over again. Just now I am engaged by a very laborious critical discussion of the readings θεὸς, ὅς and ὃ, in 1 Tim. iii, 16. I hope that some good may arise out of this engagement, and I am resolved, *if possible*, to persevere.

Now for ——s manuscript. It would have been shameful had I refused to look it over for *thee*. I think it interesting, and there is something very attractive and engaging in the mind which produced it. With regard to the principles laid down in the essay, this is the only part in which I do not fully unite. I cannot accede to the proposition that a nation must be civilized before the gospel ought to be introduced to its attention. The two things ought, in my opinion, to go hand in hand. I cannot at all understand how those who *know* the value of *Christ* can settle amongst comparatively savage tribes and continue with them for years, and yet make no effort to communicate that knowledge.

6th mo., 24th. I have again to acknowledge some experience of the redeeming and preserving love of God, and I trust that as I am enabled to maintain humility and watchfulness, I shall continue to find safety. * * Joseph Wood and his companion breakfasted with us. After breakfast I accompanied them as guide, they in their wicker cart, and

* The allusion here is to the unpublished work mentioned *supra*, p. 120.

I on horseback, first to Attleborough, and then back to Wymondham; a small public meeting at Attleborough, and a larger one in the evening at Wymondham; both highly favoured. Returned home in much peace about ten o'clock, leaving the dear friends, with whom I felt closely united, at Wymondham. Joseph Wood is a deep and able minister, a thoroughly honest, innocent man. Ah! what, in point of effect, is to be compared to the forming hand of the Lord *willingly* and *completely* submitted to.

In the early part of the 7th month, his domestic happiness was crowned by the birth of a son.

"May I be preserved," is his remark in allusion to this event, "in a humble and thankful frame of spirit. What can I render?"

CHAPTER IX.

1813—1819. ÆT. 25—32.

ACKWORTH SCHOOL; JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY'S LABOURS THERE; SCRIPTURAL INSTRUCTION; EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS AND AUTOBIOGRAPHY; EXTRACTS FROM JOURNAL.

In the retired village of Ackworth near Pontefract, in Yorkshire, stands a large and commodious building, erected for a branch establishment of the London Foundling Hospital, but now, and for many years past, occupied as a school for the children of Friends not in affluent circumstances. This latter institution was founded about the year 1778, at the suggestion of the late Dr. Fothergill, whose efforts were warmly supported by the great body of Friends, among whom, David Barclay, a grandson of the "Apologist," and the late William Tuke, of York, were two of his earliest and most efficient coadjutors. In this school, at a very moderate charge, in most instances much below the real cost, about 300 children of both sexes are educated. It is under the care of a committee annually appointed by a "General Meeting" composed of Friends from various parts of the nation, which every year reports upon the state of the school to the Yearly Meeting in London. The object of the founders of this institution was to impart a sound literary and religious education in accordance with the principles of Friends; and, from

its first establishment, great care was exercised to shield the children from evil example, and to train them in moral and religious habits, in the fear of the Lord.* When Joseph John Gurney commenced his labours at Ackworth, it was the practice to read the Scriptures at least daily, to the children; short Scripture passages illustrative of particular truths, were required to be committed to memory; a few Bibles were placed in a library to which the pupils had access on the morning of the first day of the week; and a copy was presented to each child on leaving the school. No arrangement, however, existed for ascertaining the extent of the children's acquaintance with the inspired volume on first coming to school, or for supplying each child with the Scriptures during his stay there; and it was manifest from the examination which Joseph John Gurney instituted, that something more was required than the existing provision for imparting scriptural knowledge.

In addition to the regular supervision exercised by the managing committee, it was the custom, once a year, at the time of the General Meeting, to examine the children more publicly in the various branches of their learning. It was to attend this meeting in the year 1813, that Joseph John Gurney first visited Ackworth, in company with his sister Priscilla. In his Journal he describes the meeting

* An interesting narrative of the proceedings in relation to the establishment of Ackworth School, is to be found in Part 3 of the papers published by the Friends' Educational Society, "On the past proceedings and experience of the Society of Friends in connexion with the education of Youth."

as "very interesting;" and his visits were subsequently repeated, but without resulting in any particular effort until the year 1816. In that year, he again attended the General Meeting, and, upon examining the children as to their knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, he found among them not a little ignorance. Impressed with the great importance of the subject, he suggested that, instead of the plan then acted upon, of giving a Bible to each scholar on leaving the school, every child should be furnished with a copy of the sacred volume immediately on entering the institution; a suggestion which was at once cordially agreed to. He then proposed to the children that they should study the scriptures during the ensuing year with particular reference to several important subjects which he pointed out to them,* offering to examine them himself at the close of the year, and to reward them according to their proficiency and good conduct.†

On his return from the General Meeting, he thus unfolded his views to Robert Whitaker, then superintendent of the establishment.

Lynn, 9th mo., 3rd, 1816.

Whilst I feel deeply convinced that the religious improvement of the children is a subject of essential importance to

* These subjects were embodied in the form of a "proposition," which was circulated among the children. It had reference to the books of the Bible, their order, authors, contents, &c.; to the history from Genesis to the book of Acts; to the Prophecies concerning our Saviour, and their accomplishment as shown in the New Testament; to the doctrines and moral precepts; and to the evidence from Scripture confirmatory of the views of Friends.

† On this and other occasions the rewards usually consisted of books selected by himself or the teachers.

the well-being of the school and of our religious society, I am sensible that great difficulties attend it. What is the thing wanted? To speak freely with thee, I am of opinion that the minds of the boys are not properly *cultivated* on the subject of religion. They are remarkably sheltered from evil; but do not appear to me to be positively enough led to good. The common round of reading, grammar, writing and ciphering, does little for the improvement of the mind; and a pursuit which would draw forth their powers of thought and reflection, and, at the same time, operate in forming and strengthening their religious principles, would be of incalculable advantage to them. Such a pursuit appears to me to be the study of the Bible. It is a duty devolving on those who have the care of youth, to give them religious knowledge and form their religious principles; and though I am well aware that God alone can give the increase, yet Paul must plant and Apollos must water; and this truth is peculiarly evident as it relates to the education of children.

This is a duty, a religious one indeed, but widely differing in its mode from that of the Christian ministry. It calls into action different powers, and a different gift; and must be performed as a simple duty, in the liberty of that Gospel which commands us to bring up our children "in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." Now if it be a simple duty to enlighten and cultivate the minds of children, concerning the one thing needful, it will surely be allowed that the Scriptures, which contain the authorised account of the whole matter, present us with the most important means of doing so. Forms, catechisms, and compendiums of doctrine may probably be useful, when nothing better is to be obtained; but this is clearly an *inferior* mode of giving religious instruction. It is besides open to some strong objections. It is dry and unedifying. It exercises the powers of memory, whilst it leaves those of reflection untouched. It flattens the study of the Bible, from which it selects the most precious texts, and presenting them, in a dry form, side by side, as mere proofs of propositions, it takes away half their value; and renders the Bible itself far less interesting, by forestalling its

chief beauties. Children should be taught to search in the original mines, to find these jewels for themselves, and then they would know how to value them. In short, I long to have the children *taught the Scriptures*. If they are left entirely to themselves in this study, something may come of it, but not much: not enough, in my opinion, to justify you in laying aside your compendiums, however disadvantageous they may be in some respects. They must be led to the study of the Bible; and helped in it by those who have the care of them. If *thou* couldest give up an hour every morning to the religious instruction of the boys, much might be done. I should have them all together, and all with their Bibles in their hands. I should read the Bible through with them; omitting such parts as appeared unsuitable for very young persons; yet *not much*. I should make remarks as I went along, explaining what was difficult, impressing what was important, and comparing, all the way through, such passages, from other parts of the Bible, as might throw additional light on any occurring subject. When I compared another passage with one before me, I would make all the boys turn to it and mark it. The last quarter of the time, or more, should be employed in thoroughly questioning the children on the lesson of the day. This would ensure habits of general attention; and give a life to the object which no other mode of instruction will impart.

Such a plan would give thee, or any truly religious Friend, abundant opportunity of fixing the best principles on the children's minds, and more especially of unfolding to them the scriptural grounds on which we build our faith. There are one or two other points I should endeavour to introduce. Instead of compendiums, the boys might occasionally get by heart from the Bible itself. Many of the most striking Psalms and chapters of Isaiah; many of the most pithy parts of the New Testament, might thus be made to form in their memories a store from which much good would afterwards be derived. They ought to be encouraged to private devotional duties, morning and evening; to read small portions of scripture by themselves, and to lift up their hearts in prayer for

the blessing which can alone preserve them day and night. Whether this point can be accomplished more than is now the case, I know not; but it is surely of importance to bring up children in this particular habit. Thou art aware by what I have already written, that I do not mean common-place, formal, dry tuition. I mean the instruction which every Christian parent is bound in conscience to give to his child; "the nurture and admonition of the Lord."

Thus encouraged, the superintendent and teachers warmly seconded his views. The interest awakened in the minds of the children was remarkable. "They received," says Joseph John Gurney in his Autobiography, "every one a copy of the Bible, and well thumbed was that copy, in a great plurality of instances, in the course of the appointed time. The children took their Bibles to bed with them, read them by the early morning light, pored over them at leisure hours during the day, and especially on first days. The teachers rendered them their best assistance; knowledge of the subject rapidly increased, and with it good; and when I visited them, at the close of twelve months, the whole aspect of affairs was changed."

The result is thus noticed in a letter

TO HIS SISTER HANNAH BUXTON.

Ackworth, 8th mo., 1st, 1817.

* * * My journey has been one involving both labour and difficulty, but has been crowned, in rather a remarkable manner, with success and peace. A few seeds which I was the means of sowing here last year with respect to religious instruction, have unexpectedly and abundantly brought forth fruit. The children have made great progress in the knowledge of Scripture, and many of them seem under a very serious influence. Their general deportment is already

changed by it. I have hardly ever been sensible of so sweet a spiritual influence as during the last week in this place. It seems to accompany us on all occasions; in meetings; in the schools, and at table. It has brought to my mind more of the communion of saints than I have ever felt before, unless perhaps in a few instances.

He now issued a second "proposition," to a number of the more forward boys, which formed the basis of the useful manual, which he subsequently published, under the title of Guide to the Instruction of Young Persons in the Holy Scriptures; including the Lock and Key, or passages of the Old Testament which testify of Jesus Christ, explained by others in the New Testament.

From this time forward the Scripture examinations were continued with great regularity after each General Meeting; and were for some years principally conducted by Joseph John Gurney himself. Gradually, however, the subject was brought under the care and control of the school committee, after which his visits were occasionally intermitted, though seldom for more than two years.

"Many precious seasons," he writes in his Autobiography, "of reverent waiting on the Lord, and of true religious comfort and edification, have I enjoyed with my beloved Friends, in that favoured spot. Many a time have we rejoiced together in that Saviour who redeemed us with his precious blood. Yet natural cheerfulness always had its play amongst us; and with the children especially I endeavoured to maintain it. Much may be done in this way for their benefit; and I know of no line of service, secondary as it may appear, which has yielded me more satisfaction in the result."

The pleasure which these opportunities seem to have afforded himself, was largely shared by his young friends.

"The kind and engaging manners of our dear Friend," writes one of the masters at Ackworth,* the hearty and innocent cheerfulness of his intercourse with the scholars during their play hours endeared him to us all, and prepared our minds to benefit by his more serious engagements amongst us. Constantly did we watch for his arrival, and greet his entrance on the play-ground by a rush of earnest congratulation. And ever during his leisure moments, did we love to cluster around him to listen to his cherished conversation; which from the most lively familiarity was always rising to a higher tone, carrying up our youthful thoughts to "whatsoever things were lovely and of good report." How often, amidst groups of eager and happy listeners, would he comment on the importance of good manners and good habits, and the acquisition of useful knowledge; frequently referring to George Fox's enlightened desire that youth might be taught "all things civil and useful in the creation," and not forgetting to inculcate his own favourite maxim, "Be a whole man to one thing at a time." The wonderful structure of the human body was a theme on which he loved to dwell; and his last visit to Ackworth, very shortly before his death, was distinguished by a familiar but beautifully lucid description of the wise and curious provision made by the Creator, in the formation of the eye. His great aim was to expand the thoughts of the children, to excite the love of knowledge and the play of the intellect, as subservient to the great ends of man's being, and to an enlightened appreciation of religious truth; that the young mind might rise from the wonders of creative wisdom, to the marvels of redeeming grace. His Scripture questionings were uniformly made occasions for illustrating the grounds of Friends' princi-

* John Newby, in a letter to the Editor.

ples, and the nature of Christian truth generally; by the sacred history itself, by selected texts, by the prophecies that spoke before of the better covenant, and by the preaching of Christ, and the writings of his apostles. The excellence of the Christian character, and the beauty of Christian consistency were forcibly exhibited; and often did the examination melt away into religious silence, when the solemn prayer arose, or the fervent exhortation sank into hearts softened to receive the seed of the kingdom. The remembrance of the heavenly influence which overshadowed us on some of these occasions is very precious; and particularly do I recall one very solemn meeting with the boys, which closed the religious engagements of a full week, in which the beautiful parable of Christ the vine was enlarged upon, and the necessity and blessedness of abiding in him."

Joseph John Gurney was convinced from the depths of his own experience, that to render the knowledge of scriptural truth availing to the progress of the work of religion in the soul, it must be accompanied by an humble subjection of the heart and understanding to the immediate operations of the spirit of God. He was anxious that religious instruction, to use his own words in the Autobiography, "should, as far as possible, be made a pleasure rather than a task; that a taste for Scripture should be cultivated, and, above all, that the practical nature and issue of true religion should ever be held up to view, and a reverent dependence inculcated on that blessed influence of the Holy Spirit, without which knowledge is vanity, and the profession of the truth mere hypocrisy."

The anxiety thus manifested by Joseph John Gurney for the religious education of youth was no new thing in the Society of Friends. The Yearly

Meeting had frequently issued pertinent advice upon the subject,* and it was one of the circumstances especially marking the wisdom with which the mind of George Fox had been imbued, that he had so earnestly and pointedly pressed this subject upon the attention of his friends. So early as 1656 he thus writes to them, who, it must be remembered, had many of them been brought up as Puritans, accustomed diligently to instruct and catechise their children :—

> Dear Friends, exhort all your families at times and seasons, whether they be servants or children, that they may be informed in the truth. For when ye were professors, many of you did exhort and instruct them in the form, when ye had not the power, and therefore now, being brought into the truth, ye should be more diligent to exhort, admonish, and instruct them.†

So far was he from thinking that increased spirituality led to a neglect of these duties; in his view, it rather led to the more punctual and diligent performance of them. Robert Barclay, as is well known, had compiled a catechism expressly to assist in the instruction of children, and his work is especially remarkable as carefully stating each answer in the very words of Holy Scripture. Joseph John Gurney might therefore well feel that in urging his views on the importance of religious

* See the interesting paper, published as Part 2 of "Past proceedings and experience of the Society of Friends in connexion with the education of Youth."

† See the valuable Selection from the Epistles of George Fox, published by Samuel Tuke, p. 50. See also pp. 126, 210, 211, 247, 249, 265.

instruction, he was only enforcing that which had been desired from the very foundation of the Society. So far as it had been neglected, it had been neglected, not upon principle, but through weakness, and he desired that that weakness should be removed, in simple dependence upon the all sufficient grace of the Lord Jesus. It was not, as will have been observed, formal or systematic doctrinal teaching, but simple *scriptural* instruction that he sought to encourage. The Holy Scriptures, "given by the inspiration of God," formed, in his opinion, a manual for religious instruction, better adapted to the object, and more in accordance with "the mind of the Spirit" than any mere catechism or compendium of doctrine. He accepted them, as above all other books, "profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, and for instruction in righteousness," being fully persuaded that, "through faith which is in Christ Jesus," they are "able to make wise unto salvation." But there were those, some of them, at that time, young in years and in religious experience, who from a fear (and doubtless it was a sincere one) of these engagements being entered upon in a merely formal manner, were not prepared at once to co-operate with him so cordially as he could have desired. With as great a dread of a formal and lifeless religion as they could have, he felt anxious that no mistaken impression as to his views should hinder the work that had been so happily begun. On this point he writes

TO HIS BROTHER SAMUEL GURNEY.

Earlham, 12th mo., 7th, 1818.

"I am inclined to think that there exists in some individuals considerable misunderstanding of our views. I go the whole

length with them in believing and in feeling that no efforts or labours of ours can produce religion in the minds of children; but surely we may, and we ought, in dependence on divine help, to prepare the ground, "to plant and to water." I believe that such labours are simple Christian duties, that if we neglect these duties, we are not making use of the talents committed to us for the Master's use; and I also believe that he who can alone give the increase will give it. These general principles must, I think, be allowed on all hands. Differences of opinion may arise as to the mode. I agree with those who think catechetical forms, &c., an undesirable mode, and that it is better to lead children to search the Scriptures for themselves. The plan of questioning them on what they have read is peculiarly important, simply because it habituates them to read attentively; nor can I see the advantage of doing anything superficially.

The duty of giving religious instruction can only be performed well by those who are alive themselves to the subject of religion. When it is done by such, and is attended by a real exercise of mind for the spiritual welfare of the children, its benefits seldom fail to be known by its fruits. But though these only are rightly qualified, I would exhort all who have the care of children to the work, as I would exhort them to any other Christian duty. If they want a heart and ability for its right execution, let them seek help where alone it is to be found.

In allusion to the same subject, he writes in his Journal, under date,

7th mo., *23rd*, 1819. It is my desire to dwell deeply in the root of life, and to be preserved in that spirit of true love, which judgeth not. There are two or three considerations which it is well for me to advert to. First, that such is the weakness and corruption of man, that the religious world, in this scene of being, is in a very imperfect state; which is manifested by nothing more than by this, that those who truly love the Lord Jesus Christ are nevertheless so frequently attached and subjected to a portion of error and

prejudice. Look at the high Calvinist on the one side. On the other side look at those who pervert their dependence on universal and sensible grace, to the almost total rejection of those outward means, which God has provided for our help. Such is the constitution of things, and often must it occasion, to every sincere inquirer, deep exercise of mind; and he may well put the question to himself, is it not in some point or other so with me? In the mean time, let him be willing to "bear all things."

Secondly, that the duty of studying the Scriptures, and of leading our children to study them, rests upon the direct authority of our divine Master, and is, therefore, to be maintained by me perseveringly and unhesitatingly, whatever be the consequences.

Thirdly, that there is every reason to believe there is a mass of good feeling and good sense in our society, which will, in the end, be found sufficient to uphold this principle.

Fourthly, that my dependence ought not to be placed on any one Christian community, but simply on Him, who is the head of the whole body, and who careth for all its members.

The result has shown the value and importance of Joseph John Gurney's efforts. "All the doubts and scruples," (says the superintendent, in a letter to him under date 20th of 10th mo., 1825,) "which were raised at first to our examination plan, have gradually subsided, and we now hear nothing from any quarter, respecting our endeavours, but approbation and encouragement." The first "proposition" became the basis of the Ackworth course of scriptural instruction, and the system thus introduced was gradually adopted in all the public schools of the Society of Friends.

To return to the Journal: —

Earlham, 8*th mo.*, 8*th*, [1819.] Last second day, after a quiet morning at home, I set off in the mail [towards

Ackworth.] * * My visit [there] was peculiarly interesting, and has afforded me fresh cause for thankfulness. In the sub-committee the task of examining the children was laborious, and I hardly knew how to enter into it. Samuel met me and worked with me, which was a real delight and consolation.

Fifth day; finished the examination of our class most comfortably with the Scriptures; a sweet feeling over us; and afterwards took the evidence of two of the masters. Of the eight sub-committees, seven examined in the Scriptures, and brought in highly satisfactory reports. Josiah Forster drew up a general report to the same effect; light and truth eminently prevailed, and the concluding meeting was truly a very favoured one. Seventh day was one of peculiar exertion; the girls in the morning, and the boys in the afternoon; reading and examination. The time with the girls was spent sweetly, the *life* flowed, and words had access. In the afternoon, (probably from the hot weather and other external circumstances,) it was a time of difficult labour, and I left off discouraged. * * * I passed the night partly in deep conflict of spirit, and was so entirely cast down, that I little thought I should rise again soon. First day, however, was, through mercy, one of complete restoration. The victory over the adversary was given in the power of Christ. The ministry flowed irresistibly; first, with the teachers at their breakfast table; then, very openly at meeting; with the girls at parting; and with the boys after dinner in the family. All little difficulties and great discouragements were alike removed, and I finally left Ackworth about three o'clock with full satisfaction. What cause for thankfulness!

In the afternoon Hannah Kilham, Henry Brady, and myself proceeded to Pontefract, where I was engaged to unite with Ann Alexander in a public meeting, at five o'clock, in the Town Hall. The meeting was eminently favoured. Ann Alexander finely explained our views relative to Water Baptism and the Supper. All well at home on my arrival on third day evening. * * *

I have been a little frightened during this late rapid course

of my ministry, lest my own personal progress in grace and salvation should be neglected. I feel a renewed call to watchfulness and prayer.

10*th mo.*, 4*th.* Whilst at Upton my sister Priscilla cautioned me against length in ministry, and quoting many passages of Scripture towards the conclusion, led on by their beauty rather than *the life. Nota Bene.*

TO JONATHAN HUTCHINSON.

Norwich, 10th mo., 2nd, 1819.

I have felt shocked by some instances, lately under my notice, of the miserably low moral standard prevailing in the world. It makes me cling to the remedial, redeeming, reforming principle. O that all would come to it! O that all could be brought to the reverent acknowledgment that "the Lord reigneth."

TO EDWARD HARBORD.

Norwich, 11th mo., 19th, 1819.

* * * I am grieved at hearing of thy being involved, by thy late manly conduct, in any personal and private difficulties, but yet I can truly rejoice in thy having publicly asserted the unalienable right of man TO THINK FOR HIMSELF. What a capital thing in life is it to be *tenax propositi.* I know of nothing more important, and when the character is applied to religion, it is certainly *all-important.* In thy situation in life, thou hast, of course, some *political* duties, and these to a religious man become religious duties. Whilst this is the case, all is right. But I am decidedly of opinion that if in politics, as in other things, our *first* motive be not to serve God, we shall soon become involved in a most dangerous vortex.

Earlham, 10*th mo.*, 18*th.* My uncle, on fifth day morning, spoke on the case of Dives and Lazarus; and it was brought home to my serious and anxious consideration, whether I am not, as Dives, faring sumptuously every day. I trust it is not in the spirit of Dives. Earlham is certainly

kept up, after the old sort, freely and handsomely. There are two or three points connected with the subject, which strike me. Spending money is better and less injurious to the spirit, than saving it unduly; nevertheless, Christian moderation, in mode of living, furniture, &c., is called for by my profession. I wish the establishment to be liberally conducted, with this principle always in view. I am living according to the mode of life, in which those with whom I associate are accustomed to live. How far, in doing this, and in aiming at a generous system, I exceed Christian moderation, I doubt. But on the whole my uneasiness on the subject does not dwell deeply with me.

11*th mo.*, 21*st.* Proceeded in our family visits; a service attended by great exercise of mind, and whether or no attended by fruits, I cannot judge. I have been discouraged by observing the appearance of the contrary in particular cases; and yet I trust it was right.*

12*th mo.*, 17*th.* Read the accounts of Jesse Cadbury, and Charles Coleby—highly instructive. Surely such are blessed, in being removed from temptation to security, from doubt to certainty, from trouble to peace.

* These visits were undertaken in company with a few other Friends, with a view to the distribution among Friends at Norwich, of the advices that had been issued by the late Yearly Meeting on the subject of the attendance of meetings.

CHAPTER X.

1820—1821. ÆT. 32—33.

EXTRACTS FROM JOURNAL AND LETTERS; HIS FIRST DAY SCHOOL; JOURNEY TO BRISTOL; WILLIAM FORSTER'S DEPARTURE FOR AMERICA; YEARLY MEETING; LETTERS FROM JONATHAN HUTCHINSON AND WILLIAM WILBERFORCE; LETTER TO THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON; ILLNESS AND DEATH OF PRISCILLA GURNEY.

TO JONATHAN HUTCHINSON.

12th of 1st mo., 1820. [At the Bank, seventh day.]

* * Though so busy that my mind has hardly time to turn itself round, yet I may acknowledge that I am permitted to experience something of the *staying* principle, even in the midst of the whirlwind, to which my occupations on this day may well be compared. How beautiful is the idea, and how comforting the experience of "staying" ourselves "upon God!" What a privilege for those who feel their own utter weakness, and their perpetual liability to fall, to have the divine arm of love to lean upon! What should we do or be without it? Certain it is that I know something of the "plague of my own heart;" and that I can adopt the words which, on a memorable occasion, (the conclusion of the labours of the committee on Thomas Foster's case,) I once heard thee use in ministry, "Without Christ I am of all men most miserable."

2nd mo., 28*th.* Public events in a high degree striking: the assassination of the Duc de Berri, and the horrible plot so providentially detected in London, which would otherwise, in all probability, have proved fatal to many of our governors. Notwithstanding all, it is my belief that good will prevail.

In the prospect of the election at Weymouth, he writes,

TO HIS SISTER HANNAH BUXTON.

Earlham, 2nd mo., 29th, 1820.

I am of course much interested about thy dear husband; and heartily wish him in again, from a belief that his parliamentary career is of real importance to the cause of humanity and Christianity. At the same time, we are, even the wisest of us, miserable judges and counsellors; and it ought to be our chief, our only desire, that the government may be upon the shoulders of Him, who is worthy to reign over us, and who will arrange all things for the ultimate good of those who love and fear Him. I rejoice in my confidence that Fowell is one of these, and that neither disappointment nor success will be permitted to harm him, if he do but abide in his Saviour.

I have been exceedingly busy ever since you left us, sometimes depressed and sometimes encouraged, but on the whole dwelling a little too much on the gloomy side of things. There is something in the fearful aspect of public affairs which strongly induces this state of mind. But it is our duty to wash and anoint, that we appear not unto men to fast. We serve an Almighty Redeemer, who in his own good time will triumph over all.

First day night, 3*rd mo.*, 12*th.* This morning my uncle Joseph Gurney [in the prospect of leaving home,] gave us a warm and affectionate parting exhortation. Towards the close of the meeting I found relief and fresh strength in prayer, especially commending the travellers to Him whom they go forth to serve. The school comfortable and edifying. The afternoon meeting a time of outpouring: I know not when I have been enabled so to commit the flock to its Shepherd. I trust I am humbled and not exalted by the mercies of the day. The creature can have nothing to glory in; all that he has is not his own, but another's. The Creator alone is worthy. How clearly have I seen this truth to-day.

His frequent notice of his attendance at the first day school, even after his marriage, and notwithstanding the numerous other claims upon his time and attention, cannot fail to be encouraging to those who are engaged in similar services. How often is the unobserved path of laborious duty, the way of fullest comfort.

TO HENRY BRADY.*

Norwich, 3rd mo., 17th, 1820.

I have had increasing satisfaction in my little first day school at Norwich, from the real approach to seriousness in some of my pupils, and I think more particularly in our Norwich new Girls' School, where the same work is going forward under the auspices of a friend of admirable character.

With regard to the right mixture of cheerfulness and seriousness in teaching the Scriptures, I would say, "Be natural," let the mind have its play. I should never fear *thy* undertaking such an office otherwise than on serious grounds, and with a secret breathing for divine help; and, this being my confidence, I have the less fear in repeating my precept, "Be natural."

Some objection having been made to Joseph John Gurney's attendance at a public meeting held at Norwich, on the subject of the severe measures, attended with bloodshed and loss of life, which had been re-

* Henry Brady was one of the principal teachers at Ackworth school, "a young man," says Joseph John Gurney, "of rare worth, piety, and talents. He long superintended the religious instruction there with great effect and ability, and was very successful in other departments, especially the Latin class. We carried on an intimate correspondence; and inexpressibly affecting it was to me when he caught the typhus fever, which had been raging in the school, and died, I think, in 1828. He had just before come forth with brightness in the ministry; but the Lord had higher services for him than any to be found on earth, and took him home to himself."

sorted to by the soldiery at Manchester, in the dispersion of the vast assemblage of upwards of 60,000 persons congregated there, under the leadership of the notorious Hunt, in the 8th mo., 1819, he thus continues: —

Thou wilt be pleased to inform all inquirers—1st, That it was no *radical* meeting at all: it was certainly called for a political object, but that object was unexceptionable, being simply to ask for inquiry into the transactions at Manchester. It was a meeting summoned and presided over by the high Sheriff, and procured and conducted by a large number of the most respectable gentlemen in Norfolk.

2nd, That I attended the meeting simply as an observer, and without the slightest intention of speaking. Against my attendance I felt no scruple, but on the contrary do still believe it to be the duty of moderate men, who happen to have considerable local influence, to attend such meetings.

3rd, That, being there, I found that it was in my power to be of use in promoting a spirit of peace and good will, and in fixing the assembly in a marked disapprobation of radical irreligion. For this purpose I spoke. I presume my speech was misreported in the London papers. But it nevertheless succeeded, and I accomplished the objects, (Christian objects I hope I may call them,) which I had in view.

No persons mistake me more than those who suppose I feel the slightest interest in party politics: I dislike, as much as I disapprove, both the spirit and the principle of party; and I quite admit, that religious people, whether Friends or others, ought to be exceedingly careful how they meddle with politics in any shape. Nevertheless, there are matters in politics which religious people ought to concern themselves in; and where humanity, justice, virtue, and moral and religious improvement, are concerned, I, for one, am more than willing to be concerned also.

3rd mo., 25th. Yesterday I was much affected by discovering that two poor fellows are left for execution. This

seems again to involve me in labour, and exercise both inward and outward, almost to sickness of heart. Alas, that these afflicting calamities should be renewed amongst us every half year! I hardly know how to bear it, but I desire to commit the cause to the Lord.

His retirement at home during the spring of this year was interrupted by a journey to Bristol for the purpose of taking leave of his friend William Forster, then about to sail from that port on a religious visit to Friends in America. From Bristol he writes,

TO HIS UNCLE JOSEPH GURNEY.

Bristol, 4th mo., 10th, 1820.

When I heard that William Forster had determined to sail so speedily, I could not be at all satisfied without seeing him and attending him on his departure. As soon therefore as circumstances admitted, I set off, and on arriving at Bristol on second day morning, found him and his wife at John Waring's, and very heartily pleased we were to meet. They are wonderfully supported; calm, strong, and happy in the Lord; appearing to reap something of the hundred-fold, even before the sacrifice has been completed. This state has, I believe, succeeded one of very sore conflict and natural distress. The lesson is peculiarly instructive.

In the latter part of the fifth month he attended the Yearly Meeting.

6th mo., 17*th.* We reached Upton on the 20th of the 5th month. Never has a visit to my dear brother been more acceptable and delightful to both parties. The Yearly Meeting for Ministers and Elders on second day, interesting chiefly on account of Stephen Grellet, and William Allen, who rendered their short, lively, and humble account of what the Lord had done for them on their journey.* Third day; the Prison

* See Life of William Allen, chapters x—xiv.

Discipline Meeting, which was extraordinary, as to the vastly mixed attendance; and on the whole very interesting and stimulating.

The Yearly Meeting opened on the fourth day morning. I was appointed assistant clerk, which office I performed without much difficulty, and felt in my right place. From that day to second day morning the 6th instant, the Yearly Meeting continued, and I was at last thoroughly engrossed and occupied by its concerns. The points which were most interesting were—1st, The subject of rightly conducting our meetings for Discipline. 2nd, The Appeal of Gracechurch Street Monthly Meeting, and the manner in which it was happily disposed of. 3rd, The history of Stephen Grellet and William Allen's journey. 4th, The law of appeals to Quarterly Meetings; in discussing which we finally succeeded in establishing a very important principle to our great relief. The business of the meeting was conducted in great harmony. Some of the meetings for worship were worthy of being remembered; particularly that on sixth day at Gracechurch Street; Edward Harbord there. Sarah Grubb preached an admirable gospel sermon, with clearness and authority. The meeting of Ministers and Elders, held on the second day afternoon after the conclusion of the Yearly Meeting, was exercising, and solemn. Some of the hints given as to ministry that day were very excellent.

1. Not too much of "Friends"—"dear Friends," &c.
2. Not to rise immediately after another sits down.
3. *To be faithful in preaching Christ crucified.*
4. To avoid as much as possible, the mixture of human with divine, matter of our own with that suggested of the Lord; a mixture to which our Society is much more exposed, than to absolutely spurious ministry. With this view always keep within rather than exceed the feeling.

6th mo., 21*st.* [After alluding to a successful effort on behalf of the Bible Society.] How necessary is it that a day in which so much of the divine blessing has been experienced should in no way elevate self. What have I, that I have not received?

In the 8th month, he again visited Ackworth, and, besides his usual engagements at the school, was occupied by holding several religious meetings there and in the neighbourhood.

FROM JONATHAN HUTCHINSON.

Gedney, 8th mo., 18th, 1820.

* * * There are some who make a difficulty of discharging duty from a hope of reward, as being unworthy and imperfect in its motives; but I am not sure whether this nicety does not savour more of the pride of the natural man, than of the humility of a regenerated Christian. For my own part, sheltered by the example of him who, "for the joy set before him, endured the cross, despising the shame," I am not aware of aspiring after, or acting upon any higher principle. Indeed I very much question its being either a required or a practicable duty for us, poor creatures of an hour as we are, to be divested of all self love—and with such a sentiment, the injunction to love our neighbour as ourselves, appears to me, to be so far from interfering, that I think it rather sanctions it.

Ah! 'tis humility—and by whatever means we may be brought to it—it is deep and still deeper humility that we want; and that must be the cure, if ever they are cured, of our many diseases whether general or particular.

FROM WILLIAM WILBERFORCE.

Bath, Oct. 23rd. 1820.

My dear Friend,

I can truly assure you that you cannot wish more than I do, that we could again partake of your Earlham hospitalities, and I scarcely need say that I here include those of the mind; all the kindness; all the interchange of thought and feeling. I should delight to see you with your little one in your arms. But it just occurs to me to tell you that you should have imitated my example, and have published your book * before you married. Seriously—how and why is it so

* Joseph John Gurney was still engaged upon the unpublished work, mentioned *supra*, p. 120.

long delayed?—All this time that hateful subject, (for I really think we may deem it a fit object of hatred,) of the Queen's business has been presenting itself to my mind, and pressing for discussion. Yet I must resist the impulse; I have not time or eyesight to state my sentiments sufficiently to insure my not being misunderstood. In one particular I am sure we should agree—in thinking we may recognise in our present situation the chastening hand. * * *

First day evening, 10*th mo.*, 22*nd.* Enabled this afternoon to speak for a short time on gifts and grace, the transitory nature of the former, and the permanence of the latter. We must be careful not to deceive ourselves, even in our humiliations, by mistaking the disuse of our talents for a paucity of talents.

Second day morning, 11*th mo.*, 6*th.* Yesterday, a day of silence and internal humiliation. Such days I feel to be profitable, perhaps more so than those when the work and the word flow. My prayer is that, through the power of divine grace, I may be delivered from sin in deed, word, thought, and imagination. O that I may drink daily of the living water; ὕδωρ ζῶν, ἀναβλύζον, ἀναπηδῶν ἀεὶ κινούμενον.*

Theophylact, [in Joann: iv, 10.]

12*th mo.*, 22*nd.* Yesterday, about two o'clock, I received the delightful intelligence of the birth of my little girl, and the well doing of her mother. * * This morning, after having been enabled to return thanks with my family circle, I feel unusually peaceful and happy. How undeservedly, is known only to the Searcher of hearts.

The year closes with a visit to Ipswich, respecting which he remarks:—

* "Living water, bubbling up, springing up, ever moving." The passage of Theophylact from which this quotation is extracted, seems to have been a favourite one. In one of his memorandum books Joseph John Gurney refers to it as "singularly clear and instructive;" it is quoted at length in a note at the close of the first section of the Essay on Love to God.

I can acknowledge with thankfulness and even joy that much help was afforded me in the various services which attended (it). * * My heart flows with love toward those whom I have been visiting, and I feel it a cause for thankfulness, that the last day of the year should have been a day peculiarly devoted to my divine Master.

1*st mo.*, 8*th*, 1821. We are apt to imagine that the trials of business are almost unbearable, and that even religion does not come in to aid them; but religion will apply itself to these as well as to all other trials, and submission to the will of God and confidence in his love, will help us through everything.

1*st mo.*, 29*th*. The last twenty days have been replete with interest and occupation. The first of the three weeks spent industriously at home, till sixth day, when I went to Cromer. Memorable, indeed, to me was my visit there, chiefly on account of our dearest Priscilla, to whom I was enabled to devote myself, and whose state of mind is in the greatest degree satisfactory and instructive.

Her decline appears rapid, but her sky cloudless. On first day morning our family party assembled in her room. Fowell and Hannah, Catherine, Rachel, and myself. It was a season of close exercise of spirit and of true baptism. Seldom have I been so drawn out into supplication, particularly for every member of our family successively, for the church, for the poor Africans, for the world at large. Priscilla beautifully addressed Fowell. It was altogether a time of peculiar favour.

On second day I returned home, and the same afternoon went off by mail to London. There I spent a highly interesting fortnight: saw many interesting people;—the Duc de Cazes, Wilberforce, Brougham, &c., and delightfully partook of the society of all my brothers and sisters, in and about London. Business was at times sorrowfully perplexing; yet hope and strength were, from time to time, afforded. The spiritual blessings of these two weeks were great; and from day to day I experienced something of the "word of Christ" dwelling in me "richly."

2*nd mo.*, 11*th*. Dearest Priscilla's state [continues to] en-

gross much attention, and to excite near feeling and sympathy. Two days last week I passed at Cromer, and found her greatly sunk. Whilst I cannot but weep over the mortal decay of a most beloved sister, let me remember my blessings and my joys. First of all, the blessing of an assured belief, that the spirit of our sister is washed white in the blood of the Lamb, is purified for heaven, ready to ascend into the society of the angelic host. O the mercy of the Lord! O the call for thankfulness and joy! And next let me look at home. Have I not cause to be very thankful? And why should I be so very careful? Why should I so often go as one burthened on my way? Unto thee, most dear, and honoured, and gracious Master, I desire to commit myself, my wife, my children, my brothers and sisters, my loved ones of every description, my goods and estate, my body, soul, and spirit. Do with me as thou seest meet. Enable me quietly to cast every care upon thee. Comfort me with the hourly remembrance that thou art my Saviour, my Shepherd, my King, and my Friend; yea, that thou art thyself touched with a feeling of my infirmities. Raise me, I beseech thee, above every mortal fear, every worldly entanglement; deepen and enliven my faith, and plant my affections in that celestial region of love and peace, where they will ever flourish to thy praise, and yield sweet fruits of honour, service, and thanksgiving, acceptable unto thee, my God.

Whilst thus watching the gradual decline of his sister, another affecting event unexpectedly occurred. In the third month of the preceding year, his brother-in-law Henry Birkbeck had married his cousin Jane, the daughter of his uncle Joseph Gurney. On the 21st of the 2nd mo. of this year she breathed her last, a few days after the birth of her only child.

2nd mo., 26*th.* Alas! where are we? Truly, sorrow and dismay have been our allotment. Second day was the last

day of hope respecting dearest Jane. On the following morning we were greatly alarmed by the return of her symptoms; no strength was left to bear the application of remedies, and she breathed her last early on fourth day morning. * * Third day was one of exceedingly great affliction. This was heightened to me by the absence of my dear wife, who was then at Cromer. In the evening my mother and I went to the Grove together, and it must be acknowledged, that in the very heat of the fiery trial, there was to be felt there, that evening, a sweet peace and great tranquillity. It was evident that divine support was near at hand to help the afflicted party. The beloved invalid was at first disappointed at hearing from the medical attendant that there was no longer any hope; and I believe she passed through deep humiliation and conflict, in the apprehension of her unfitness for the awful change. But her religion was pure, just, and genuine, and her faith gradually arose, so that she was enabled to throw herself, just as she was, on the bosom of a merciful Saviour. Her messages to her friends were instructive and full of love; her mind clear and very bright, to the last. Her sufferings were not great, and her end comparatively easy; truly and richly blessed, we may thankfully believe!

Under the same date he continues:—

On sixth day morning I settled some affairs; wrote a little in my book; visited the Grove; looked in at the prison; and then proceeded to Cromer, where I found another party of mourners. I stayed there until first day afternoon, and was much with dearest Priscilla. * * Sweet is the influence which accompanies and surrounds her, and truly lovely and desirable is her frame of mind. She lies most quietly, and her calm appears to be unbroken. Several times she spoke in ministry, and her whole state seems to indicate heaven at hand. It is peculiarly soothing to be with her, and an unspeakable mercy that she is so favoured with comparative outward ease, and with such eminent inward tranquillity, and true peace. Not a doubt appears to perplex her path. Her soul is centered in God.

Three weeks later he writes to his brother-in-law Thomas Fowell Buxton, who was then in London, attending upon his duties in Parliament: —

Cromer, 3d mo., 17th, 1821.

* * In thinking of thee, I feel entire satisfaction in thy having quitted for a time, thy retirement, and again launched thy vessel upon the world's ocean. Thy situation is undoubtedly one of great importance, and thy character is likely to obtain the more influence, because thy zeal for life, liberty, and truth, will move along in straight lines, and be disfigured by no *canting* or *whining*. Let no vain glory, no worldly lusts, no confidence in thy own strength, pollute its fair colours. Dwell low and deep in the humility which preserves, and mind what our dearest Priscilla said to thee when she exhorted thee to receive the Lord Jesus Christ in the fulness of his love, light, and power, not only as thy Redeemer, but as thy Governor, and thy Guide. Thy fond brethren may praise, perhaps flatter thee, but thy Master will ever be found an "unflattering witness." He will show thee where thou art, and what thou art. The denial of self, the bearing of the cross of Jesus, the arduous stepping on in the strait and narrow path, the reduction of the creature's will to its proper nothingness, will all be set before thee, and must all be accepted with submission. Yet, through all, will the smile of alluring mercy, of everlasting loving-kindness, of free redeeming grace, gladden and brighten every prospect, and teach the disconsolate pilgrim that all the ways of the Lord are "pleasantness, and all his paths peace." * * *

I have had great comfort in being here. Dearest Priscilla's state is to me increasingly consoling. Her sufferings appear to be considerably alleviated, and her spirit is like that of a little child. She has felt, thought, acted, and known as much as many, and manfully has she sustained the great cause of righteousness and truth. Now all is hushed; brought into rest and stillness; and, as I said before, her soul is like a weaned child. Nothing, in my apprehension, can be more lovely or beautiful than such a state. There is in it such an absence of

enthusiasm, such freedom from all false colouring, such true fitness for an entrance through the pearl gates into the city of God!

3rd mo., 31*st*. * * On fourth day morning, the 21st, as we were sitting at breakfast, we received a note from Dalrymple, to inform us that he had been to visit Priscilla, that he found her near death, and that he recommended my setting off without delay. I felt undisturbed by this intelligence; and having completed what required attention at home, we left Earlham, and arrived at Cromer before dinner time, where we continued until last fifth day morning, the 29th. On our introduction to dear Priscilla, we found her greatly sunk. Much of the time, whilst she was awake, was passed in reading the Bible, hymns, Friends' books — chiefly Samuel Scott's Diary, and the History of the Moravian Missions. Every now and then, sweet openings of the living spring, and opportunities for short verbal ministry.

Seventh day was indeed a memorable one. She was evidently herself during the whole day; seemed to enter into what was read to her, and received the ministry of her brothers and sisters, especially that of Fowell. The 13th of 1st Corinthians was read, and the enduring nature of true love dwelt upon. She in vain endeavoured to address Fowell, but could not speak. She offered her hand to different individuals repeatedly, in token of love; to me sweetly, amongst the rest. About half-past nine in the evening, we were all summoned into the room, as there were increased appearances of approaching death. Solemn and sweet was the time we then passed together. Prayer and thanksgiving were offered. Our dear sister Fry, wonderfully strengthened in faith, and empowered of the Spirit, addressed the dying beloved one, in a strain of confident and assured encouragement; as it were, helping her over the waters of Jordan. In the course of the opportunity, Priscilla clearly smiled; and repeatedly and distinctly expressed the word, "Farewell." * * I sat up with her during the night. It was a night of dying; and early in the morning I was exceedingly overcome. About nine, we were all

again assembled with her, and whilst our sister Fry was in the act of commending her into the hands of her God and Father, one gentle sigh closed the awful, yet peaceful scene! I repeated the words from a hymn: —

"One gentle sigh her fetters breaks;
We scarce can say she's gone,
Before the willing spirit takes
Her mansion near the throne.!'

Great and delightful was the flow of peace which after much deep distress, ensued to my own mind, for about half an hour.

Thus early was Priscilla Gurney called to rest from those labours which had promised a career of so much usefulness. Though the youngest sister, she was the first that was taken away, giving in the quiet assurance of her Christian hope, a sweet foretaste to those who were left behind, of the all-sufficiency of his grace who had thus loved her, and washed her from her sins in his own blood. She was born in the year 1785, and quickly became a conspicuous ornament of that bright and lively family circle, of which a sketch has already been given. Partaking, like the rest, of the gaiety of youth, she was with them also made a partaker of the gracious visitations of redeeming love. In the year 1810, she was led to unite herself more closely to the Society of Friends, and after passing through deep mental conflict, she felt it her duty, some years later, to speak as a minister in their religious meetings.

"Of all the ministry I was accustomed to hear," writes Joseph John Gurney in his Autobiography, "none perhaps was so beneficial to me, as that of my beloved sister Priscilla. It was generally in good authority, well expressed, lucid, and

scriptural; and to me rendered much the more effectual by her life and conversation, which afforded me a pattern of no mean value. The language of her whole conduct, to her younger brother in the truth, was, "Follow me, as I follow Christ."*

After having been engaged in various religious labours among Friends in her native county, she accompanied her cousin Rachel Gurney, whose health was then rapidly declining, and several other members of the family, to the South of France in the year 1816, and spent some time in religious service among the few who profess the principles of Friends in those parts. Whilst absent upon this journey, she wrote

TO HER BROTHER JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY.

Nice, 12th mo., 26th, 1816.

There are few passages in Scripture that have been more animating or comforting to me than the promises in the Revelation to those who overcome. I have dwelt on them with peculiar interest and with a renewed desire for us that

* One feature of her private character may be particularly noticed —her assiduous attention to the wants of the distressed and poor. "You had more opportunity," writes Thomas Fowell Buxton, to one of her sisters, "of knowing the extent to which she was devoted to their service, and how many of the days in every week she was employed exclusively in visiting the sick and distressed. I can only speak of the manner in which she was prepared, as soon as breakfast was over, to proceed to her task, her basket in readiness, filled with such little presents as she thought might be useful or acceptable to those who were suffering from disease. * * Within a short period of her death, she said to me, that she had no wish to recover, but if there was anything which recalled her to life, it was the desire to be more diligent in attending to the sick; adding, 'I have been well nursed, admirably nursed; but, after all, sickness to me is a sore thing; and what must it be to those who want every thing?'"

we may with more faith, more humility, and more entire and simple obedience, enlist under the banner of the Captain of our salvation; that we may follow him whithersoever he leadeth us. It is the prayer of my heart, my dearest Joseph, that thou mayest be encouraged and enabled yet to go on, yet to press forward in every religious, domestic, and public duty, in quietness and humility, "not slothful in business," "fervent in spirit, serving the Lord." When the curtain drops and the scene closes here, how is then every sacrifice in the cause of religion, how is every act of faith and obedience to be prized; how inestimable do they become as evidences of that grace by which alone we are saved!

On her return to Earlham in the summer of 1817, she again became the warm and affectionate helper and counsellor of her brother in his various engagements, taking an especial interest in his efforts in favour of scriptural instruction. With his assistance she compiled the valuable selection of Hymns for Young Persons, which was soon afterwards published, and has since passed through many editions in England and America.

Towards the close of the year 1817, she was engaged in a short journey amongst Friends in Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire, and in the following spring, in company with Anna Forster, she paid a general visit to Friends in Ireland. Soon after her return from Ireland, her health began to give way, and with a view to its amendment, she was induced to pass some months on the southern shore of the Isle of Wight. The change appeared, for a time, to produce the desired effect, and in the 4th month of 1820 she again resumed her position at Earlham. There, however, her strength gradually declined, and in the 8th month

of that year she finally removed to the house of her brother-in-law, Thomas Fowell Buxton, near Cromer, where she died on the 25th of the 3rd month, 1821.

Among many other letters received on the occasion of her decease, that to one of her sisters, written by the late Charles Simeon, and published in his Memoirs,* as well as the sketch given of her character by her brother-in-law Thomas Fowell Buxton.† are sufficient evidences of the deep impression which she had made upon those with whom she was associated. But among them all, there were few, if any, who more deeply felt her loss than her brother Joseph John Gurney. Having lived together under a common roof; a sister not only in natural affection, but as he was wont to say, "in the unchangeable truth," it was a dispensation under which he bowed in reverent submission, but which he ceased not deeply to mourn.

"Exceedingly precious to many," are his words in allusion to her many years later in his Autobiography, "is the recollection of her sweetness and delicacy, and at the same time, strength and clearness of mind; of her unreserved dedication of heart to the Saviour whom she loved; and of her instructive offerings in prayer and preaching, both in public and in private. Her image comes before me at this moment with uncommon sweetness!"

The funeral took place on the 2nd of the 4th month, and was very largely attended.

* See p. 551.

† See Memoirs of Sir T. F. Buxton, pp. 100, 101.

"There was something with us," says Joseph John Gurney, "of which words might be the channel, but which was far better than words. We may acknowledge, that we have been greatly favoured by the divine love and presence, ever since our sister's death, and we cannot be too thankful for this renewed extension of heavenly favour; but, alas! how mournfully have I at times felt the depth, height, length, and breadth of my loss! Priscilla was, indeed, a most valued and cherished sister!"

CHAPTER XI.

1821—1822. ÆT. 33—34.

EXTRACTS FROM JOURNAL AND LETTERS: LETTER FROM WILLIAM WILBERFORCE; TRACT ON THE AUTHORITY, IMPORTANCE, AND EFFECT OF CHRISTIANITY; ILLNESS AND DEATH OF HIS WIFE.

DEEPLY sorrowing, yet not as those who are without hope, Joseph John Gurney thus prepares for again engaging in his ordinary duties.

Fourth mo., 6*th*, 1821. I prayed this morning for ability to recommence my common duties in the fear of the Lord, and with a diligent spirit. This work is, I hope, begun. I have been visiting poor William Anderson on his death bed. A sudden illness, and as fatal as sudden! How awful is such a summons. I was strengthened to pray for him, and to direct his attention to a crucified Jesus.

Fourth mo., 16*th*. On fifth day at the Monthly Meeting, I proposed a public meeting [at Norwich] for last first day night. I felt much peace, and even joy, in consequence; something resembling the feeling which was permitted me when I first spoke in the ministry; but lowness and apprehension were at times prevalent. The meeting was full and very relieving. I experienced much power working in my weakness, enabling me to preach the gospel of my Lord and Saviour.

Fifth mo., 8*th*. Returned last night from London; the week spent there marked chiefly by the meeting of the Bible Society, and Fowell's parliamentary dinner party; the latter entertaining, the former highly interesting. Being invited to speak, I took the opportunity of discussing the right method of con-

ducting public meetings, and bore a strong and generally, though I believe not universally, acceptable testimony against want of simplicity, votes of thanks, flattery, &c. As usual, though my speech was against *self*, I found *self* too busy, too eager after some satisfaction, when the effort was over.

The passage of his speech to which he here refers, is reported as follows.*

"I long to see the day when the General Meetings of the Bible Society shall be conducted with perfect simplicity, and when we shall studiously avoid everything like panegyric or eulogy. This line of conduct we have adopted at Norwich, and it appears to me to have greatly increased the success of the Bible Society there. We have always endeavoured to have as few resolutions as possible; and to make them all as much as possible of a practical nature. My heart went along with my friend from North Britain, when he was speaking of the evils of panegyric. We do not come here to panegyrize, but to acknowledge the unmerited mercies of our God and Saviour. We come to acknowledge, as in the dust, that we have all sinned and come short of his glory; and that so far from having any degree of merit for what we have done, we have cause to lament that we have done so little. I am fully sensible how much benefit this Society has derived from its president, from its secretaries, and from its committee; and one reason why I wish to promote the distribution of the Scriptures is because, while they teach us to fear God, they teach us also to give honour where honour is due, tribute to whom tribute is due, respect where respect is due. But when I remember that our object is a religious one; that we come together as the unworthy subjects and servants of our Lord Jesus Christ, I feel that we should not take that opportunity of bestowing praise on each other."

* See the Monthly Extracts from the correspondence, &c. of the British and Foreign Bible Society of that period.

Second day 5th mo., 4th. Yesterday brought with it some edification. The ministry was exercised shortly in both the meetings; considerably in the cross to myself. In the morning I spoke of the advantage of our mode of worship, as leading to the experience that we can of ourselves do very little to help or instruct one another, that there are times when the tongue of the teacher languisheth, and when the voice of the preacher is scarcely heard; and how profitable these times might be made to us, if they induced us to make God our only refuge, and to draw near to the true minister of the sanctuary, whose sacred touch can make the heart to glow, and whose anointing "teacheth of all things, and is truth and no lie." In the afternoon, I quoted the words of Isaiah, "How beautiful on the mountain," &c., and spoke to the case of those who, being to a certain degree awakened, were ready to acknowledge the goodness of the tidings, and the beauty of the feet of the messengers; but who were nevertheless unwilling to pay the price, to sell all that they have, and to present their whole selves an acceptable sacrifice. How desirable that I should take these lessons home to myself; that my body and heart be kept under true subjection, so that "having preached to others," I may not myself become "a castaway!"

Sixth mo., 24th. My dearest wife and I left home on the third day preceding the Yearly Meeting, and have been absent four weeks. This very interesting period was occupied first by Fowell and his criminal code debate;* secondly, by the Yearly Meeting; thirdly, by my own religious duties; holding various meetings, some in the neighbourhood of London, and some on my way home. Deeply interesting have been these successive objects. I have seen great talents devoted to the Lord's service and glory; I have seen a large body of persons deliberating for many days, under what I truly believe to be the immediate influences of the Lord's Spirit; I have seen produced these precious fruits of the Spirit, love, quietness, and great solemnity, which have evinced the solidity and substantial truth of our religious principles; and in the various

* See Life of Sir T. F. Buxton, p. 108

public and other meetings, in which I have been myself engaged, I have had to acknowledge both the power and the love of God, manifested in renewed visitations to his unworthy servants and to their hearers. Surely then I ought to be animated by this fresh cloud of witnesses, "to lay aside every weight," and to press forward.

In allusion to a Friend's having "hinted at disunity with his gift" in the ministry, he remarks:—

Had it not been for this circumstance, I believe I should have returned home not only peaceful, but, in my measure, rejoicing in the Lord. It is well, however, to be brought into yet deeper searching of heart, and into truer silence of soul; and I believe this dispensation will be made profitable to me. It is my desire to get rid of that secret pride and presumption, which would arrogate to myself the right in this matter; and to humble myself more and more before God and man; and yet I believe it needful, that I should not take too much heed to any human judgment, but rather with simplicity and firmness follow my God.

The following are some of his reflections upon a review of his objects in life at this period.

7th mo., 8*th.* I suppose my leading outward object in life, may be said to be the bank. It sometimes startles me to find my leading object of such a nature, and now and then I doubt whether it is quite consistent with my religious pursuits and duties. I remember, however, that it has been the allotment of providence; that I was introduced into the business in obedience to my father, in early life; that my religious pursuits have found me in this situation; and that hitherto, the two things have not proved incompatible. It is, however, a very serious thing, to be so largely engaged in the cares and transactions of money matters. It calls for real watchfulness against avarice, against a careful spirit, and against worldliness in various forms. It is much my desire, that should it be the

will of my gracious leader and commander entirely to divert my attention at any time from this object, that will may be made known to me, and some opening for escape given. While I am a banker, the bank must be attended to. It is obviously the religious duty of a trustee to so large an amount, to be diligent in watching his trust. It appears to me, on the whole, that our concern was never better watched or conducted in its several ramifications, and I trust it may please a gracious providence to preserve us from very rough waters. * * Public charitable objects are, in this age, numerous. With respect to myself, they are brought into far better order than formerly, and by no means occupy a great proportion of time, with the single exception of the Bible Society, which I continue to feel one of my most important objects in life. The school is pretty regularly visited, and goes on well. The prison I have not visited since my return; but intend to resume my operations there. The mendicity office, vaccination, and dispensary, occasionally claim attention.

My religious duties, or those which may be more peculiarly called so, alone remain to be noticed. My "overseership"* in Norwich meeting; my ministry; both are interesting to me. It is a great comfort, inexpressibly so, that this ministry is not at my own command; that it comes and goes; that I can neither stop it, nor set it going. O there is sweet rest in this. At present I am brought to an unusual feeling of nothingness, and it is my desire more and more to lie low under the mighty hand of God. My stock of faith, and spiritual grace seems often very low, yet hope springs up from time to time; and I do not forget that the "blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth from all sin."

I have been picturing to myself my outward history. My soul, however, is the thing to be chiefly watched. It is well

* "Overseers," are officers in the Society of Friends appointed, as the name implies, to watch over their fellow-members, and to give such Christian advice and counsel as may appear needful. The office is by no means confined to those, whose call to the ministry has been recognised by the body.

to have before me an orderly arrangement, a coloured map of things to be done outwardly; but the great lesson is to dwell deeply with the fountain of life, more earnestly to seek God, more thoroughly to cleave to the Lamb immaculate, who commands me to follow him. As this is the case, I need not greatly burden myself with my outward cares, but I shall receive ability, day by day, to move forwards with a meek and quiet spirit, towards the "final rest." My beloved wife and children are treasures inexpressibly precious. May my duties towards them never be neglected. So happily and completely are these duties interwoven with everyday's course, that I would almost hope that the neglect of them may be impossible.

"How differently from our expectations," he writes in the entry which immediately follows the above, "are sometimes ordered the ways of providence! The preceding analysis says much of business, and varied occupation of mind and body; the ways of providence have brought with them the command, 'be still.'

"I think it was about the 18th of the 7th mo., that, after a severe attack of indisposition, which had confined me about two weeks, my dearest wife and I, with our children, left home to spend a few quiet, restorative days at Cromer Hall. Those few days were extended to two weeks, which were succeeded by three weeks at Hunstanton, and these by five weeks of journeying through Derbyshire, Warwickshire, &c., which have at last brought us back to our beloved and long-left home. I could have but one excuse for such a mode of passing ten weeks of precious time;—the restoration of health."

Announcing his arrival at Hunstanton, he writes:—

8th mo., 1st, 1821.

* * On our way hither, my fancy was greatly caught by the wild flowers which bloomed in the hedges between Cromer and Holt, and of which I counted in blossom more than seventy species. How profuse and variegated are the results of the wisdom and goodness of God!

TO HENRY BRADY.

Matlock, 9th mo., 2nd, 1821.

Thou well knowest how warm and heartfelt an affection I have for thee, and for other dear friends at Ackworth, and how deeply interested I am in your welfare, and that of the institution over which you are presiding. May you be encouraged and helped by the Author of all our sure mercies, faithfully to perform your arduous duties, and more and more diligently to lead the lambs of the fold to their only true Shepherd. Who knows but that the language of "cease from your labours" may be proclaimed to some of *you*, and how desirable, in such a moment, to look back with peace upon a stewardship duly executed. I have been quite a wanderer, absent from home about two months. How good it is for me to be thus (after a manner somewhat novel to me,) convinced of my insignificance and powerlessness! May it be my own prayer, and that of my friends, that in all things I may be found truly subject to the will of Him, who loved us and gave himself for us.

10*th mo.*, 9*th*. * * The societies, and the annual gatherings at Earlham, appear to have gone on well in our absence, which is a true satisfaction; and it has been much of a pleasure to open my doors wide, though not myself a partaker. I know, however, that there is no security in these things, unless they arise from a simple and unsophisticated desire to "honour the Lord with our substance, and with the first fruits of all our increase." May this honouring of the Lord be increasingly my only aim! There still dwells deeply in my heart a tendency to many and various evils, which I have long endeavoured to investigate and correct; but the work is by no means completed. How clearly do I perceive that the Christian weapons of watchfulness, prayer, and earnest seeking after God, can never cease to be necessary whilst we are in this state of being! Though there is no limit to the work of grace; and though the standard held out to us and closely enjoined,

is nothing short of the standard of perfection, yet must we expect that the contest will continue to the end.

12*th mo.*, 10*th*. The whole of yesterday, which was a low yet edifying sabbath, I felt real satisfaction in being silent. * * How invaluable is the liberty of the Spirit, as professed and enjoyed by Friends! In the afternoon meeting my mind was peculiarly drawn in near love and unity to our own society; and the desolate heritages were commended in secret prayer to Him who, I feel persuaded, has called us forth to bear peculiar yet living testimonies; and thus to answer, in his church universal, a specific purpose. Would that that purpose were more fully accomplished in us and by us; but, alas! the backwardness, waywardness, and carelessness of fallen man!

First day morning, 12*th mo.*, 23*rd*. At home from meeting this morning in great quietness and retirement. I have felt enabled to pour out my heart in prayer for myself, my wife, my children, and many others, for the church, and for the cause of truth. It is indeed a solemn and awful thing thus to draw near in spirit to the Most High; and what an unspeakable privilege not to be separated from him by a state of sin; what a paramount blessing to know an access unto him by that new and living way which he hath himself revealed!

FROM WILLIAM WILBERFORCE.

(Written a few days after the decease of his eldest daughter.*)

Marden Park, January 15th, 1822.

* * We yesterday returned to the house in which our dear child had passed a few days of comparative health and bodily enjoyment, and many weeks of languor and pain. My wife was naturally much affected at first; but her grand cordial is of an efficacy as unlimited in point of place, as of time and circumstance. It is the assured persuasion that our dear child is gone to a better world. I own I had wished, and, with submission I trust, had prayed, that it might please God to grant her a measure of joy as well as peace in believing—

* See Life of Wilberforce, vol. v, pp. 109—113.

some of that holy exultation of which we so often read in the last hours of the dying people of God; and yet, except in some few particular instances, I know not but that the humble, but sure though trembling hope of a contrite heart, often approves itself to the judgment as a still more stable and solid ground for consolation. And it is observable, that though joy be sometimes held forth as a privilege, and even commanded as that to which, as Christians, we have a right, yet there are no promises made to it as an evidence. But, "the Lord is nigh unto them that be of a contrite heart, and will save such as be of an humble spirit." Joy needs no consolatory assurances, as does the humble, trembling penitent. To him that exquisitely beautiful assurance is given, the Lord delighteth in mercy; not merely kindness, but *mercy;* kindness to those who deserve punishment. O, how often are we reminded that God is love! Though a tender mother cannot but feel deeply, yet she can rejoice too; and blessed be God, while tears are transient as an April shower, the joy will be immortal as the light of heaven, as the glory of God, and the light of the Lamb. * * O my friend, what a world of glories does Christianity pour forth upon us when we, ἀφορῶντες, fix on it our steady and warm regards! What a gloomy—what a November evening prospect would present itself to the mind's eye of a man like myself, advancing into the vale of years, but for this blessed flood of light and love which flow forth from the throne of God and of the Lamb! My dear friend, pray for us, that what has passed, may not have merely a transient effect, but a deep and lasting, aye, everlasting influence; that it may impress us with a disposition to be more diligent, that we may be "found of him in peace without spot and blameless."

It was about this time, as appears from a memorandum in his literary Journal,* that Joseph John Gurney wrote the original of the tract which he

* Under date 4th mo., 8th, to 4th mo., 22nd, 1822; see the note p. 233, *infra.*

published in a revised and enlarged form towards the beginning of the year 1824, under the title of, A Letter to a Friend on the Authority, Purpose and Effects of Christianity, and especially on the Doctrine of Redemption. In this letter he gives a condensed but clear and forcible statement of the evidences of the Christian religion; thence proceeding, at somewhat greater length, with the arguments drawn from Scripture in proof of the great doctrines of Christian redemption, particularly dwelling upon the efficacy of the atoning sacrifice of Christ, and the necessity and reality of the operations of the Holy Spirit, as the awakener of the world, the witness for Christ, and the comforter and sanctifier of the believer.

The friend to whom the letter was addressed had long been known to the family at Earlham. Distinguished by learning, talent, and intelligence, his heart was enlarged by a widely extended benevolence, and for a long series of years, his doors, during certain hours of each day, had been regularly opened to the distressed poor, and his time freely devoted to the alleviation of their sufferings and wants. But, with all his excellencies, one thing was wanting, without which his mind could not rest. He was yet a stranger to the joy and the peace which spring from a settled faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. He was now far advanced in years, and had known Joseph John Gurney from his childhood, and his position and character, coupled with the long familiarity of friendship, made the prospect of a religious visit to him not a little formidable.

"So weak was my faith," writes Joseph John Gurney, "that it seemed impossible, and I did not yield to the impression for a full month. Finding no peace, however, on any other terms, I at length called upon him, and induced him to allow me to sit down with him in silence. He was very restless, and my ministration as weak as possible. However, in broken terms, I expressed my sense of the unutterable importance of simple faith in Christ."

"Some considerable time afterwards, he was exposed to great personal danger on his way home from London, in consequence of the horses in the coach running away. He was alarmed. The Lord applied that alarm to the highest purposes; and he awoke to a painful solicitude respecting the state of his immortal soul. In this condition he applied to me for a selection of passages from scripture on the subject of the atonement. (O! the importance of that only refuge for the awakened soul.) Most willingly did I avail myself of the opportunity, and, without delay, I sat down and wrote the original of my Letter to a Friend on the Authority, Importance, and Effects of Christianity. * * I anxiously awaited the result, and soon found to my great joy, that it was well received. He placed the letter under the cushion of his arm-chair, and for several weeks read it daily. The Bible was read to him from time to time, and in the course of a few weeks his mind was changed. It was the Lord's doing, and was marvellous in our eyes. He was much afflicted by a painful disease, which he bore with exemplary patience. On calling upon him one day, I expressed a desire for his preservation in the truth. "I do assure you," he replied, "I have not one sceptical feeling left," and he allowed me to take away the following prayer which he had just been writing, and which I found lying on his table.

"Almighty God, and most merciful Father! I humbly beseech thee to ease my pain, increase my patience, and lay upon me no more than I am able to bear, although I have deserved it all; and grant, that when my soul is released from this prison of my body, it may be admitted into that rest

which is appointed for all such as repent, amend, and believe; as, I trust, does this thy unworthy servant, who now lies prostrate before thee, in humble reliance on the atoning merits of thy beloved Son, who suffered death that we might enjoy life eternal, and to whom be all honour, dominion, and power, for ever and ever. Amen."

He continued stedfast in the faith until his death, which took place about two years afterwards. Though unhesitating in his belief, he was often in conflict respecting himself, but evidently kept his hold of the Lord Jesus. Standing by his bedside, two or three days before his end, I said, addressing him, "Ah, what a comfort it is, that the blood of Christ cleanseth from all sin." "Yes!" he replied with intense feeling, "if it were not for that, I know not what would become of me!"

Since its first publication, the Letter on Christianity has been widely circulated, several hundred thousand copies having been distributed through various channels. "For such a result," says Joseph John Gurney, at the conclusion of the above narrative, "I ought to be very thankful, and humbly trust that it may have been blessed to many. If so, the Lord alone be praised."

An event was now approaching which put his principles to their severest test. Little as he appears himself to have anticipated it, the following entry in the journal, written a few weeks previously, possesses a peculiar interest.

5th mo., 4th, 1822. Why are we so much surprised and discouraged at the afflictions of the righteous? Are they not appointed for good, in whatever shape they appear? And are they not, in comparison with eternal things, of almost momentary duration? O for an increase of true and lively,

and reposing faith in God, with reference to those things which are invisible, and for ever.

A few days later he writes:—

TO HIS SISTER HANNAH BUXTON.

* * How in circumstances of trial, I should practise, I know not. One thing I know, that my nature most sensibly shrinks from pain and trial, and that a true and cheerful submission will never be displayed by me, unless I am immediately helped by him whose grace is sufficient, however deep the thorn, however torn and wounded the flesh.

Still later he writes in his Journal:—

5th mo., 26*th*. *First day.* I have been more than usually engaged in ministry to-day. This afternoon, on the nature of Christian fidelity; "Be thou faithful unto death;" and upon the particulars unfolded in Scripture, respecting the heavenly state; "And I will give thee a crown of life." How earnestly do I desire that my practice may not fall short of my public profession, that my life and conversation may, far more than they now do, "adorn the doctrine!" It is affecting to me to consider that I seem, for the most part, to dwell at such a distance from heavenly things; but, I trust, the Master whom I desire to serve, will bring me, and all of us, nearer to himself.

The next entry thus continues his history:—

6th mo., 19*th*. This great purpose has, I trust, in measure, been effected, by the awful and most afflicting dispensation, which has been permitted to overtake me. On the 10th instant, my tenderly beloved wife was removed from this mortal scene, to one, as I have every reason to believe, of infinitely greater happiness and joy.

I will endeavour, for my own comfort and benefit, and that of my beloved family, to record the circumstances.

A considerable cold and cough induced my dear wife to take more than usual care of herself, during the week before last. On first day morning, the 2nd instant, however, she was well enough to attend the morning meeting, and, indeed, seemed quite well. She remained at home in the afternoon, not being strong enough for a further effort, and when I came back, she requested me to take her a drive in the pony chair. The evening was bright and pleasant, and our minds were calm and united; but it is probable that the north wind, which then blew upon us, was made the cause of her death.

On fifth day afternoon, speaking of her illness, she said, "I have no wish that it should be otherwise. I have prayed that something might bring me to a livelier sense of religion;" and again, turning to me with great sweetness, she observed, "this is to bring down the high places." On sixth day night, my sisters, Rachel and Richenda, came with me into her room. We found her asleep: when she awoke, the Spirit of the Lord, (a spirit of humiliation, yet confidence,) appeared to be with her; and it was with great power that she addressed us, "How," said she, "has the love of God been opened to my soul lately!" adding, "I look upon this to be an awful and sudden call out of the world, and from all things that are in it." She emphatically described herself as a sinner; declared that she was deeply prostrated, and at the same time spoke with fulness of the good hope and sweet consolation, which had attended her through this illness. Soon after my sisters left the room, she said, "Give my kind regards to the servants, and tell them how much I have desired that they might be brought under the influence of *vital religion*."

* * * * * *

On first day morning her mind became less occupied with painful, and more with pleasurable emotions. Sweet smiles dwelt on her countenance, and her delirium, for the most part, was that of a person who felt at once innocent and easy. This was an inexpressible relief to me, and the sorrow which I had to experience through this sabbath day, though deep and

poignant, was a quiet sorrow, unruffled by the storm of the enemy. It was that of giving up unto death my tenderly beloved one; and whilst under the influence of this sorrow, the future assumed the appearance of dark melancholy. I, nevertheless, experienced true peace in recommitting her to her God and Father. In the afternoon, a painful struggle was excited, by the suggestion of a hope of recovery, and it was only in the full resignation of that hope that I again felt peace. I retired to rest on first day night, and obtained some hours of refreshing sleep.

About half-past four o'clock, Rachel called me, and informed me that there were marked appearances of the approaching change. I was soon again with my beloved wife. I was agitated, fearful, and nervous, but after some time, I was strengthened to kneel down, and a song of prayer and praise broke forth spontaneously from me, nearly in the following words:—"And now, O Lord, cut short the work in righteousness. Thou hast washed her in the blood of the Lamb; thou hast regenerated her by thy Holy Spirit; thou hast clothed her with thy salvation. Thou art about to receive her into thy kingdom, where her sun shall no more go down, neither her moon withdraw itself; for thou, O Lord, shalt be her everlasting light—her God—her glory!" As the last breath trembled on her lips, (and gentle was that breath,) the power of the Lord again came over me, and I cried out, with a spirit not my own, "The work, the glorious work is finished, to his praise, to her eternal happiness, and to my peace."

My dearest wife died on second day morning, the 10th of the 6th month, exactly four years and nine months after our happy marriage day. A sense of holy and elevated calm, was the immediate effect of this touching, solemn, and blessed scene. Here for the present I leave my history. The change wrought in my condition is wonderful. The mighty hand of the Lord's discipline and dealing has been upon me, and his Comforter is now with me; at his feet I feel sweet unbroken peace. There let me ever dwell, O Lord my God!

TO THE BISHOP OF NORWICH.

Earlham, 6th mo., 10th, 1822.

"I have this morning parted with my dearest earthly treasure, and have bid her God speed to the heavenly regions, where Christ dwelleth in his glory. One short week has marred my fond and pleasant pictures. My dearest wife on this day week was attacked with violent pleurisy, and is now numbered with the dead; may I not rather say with the *living;* with those who, like her, have placed a firm trust in their omnipotent Redeemer, and who have faithfully endeavoured to serve him; "*therefore* are they before the throne of God." It has been to me a period of the deepest anguish, and conflict of mind; but, at times, the storms have all been hushed by that divine power, of which I have indeed experienced the healing virtue, and on which it will, I humbly trust, be my endeavour to wait all my life long."

A few days after the funeral, he thus writes in his journal: —

6*th mo.*, 21*st.* * * As I lay down last night, I endeavoured to console and strengthen myself with the following considerations: —

It has been our true, however feeble endeavour, to live together in the fear of God, and in the faith and love of Christ. And on this ground, I am persuaded, that we have been, as two individuals, and as one pair, under the special dealing of our heavenly Father; and this dealing has been displayed with power, in the awful dispensation which has brought our delightful outward union to a close. * * I have also assuredly to believe, that there is in this awful dispensation, mercy to me, as well as to her. The shaft has been directed of the Lord to my spiritual benefit. My dependence on earthly things required to be shaken. I was in need of something to dislocate me from things visible; and to bring me to a nearer and more satisfactory apprehension of the heavenly inheritance. Now

my attractions to heaven are strengthened; those towards the earth proportionably weakened. The very great suffering which has been allotted me, was, I believe, needful for settling me more deeply in the truth. I hope I shall be permitted, by degrees, to rise out of it with fresh and profitable experience; better fitted than before to minister to others; and much strengthened, I humbly trust, for the working out of my own salvation. And yet truly I am nothing, "a worm and no man." Well do I know that my strength is in God, and that my only position of safety is that of total prostration at his feet.

CHAPTER XII.

1822—1823. ÆT. 34—36.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS AND JOURNAL; COMMENCEMENT OF WORK ON THE DISTINGUISHING PRINCIPLES OF FRIENDS; HOME PURSUITS; LITERARY JOURNAL; ANTI-SLAVERY MOVEMENTS; RELIGIOUS SERVICES IN ESSEX AND SUFFOLK; HANNAH MORE; RELIGIOUS VISIT TO YARMOUTH.

THERE is a beautiful passage in Baxter's Saint's Rest, in which the believer is represented as thus addressing himself on his entrance into glory. "Now thou art sufficiently convinced that the ways thou calledst hard, and the cup thou calledst bitter, were necessary; that thy Lord had sweeter ends, and meant thee better than thou wouldst believe; and that thy Redeemer was saving thee as well when he crossed thy desires as when he granted them, and as well when he broke thy heart as when he bound it up."* Such was the experience which Joseph John Gurney was now invited to realise. The hand of the "Refiner" was upon him; the discipline was painful, but he knew its purpose, and had been, in mercy, taught to receive it as a discipline of love.

* Page 32, ed. 1677.

TO HENRY BRADY.

Earlham, 7th mo., 15th, 1822.

Through the awful dispensation which has been allotted me, I may acknowledge that, however sorely tried, I have not been forsaken. Sometimes I am permitted to feel an almost abounding happiness; and generally a great calm over my mind and spirit. So that I have been constrained to proclaim from past experience the tender mercies of our God.

During the few months succeeding his loss he continued mostly at home, in the enjoyment of the society of his sisters Catherine and Rachel; his children becoming increasingly the objects of his tender solicitude.

In the mean time, besides attending to the necessary claims of business, and to the various public objects that had long shared his interest, he sedulously devoted his leisure to study; finding relief, as he intimates, not in the indulgence of sorrow, but in a diligent attention to the calls of duty. "My time is fully occupied," he writes in his Journal,* "and I have no opportunity to nurse my sorrow. Had I more opportunity, I know it would be wrong to do so. It is, and will be deep."

6th mo., 24*th*, 1822. The last three or four days have brought with them times of great lowness; yet I believe my faith has not failed, and the prayer which I have repeatedly offered in secret, that I might be preserved, through all, in that submission which precludes a *single murmur*, has been much blessed to me, and I trust answered.

* Under date 7th mo., 29th, 1822.

6th mo., *28th.* This morning has been passed in very satisfactory communications with the servants. It is cause of gratitude to the Author of all our mercies that the household generally appear to be in so feeling and serious a frame of mind; so that, even in taking their beloved mistress from them, the Lord has, in measure at least, accomplished her main desire for them, and will, I trust, continue to bless the event to that great end. Since I last wrote I have passed through periods of deep sorrow; but thanks be to my beloved Redeemer, I am not forsaken. The *weaning* process is wonderfully painful, but, no doubt, it is needful, and I humbly trust it makes progress.

7th mo., *8th.* Affecting accounts are received of the sudden, and I fear fatal illness of Charles Parker, who has been so lately with us evincing his spiritual exercise on our behalf, and his own fitness for the eternal world.* Alas! what a shadow, what a dream is our life! Yet why should we complain because a shock of corn fully ripe is gathered into the Master's garner.

7th mo., *15th.* * * Dearest Louisa has just left us, after committing me with prayer and praise to our heavenly Father. She was led to speak of my learning further obedience by the things which I suffer. I desire to remember this hint for good, for I feel persuaded that, as it relates to myself, it is the main import of this awful dispensation.

9th mo., *4th.* From first day, 8th mo., 4th, to the following seventh day, I was vigorously employed in clearing off the various claims of business, and left home for Hunstanton, on the 9th ult., with clear hands, and I trust not without a feeling of thankfulness towards the Author of all good. Our journey was pleasant, but our arrival at Hunstanton, a place full of the most affecting and tender associations, was very mournful. I strolled down by myself in the dark to the cliff, and poured out my heart in bitter weeping, in the remembrance of my lost

* An interesting notice of Charles Parker is to be found in "Piety Promoted," part 11, p. 280.

treasure. How many hours of sweet and pure enjoyment have we been permitted to taste together in that place! I continued at Hunstanton three weeks, and in the society of my dear mother, my dear sister Fry, and Rachel, experienced much true tranquillity and enjoyment. The Edwardses were also valuable companions. Dear Elizabeth's health strikingly improved during our stay, and her company and influence were at once reviving and instructive. Her deep humility was particularly striking amidst the love and applause of her fellow creatures, who seem on all occasions to gather round her. With the consent of our Norwich elders, I ventured to invite the inhabitants to a public meeting, which, though a time of personal humiliation, was followed by great relief and peace of mind. Two first days were passed at Lynn, where there is a very interesting little company of "convinced" individuals. Would that they may be led onwards in that narrow way which has been thus cast up for them! * * My dear home seems peaceful, notwithstanding its covering of mourning; nor do I find a great rush upon me, of things to be done and cared for. But diligence is very needful, and brings consolation with it.

Whilst at Hunstanton, he entered upon the composition of his work, on the Distinguishing Principles of Friends. In a letter to Jonathan Hutchinson, he describes it as "an attempt at something more easy and familiar than Barclay, and deeper than Henry Tuke."

"I hope," he writes in his Journal, "the task is rightly undertaken. O for that humble, self-denying, waiting state, in which our works are not our own, but the Lord's. Were it more attained to, how pure, how beautiful, would become the offerings of the righteous!"

9*th mo.*, 9*th*. *Second day morning.* The solemnities of yesterday were far from being destitute of the divine blessing. Amidst all our trials the Lord is with us, and at times, he is

pleased to proclaim a sabbath from the evil imaginations of the heart, and the temptations of the adversary.

Retiring for a few days to Cromer Hall, he found a large and interesting circle. Amongst others, the late William Wilberforce, and Zachary Macaulay were there, deliberating with his brother-in-law Thomas Fowell Buxton, on the position and prospects of the Anti-Slavery Question. It was the occasion on which the latter appears to have arrived at his "final decision," to accept the responsible post of advocate of the cause, as successor to Wilberforce.* In this important undertaking, and throughout the succeeding struggle, Joseph John Gurney gave him his warm and efficient encouragement and support.

Earlham, 9th mo., 28th. Wilberforce, his wife, daughter, and two sons, are our guests; and, after a visit of four days, are about to leave us this morning. My communications with him have been of an interesting and very animating nature. To describe him is difficult; for seldom, if ever, have I met with anything so beautiful as his mind. He lives, or appears to live, in perpetual sunshine; humility and love may be said to cover him, and the variety of his intellectual powers, and profusion of mental ornaments, render him, in a very peculiar degree, a delightful companion.

We have just been permitted to enjoy together, an opportunity of solemn waiting and fervent prayer, during which I was strengthened to minister to him, his wife, and his children, and to commit them to the everlasting Father of his people; also to pour out our united petitions on behalf of the poor slaves, and for their oppressors; and for the hastening of that day, in which the universal sabbath from those cruelties and

* See Life of Sir T. F. Buxton, p. 122.

contentions which now lay waste mankind, shall be proclaimed in the earth.

10*th mo.*, 6*th*. Our Bible Society parties have been large but quiet, and a spirit of love and humility has, I hope, in a measure, reigned amongst us. Charles Simeon and John Cunningham, have been both interesting guests. The former is of a very marked character; full of elevated hopes, and Christian joy and love. I have enjoyed his society, and prized his influence; at the same time I find myself reverting with feelings of peace and satisfaction to the unexciting simplicity of my own religious profession.

First day evening, 10*th mo.*, 13*th*. "Out of the depths have I cried unto thee, O Lord. Lord, hear my voice; let thine ears be attentive to the voice of my supplications. If thou, Lord, shouldest mark iniquities, O Lord, who shall stand? But there is forgiveness with thee, that thou mayest be feared." Such is the language of my soul this evening, after a week of much depression, and after a sabbath in which my gracious Master has been pleased to display a glimpse of his own countenance; so that I am, on the one hand, prostrated before him, and on the other, not destitute of some degree of ability to rejoice in the hope set before me in the gospel. Our two meetings have been to me, through divine favour, opportunities of much silent reverent waiting on God; and I have, both inwardly and vocally, prayed that I might be armed afresh of him, for the combat with my spiritual adversary.

Second day, 11*th mo.*, 11*th*. * * Truly, I may adore the mercy of a long-suffering and gracious God, who has not left me to perish in the corruptions of my fallen nature, but wonderfully proclaims to me, from season to season, his great salvation. Seldom have I felt such deep lowness as I did yesterday; but I found it was wholesome for me thus to suffer. The morning meeting was spent in silent, awful prostration of soul before God. In the afternoon, with much fear, I preached on the invitation of the halt, poor, blind, and maimed, to the marriage supper, and on the wedding garment of the righteousness of Christ.

TO HENRY BRADY.

Norwich, 11th mo., 13th, 1822.

* * It is not Christian to be cast down without measure, by the death even of our dearest friends. I dare not allow it in myself, and I must venture to forbid it in thee. Why should we mourn as those that are without hope? And how is it that in the affairs of affection, we are so dependent upon the flesh? I know of nothing more to the credit of religion, than cheerfulness and thankfulness under affliction. Our consolations are unspeakable and abounding. As to thy *inward* trials of mind, I can indeed sympathize with thee, for I know what it is to be deeply cast down; and the corruption of the human heart is the very thing which has often brought me, as it has been bringing thee, into this state. But be of good courage, there is one, whose holy hand will, I believe, however secretly, sustain, uplift, protect, and deliver through all. *Cultivate a sound, deep, scriptural view of the redemption which is in Christ Jesus.* Accustom thyself not to dwell on thyself, but on him, as assuredly made unto thee of God, "wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption." Let his mercies and his merits be thy strength and thy stay, and pray for ability to "rejoice in the Lord." We mourn and pine because we dwell so much in and on ourselves; no sooner is our faith in Christ strengthened and illuminated, than we rejoice in him.

TO JONATHAN HUTCHINSON.

Cromer Hall, 11th mo., 17th, 1822.

* * * Thou wilt believe me that it is my desire to be preserved in cheerful submission. I endeavour after this state, and sometimes I am uplifted into natural cheerfulness without any effort of my own. O! that I may learn obedience from that which I suffer! that "the sword" which hath "entered into my bones" may cut and clear away everything that defileth. I well know that I had need of this discipline: pray for me, that it be not in vain. * * *

11*th mo.*, 19*th.* I have found myself of late much melted in sorrow. My own demerits are often spread before me, and I ought far more than I do, to lift up the song of gratitude and praise, that, such as I am,—I am "not appointed unto wrath," but freely invited "to obtain salvation through Jesus Christ my Lord."

12*th mo.*, 8*th.* "He putteth his mouth in the dust and keepeth silence, because he hath borne it (the yoke) upon him." This description is, I trust, in a degree applicable to my experience, during this low and sombre sabbath day! I have uttered a few words in ministry; otherwise, the day has been passed much in silence, and I hope in prostration of soul. I may acknowledge that now, at the approach of night, and in the prospect of a week of peculiarly active, and not very pleasing business, I find such a sabbath strengthening. And oftentimes have I known myself most strengthened in the result, when I have been most clothed, in my own apprehension, with weakness, coldness, and lamentation: a fresh lesson not to depend upon ourselves, but upon him that raiseth the dead. Lord, grant that I may have my fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life.

The year 1823 was one of peculiar and varied exertion. Besides carefully revising for publication his Letter on the Authority of Christianity, and preparing for the press his work on the Distinguishing Principles of Friends, to which he devoted much time and diligent research; the book which had already occupied him so long, and which ultimately formed the basis of his Essays on Christianity, and the Biblical Notes, still engaged his attention. "I cannot add to my literary labours," he writes to a friend, "for I have already three works on hand." He found time, however, as will be seen, for considerable effort in the Anti-Slavery cause. Some idea

may be formed of his home pursuits by the perusal of the following extracts from his literary journal* at this period.

1*st mo.*, 9*th*, *to* 1*st mo.*, 19*th*. Two weeks. Wrote an introductory chapter, (vasto labore et mentis et pennæ,) on universal religious privileges, and four folio pages on oaths. Finished Barclay on Saving Light, also on Oaths and War. Finished Tuke's Principles. Read Jesse Kersey's ditto. Read three or four of Cowper's didactic pieces; half the Life of Dr. Doddridge, and part of Samuel Scott's Diary.

1*st mo.*, 19*th*, *to* 1*st mo.*, 26*th*. A rather ineffectual week; wrote chapter ii, on Religious Peculiarities, only three folio pages; and three more (roughly) of chapter iii, on the Perceptibility of Spiritual Guidance; (I must get on at a greater pace if possible;) finished Doddridge's Life; some of Cecil's Remains.

2*nd mo.* 2*nd*, *to* 2*nd mo.*, 8*th*. Corrected chapter iii; altered and rewrote part of chapter ii; wrote note and passage on Conscience in chapter i; studied for chapter iv, read original one; read Selden, Hammond, Lightfoot, Rees, Wall, and Robinson on Jewish Baptisms; read R. Barclay on Baptism and the Supper. Finished first Epistle of John, and read second Epistle; proceeded with Cecil's Remains. Epistolæ variæ and accounts.

4*th mo.*, 13*th*, *to* 4*th mo.*, 20*th*. Alterations in chapter ix; researches and reading continued, especially R. Barclay and the "Fathers" for chapters x and xi, and one page and a half written. I must be very diligent for these three weeks, or I shall be foundered. Plato continued: Gibbs on Baptism read. Isaiah, &c. Made speech on Slavery, wrote letters, &c.

11*th mo.*, 9*th*, *to* 11*th mo.*, 17*th*. Finished the Revelation, in Greek Testament; letters, &c.; corrected three sheets of Appendix; read over and reconsidered Letter to a Friend on

* Besides his ordinary journal, Joseph John Gurney was in the habit of keeping in a distinct form a regular account of his reading and literary labours. It extends from about the year 1811 to 1837, when it was interrupted by his journey to America.

Christianity; thought much on the subject, and read Soame Jenyns, J. Scott, Porteus, Doddridge, and Cecil on the Evidencies of Christianity.

To return to his ordinary Journal: —

1*st mo.*, 6*th*, 1823. * * * I find myself still sorrowful; I hope and believe not murmuring. The pains arising out of my bereaved situation are of a very abiding kind. The apostle knew how to abound, and how to suffer need. How needful is such a knowledge, especially for ministers of the gospel! It was my lot to abound yesterday; it is not much less so to suffer need to-day. The waters have passed through me; and, though I trust they have cleansed in their course, they have left me empty and poor. Yet I do not approve of too close a notice of the variations in one's state of mind. We ought rather to think little of ourselves, and steadily to dwell on Christ, who changes not.

2*nd mo.*, 8*th*. The history of the week just passed much resembles that of its forerunner. Some heavy cares connected with temporals, and public affairs very awful and threatening. The rumours of many wars prevalent, and great danger lest this country should become engaged in the conflict. Yet I am not destitute of some sustaining hope that it may please the God of all comfort to stay the desolating sword, and to calm the turbulence of his creatures. This was the substance of a prayer I felt engaged publicly to offer in our morning meeting. I also prayed for the king of this country, that he might be brought into the fear and faith of God, and be prepared by divine grace for the exchange of a mortal crown for one invisible and eternal; also, and more especially, for the universal church of Christ, that, amidst all the courses of providence, and the turmoils of the world, she might flourish, and be more and more filled with love.

* * * * * *

Sweet is the recollection this evening of the *mother* * and the *daughter*. Ah, what a world of dreams is this, and shall

* Joseph John Gurney's mother-in-law, Martha Birkbeck, had died a few weeks previously, on the 11th of the 12th month, 1822

it indeed be succeeded by one of infinite realities? How awful, yet how animating is such a thought.

2nd mo., 15*th.* I fear I am going but lamely on my way; and have sometimes apprehensions, lest my theological studies should separate me from Him, who is to be worshipped not in the letter but in the spirit.

O gracious Lord, who knowest all the infirmities of the heart of thy servant, and art acquainted with my deep sorrow, and with the dismay which is at times my allotment because of the power of my soul's enemy, may it please thee to arise for my help and deliverance. Keep me from the power of temptation, and shelter me amidst all the storms and anxieties of life. Draw me nearer to thyself, thou everlasting fountain of all good; and, as thou hast been pleased to take away from me my tenderly beloved partner in life, enable me to bow with ready cheerfulness under thy chastening rod; and so quicken and preserve me by thy grace, that I may finally inherit, with her, the joys of thy salvation, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

3rd mo., 3*rd.* The principal features in the past week have been excessive labour in completing my chapter on Baptism and the Supper, and a very pleasant visit from C—— and Lady J. W——. The communication with them was, to me, both profitable and refreshing, and affords a lesson against too great a shutting up of ourselves. Yesterday I rode by myself to Tasburgh meeting, and was comforted in the company of fourteen friends, to whom I had little to administer but encouragement. I felt it very salutary to be taken out of myself. Truly we serve no hard master.

3rd mo., 16*th.* The last two weeks have floated on much in the usual manner. My book has brought me discouragements, and labours also. Two visits to the sick chamber of my old friend, Joseph Geldart, whose death seems now rapidly approaching. His humility, submission, quietness, and hope in Christ, plainly indicate the latter end of the righteous. He seems polished, purified, and brightened for the last solemn stage of his mortal pilgrimage. * * Other visits to the sick have also been satisfactory.

3rd mo., 28*th.* I remember being a good deal oppressed, about two weeks ago, under the apprehension, that, through unwatchfulness, and perhaps through study, my gift in the ministry was declining; but it has seldom been brought more thoroughly into exercise, than in the present week. On third day, at the Quarterly Meeting, I felt constrained under the gentle influences of divine love, to preach Christ crucified; and my way opened very satisfactorily as I went along. I thought that I afterwards lost a little ground, in taking too active a part in the discipline—a memorandum this for the Yearly Meeting; one, I trust, which will not be forgotten. The love and unity felt were reviving; and a little fresh hope appears to arise, from time to time, that we shall yet be maintained as a society on the face of the earth.

Anti-slavery operations were now commencing with vigour in various parts of the country. Early in the present year, William Wilberforce had published his Appeal on behalf of the Slaves. About the same time the Anti-slavery Society was formed. "Public feeling," says the editor of the Life of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, "was soon roused into activity, and petitions began to flow in; the lead was taken by the Society of Friends, and it was determined that the presentation of their appeal by the hands of Mr. Wilberfore should be the opening of the Parliamentary campaign."* Joseph John Gurney was not inattentive to the occasion. He had met Zachary Macaulay a few weeks before at Keswick, and had but just parted from his brother-in-law Thomas Fowell Buxton, who had been spending some days at Earlham on his way to London. Though pressed with engagements, he consented to explain the present position of the

* Life of Sir T. F. Buxton, p. 127.

question, before a public meeting of his fellow citizens in Norwich.

He afterwards writes: —

Seventh day; (26*th of the* 4*th mo.*) Yesterday morning we held our public meeting at Norwich, for petitioning Parliament for the gradual but complete abolition of slavery throughout the British Colonies. It was largely attended. It fell to my lot to lay the subject before the meeting, for which purpose I spoke for about an hour-and-a-half. The meeting was conducted with great spirit and unanimity. I thought it a cause for thankfulness, that the affecting and interesting subject should meet with so many open and zealous hearts, and personally, I am, I trust, thankful at having been favoured with the needful ability to meet the occasion.

In the fifth month, after attending the Yearly Meeting in London, he was engaged in holding religious meetings at several places in Middlesex, Essex, and Suffolk, and in visiting the families of Friends at Saffron Walden and Woodbridge. After an absence of about five weeks, he writes: —

6*th mo.*, 20*th.* I can acknowledge that my prayer has been abundantly answered. The Lord has been with me, in my going out and in my coming in. He has preserved my best life from destruction or decay. He has poured forth of his Holy Spirit upon me, and again and again has he empowered me to declare his righteousness and his praise in the great congregation. He has also been graciously present with those whom I left behind, preserving them in health, both of body and soul, and the darling children have sweetly flourished under his parent wing. Peace marks my return to this delightful spot, and I feel entirely relieved of my burthen; but over that peace and relief, sorrow and the memory of past happy days still diffuse a tone of deep seriousness and perhaps, in some degree, of melancholy. But I will seek for

ability to rejoice in the Lord, and to joy in the God of my salvation. What a year has rolled over my head! and now, though the affecting anniversary is past, the brightness of the sunshine, the beauty of the summer flowers, and the abundant verdure of this place, powerfully recall the period, when nature wore a similar aspect, and when inexpressible sorrow and conflict of soul raged in the midst of that lovely scene. O Lord, bow me in the dust before thee; that, in the utter humiliation of the pride of man, I may be preserved from all murmuring, and may receive ability to adore thy holy name, for all thy unspeakable goodness to me and mine. * * * *

On my arrival at Upton, after a fatiguing journey, on 7th day, (5th mo., 17th,) I was met with the mournful intelligence of Mary Hanbury's * death. Deep was the conflict into which this most touching event was the means of introducing me. I was brought into the very depths with the sufferers, nor did I obtain relief till I had seen them, and poured forth my heart with them in prayer and praise. The funeral at Winchmore Hill, on the following sixth day, was memorably calm; and sweet and heavenly was the influence spread over us. The chief mourners on this touching occasion have been throughout eminently clothed in the protecting armour of their Lord. * * * *

9th mo., *3rd.* Last week ——— and ——— were with us. Their visit was interesting. Some discussions on our peculiarities into which we fell were not very pleasant, and brought me into secret conflict of mind. But all was removed, and the power of truth remarkably manifested to our humiliation and instruction, in our meeting on fifth day, which was attended by our whole party. What can be compared with thy wisdom and power, and with the influence of thy Holy Spirit, O Lord!

On first day my dear uncle and I went together to the funeral of a Friend at Tivetshall. It was to me a day of

* The only child of William Allen. Her death occurred but little more than a year after her marriage with Cornelius Hanbury. See Life of William Allen, vol. iii, p. 222, and 348—351.

much trial, and of little comfort; and though I prized a quiet ride with my uncle, I had reason to apprehend I should have been more in my place, in my own meeting. Such mistakes are instructive; they give us a useful warning, and call for closer watchfulness.

From London in the ninth month, he accompanied his sister Elizabeth Fry in a short journey to Bristol, where, as usual, they found much occupation. In allusion to a call on Hannah More, he writes:—

We were delighted with our interview with this extraordinary and excellent person. She is now 78 years old, but most vivacious and productive. Very like Wilberforce. She was greatly pleased at the opportunity of seeing my sister; and we parted after solemn prayer.

Soon after his return he met with an accident by a fall from his horse, which severely bruised his arm and elbow joint. Though much disabled, he did not wholly discontinue his exertions. The feeble tremulousness of the hand-writing in the original, gives an additional interest to the following extract.

9th mo., *29th.* I have felt low, chiefly because of the apprehended low estate of the church. But we must wash and anoint, and endeavour to encourage a hopeful view. O that the Lord may arise, and have mercy upon Zion! Why should I doubt his doing so?

John and Sarah Grubb have paid me a highly acceptable visit. How affecting when compared with their former one, when they had so deep a sense of our sufferings to come! They were brought into much feeling of unity with the beloved departed spirit, and expressed an assurance both of her happiness, and of the specialty of the providence which

directed the fatal shaft. How entirely do I still feel that the most intimate tie is no more! How impossible that such a loss should be supplied by any other description of human association. Solitude, as to the outward, is now my greatest happiness. It gives the wounded mind leisure, both to know and to bear itself.

TO JONATHAN HUTCHINSON.

Earlham, 10th mo., 14th, 1823.

With a fractured elbow, of which thou mayest probably have heard, I find much difficulty in writing, but I know well how greatly I am in thy debt, and must attempt to *scratch on paper* a fresh testimony of the love I continue to feel for thee. It gives me pain to hear of thy indisposition. Thou art precious to many of us, and we are unwilling to let thee go; but our Heavenly Father knows what is best for us and for his church. He may remove prop after prop; but, thanks be to him, the chief corner Stone can never be taken away. "*The Son abideth ever.*" Did I tell thee how busily I have been engaged during the last twelve months by composing a book on the peculiar views and practices of Friends? I have now sent it to my printer, but suppose it will hardly be published before the second month. I hope it may be of some use to our little Society, "stripped, robbed, and spoiled," as it is, in a spiritual sense. Would that we might once more arise and shine in the brightness of true light, the light of the Lord's countenance! Yet if this be denied, let us cultivate such a disposition as will ever prompt the language, "Not our will, but thine be done." It may be that we have already served our appointed purpose. But I encourage brighter and better hopes. * * *

11*th mo.*, 9*th.* Dined on fifth day with Sir J. Smith, to meet William Roscoe, and was gratified by his zealous and able defence of anti-slavery. I have been since reflecting on the state of the world; the abounding of vice; the slave trade; the cruel murders that have been lately committed;

the obstructions to good; the influence of popery and political despotism, increasing, I fear, rather than diminishing; and I have felt amazed and afflicted. But, through all, the *one thing needful* exists and spreads. The gates of hell shall not prevail against the church of God.

Second day; 17*th.* Another week floated away, and added to the amount of the reckoning, which I must sooner or later make of my stewardship. Awful thought! Yesterday was one of spiritual fasting, and of very deep humiliation. How earnestly have I desired, that in the use of my gift in the ministry, (which I feel to be very precious to me,) I may be preserved in purity and simplicity, and that the *life* may never be withdrawn from it. I trust I feel an increasing love for the cause, and for him whom I am endeavouring to serve.

12*th mo.*, 1*st.* [In allusion to various religious engagements at Yarmouth;] I have seldom passed through a time of closer exercise, being led deeply to sympathize with the afflicted, and loudly to arouse the careless. The family visiting particularly, I found to be an exercising work of faith, and at times I hardly knew how to proceed in it. Yet the opening which appeared to be afforded me on each successive occasion, was wonderful to myself, and the impressions which I felt in meeting on first day morning, were confirmed and cleared as I went along from family to family. The public meetings were, I trust, favoured with life.

First day night, 12*th mo.*, 28*th.* May the privilege of holy communion with the Father and the Son, through adorable mercy, be my portion more and more, that all my life and works may be thereby sanctified and consecrated. To-day, the Cromer Hall party all at meeting with us. Both meetings very serious times to me. In the morning, I was engaged first in prayer, and afterwards, at some length, on the right preparation for heaven. The cause of righteousness is, I trust, increasingly precious to many of us. May it prosper! saith my soul.

CHAPTER XIII.

1824. ÆT. 36.

VISIT TO FRIENDS AT BURY; AMELIA OPIE; ANTI-SLAVERY SPEECH AT NORWICH; PUBLICATION OF HIS LETTER ON THE AUTHORITY OF CHRISTIANITY, AND OF HIS WORK ON THE DISTINGUISHING VIEWS AND PRACTICES OF FRIENDS.

THE opening of the year 1824, found Joseph John Gurney still busily occupied.

Seventh day, 1*st mo.*, 10*th*, 1824. The week hitherto has been a fagging one; literature, banking, letters, slavery committee. I am going to-day to Ampton, with a view of holding one or two public meetings at Bury; and one for the upper classes is appointed for to-morrow evening.

1*st mo.*, 18*th*. Arrived at Ampton [Lord Calthorpe's] to dinner on 7th day, the 10th; found the Wilberforces, Lady Olivia Sparrow, &c. My engagements at Bury occupied first, second, and sixth days, and consisted of two meetings with Friends, two public meetings, and about seventeen religious visits to the families of Friends. The retrospect of these services is satisfactory.

TO JONATHAN HUTCHINSON.

Earlham, 1st mo., 19th, 1824.

* * The low state of our little church is sometimes cause of secret mourning; but when we are favoured to arrive on the heavenly shores, shall we not find an innumerable host of *true Quakers?* Will there be any worshippers there in the letter, and not in the life? Any prayers and praises uttered out of the immediate influence of the Holy Spirit? Any

ceremonial observances? Any oaths? Any compliments? Any war? A broad negation meets every one of these questions. And surely we may hence derive a confirming evidence that we are not altogether in the wrong. May we patiently persevere to the end, placing our whole confidence in Him, who I believe will not suffer the pure light of truth to be quenched, even within the borders of his church militant. * *

1*st mo.*, 22*nd*. I never before more entirely appreciated the excellence of our religious principles. They are invaluable. May we cleave closely to them, at the same time that we embrace, in the arms of true love, all who are serving the same Master, though in different ways. It is an inexpressible privilege to be brought into what appears to my apprehension, with great clearness, to be the purest, truest, and most spiritual administration of the Christian system.

The warm and steady friendship which subsisted between Amelia Opie and the various members of the family at Earlham, demands some notice in the present memoir. It was about this time, that after passing through deep mental conflict, she believed it her duty to become more closely united in religious profession with Friends; though her admission into actual membership with them did not take place until the following year, [1825,] a little previously to her father's decease. So remarkable a change could not fail to be watched with great interest by Joseph John Gurney. Known in earlier life as the accomplished daughter of Dr. Alderson, of Norwich, she became in 1798, at the age of twenty-nine, the wife of John Opie, the eminent painter; and soon afterwards entered upon a career of authorship, which, joined to her brilliant powers of conversation, quickly secured for her a distinguished position in

a widely extended literary and fashionable circle. Upon her husband's decease in 1807, she returned to Norwich, where she continued to reside during the remainder of her life; though her frequent visits to London enabled her to maintain her former intercourse with the literary and fashionable world, among whom her tales and her poetry were alike popular.

"Admired for her amiability, her talents, and her accomplishments," says Joseph John Gurney, in a short notice of her contained in his Autobiography, "she was received in London at the houses of many of the nobility, and wherever she went she was a welcome guest. But she gradually discovered that all her vanities, her position in the world, and her novel writing, in which her reputation was high, must be laid down at the foot of the cross of Christ. Not satisfied with the forms of the Church of England, or of any class of the Dissenters, she took refuge in the quietness of our silent meetings, which she attended with great assiduity. In the meantime it was evident that Christ himself was becoming her peaceful and permanent home; and by degrees she became thoroughly convinced of the principles of Friends. Her friendship with Priscilla and myself appears to have been one principal means allotted in the order of providence for the working of this change."

Among the letters addressed by Joseph John Gurney to Amelia Opie, two have been preserved among her papers, from which the following extracts can scarcely fail to interest the reader.* They are both dated, it will be observed, in the year 1814.

* The Editor is indebted for these letters to the kindness of Thomas Brightwell, Amelia Opie's executor.

The first opens with an allusion to his brother John's illness.

Norwich, 6th mo., 14th, 1814.

I remember with true pleasure thy affectionate conduct to us all, during the last few months of affliction. Thy sympathy has been like that of a sister, and has been prized by us, I trust, as it ought to be. Thou mayest assure thyself, therefore, that, however thou mayest be engaged in the gay whirlpool of London, thou art not forgotten by thy retired friends at Earlham.

Thy last note is an instructive inmate of my pocket-book, inasmuch as it bespeaks a *tender conscience*. It appears to me that thy mind is particularly alive to the duties of Christian charity, and I would express the desire that the same fear, (shall I call it "godly fear?") may attend thee in all thy communications with *the world*. I will refer thee to two texts. "Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, to visit the widow and fatherless in their affliction, *and to keep oneself unspotted from the world*." "Be not conformed to this world, but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God." Thou wilt perhaps say that thy friend knows nothing of "the world," misinterprets the meaning of the apostle, and is frightened by the bugbear of a name. There may be some truth in this observation, and I must allow that the world is not idolatrous now as it was then; that we are all alike citizens of "the world;" and that there is no department of it which is not tinctured with evil. But I refer particularly to the fashionable world, of which I am apt to entertain two notions: the first, that there is much in it of *real evil;* the second, that there is much also in it, which, though not evil in itself, yet has a decided tendency to produce forgetfulness of God, and thus to generate evil indirectly. On the other hand, there is little in it, perhaps, which is *positively* good. * * It is my earnest desire for thee and for myself, that we may be redeemed from a *worldly spirit*, and that in our communications with the world, whether fashionable, commercial, or common-place, we may be enabled

simply to follow *an unerring guide within us*, which will assuredly inform us, *if we will but wait for direction*, what to touch and what to shrink from; what to follow, and what to eschew. * *

Earlham, 7th mo., 22nd, 1814.

I am sure I had some meaning in my mind, my dear friend, when I requested thee "not to be angry with me" for my last letter. I might indeed use a wrong word, for I really believe thy temper very seldom suffers thee to be angry; but did I not run some risk of being thought impertinent, by addressing something in the shape of advice to one so much older and more experienced than myself? Of one thing I beg thee to assure thyself, that, though more than a month has elapsed since I received thy letter, I have not forgotten thee. Indeed I have often thought of thee; and often secretly wished thee well on thy way to heaven. It is a great favour to feel, and to feel acutely, about our religious state; it is a great favour to be gifted with a devotional spirit; and I heartily rejoice to find how sensitive thy mind is and how lively are its impressions on this subject, of all others the most important. It affords a clear proof that the blessing of God's presence has attended thee; and I doubt not that thou art sensible not only of the consolations of his presence, but of his secret direction to the particulars of thy duty. My chief desire for thee is, that thou mayst be made willing simply and obediently to follow this direction, and to give up everything which the light of truth may, by degrees, point out to thee as inconsistent with the holy will of God. True happiness here or hereafter can consist in nothing, but in conformity with that will. The world has undoubtedly many pleasures to bestow; perhaps no pleasure so great as that of being universally *liked, admired, and flattered;* but it is not in the world, that we are to find that peace "which passeth all understanding." It is striking to observe the essential difference which exists between the pleasures of the world, and the religious happiness of the soul. The temporary nature of the former seems to be proved by their all being conveyed to us through our natural senses; but "eye hath not seen, neither hath ear heard, neither

have entered into the heart of man the things which God hath prepared for them that love him." How clearly one sees that the one belongs to our mortal, the other to our immortal part! Thou wilt observe, my dear friend, that I have underscored the words "liked, admired, and flattered." It is because I know that thou art "liked, admired, and flattered;" and unless thou art of a very different composition from myself, I am satisfied it must afford no small temptation to thee, and require on thy part the utmost stretch of thy watchfulness. * * * Wilt thou allow me to quote a few texts? "The path of the just is as the shining light, which shineth more and more unto the perfect day." "Thy word is a lamp unto my feet and a light unto my path. I have sworn and I will perform it, that I will keep thy righteous judgments." "O send forth thy light and thy truth; let them lead me! let them bring me unto thy holy hill, and to thy tabernacles." The "word" to which David refers in the second text cannot mean the *written word*, because the written word, with the exception of the Pentateuch and the first historical books, was not then written. Dost thou not think that the "word of God" in Scripture means generally that by which the truth of God is communicated to the soul; whether by speech, writing, or the secret influence of the Spirit? And dost thou not think that the "word," which David here speaks of, is the very same as is alluded to by John, when he says, "But the anointing which ye have received of him, abideth in you: and ye need not that any man teach you: but as the same anointing teacheth you of all things, and is truth, and is no lie, and even as it hath taught you, ye shall abide in him." May we not trace the same doctrine and principle in the 14th chapter of John? "He that hath my commandments and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me, and he that loveth me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him and will manifest myself to him." "But the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance whatsoever I have said unto you." "Thus saith the Lord thy Redeemer, the Holy One of Israel; I am the Lord thy God

which teacheth thee to profit, which leadeth thee in the way that thou shouldest go. O that thou hadst hearkened unto my commandments! then had thy peace been as a river, and thy righteousness as the waves of the sea." The subject is so interesting that I have multiplied my texts already perhaps too much, and could remultiply them, with a few references to my concordance; but what I have now cited will suffice to show, that there is indeed a spiritual communication between God and the souls of his creatures, which constitutes at once their happiness and their safety. May we be enabled, in our respective situations, to hold fast this blessing, and, by a strict adherence to the dictates of divine truth thus manifested to the mind, may we, my dear friend, "work out our salvation with fear and trembling."

Perhaps thou art now saying to thyself, this is true Quakerism. *Quid mihi refert?* Indeed I had no intention to plead for Quakerism as such, but only for that which must, after all, constitute the practical part of Christianity, (connected as it is with all the other branches of the system,) in whatsoever shape Christianity is to be found.

I see I am involved in an essay which may carry me into my next sheet. Shall I go on, or shall I not? I know thou wilt allow me a few lines more.

Well then, Christianity appears to me to consist of the work which is wrought *for* us, and the work which is wrought *in* us, justification and sanctification. By the one our sins are forgiven, by the other, they are purged away; by the former we are reconciled to God, "who imputeth not our trespasses unto us," by the latter we are made fit for the inheritance prepared for us. I feel some delicacy in making my statement; because I do not know how far the habits and principles of the denomination of Christians,* amongst whom my friend has been educated, may have impressed her with different views. Thou must, therefore, take what I say, as a statement of my own belief; as a proof of intimacy with one for whom, under every possible difference of opinion, I feel the most sincere friendship. Now the two branches of

* The Unitarians.

Christian truth, to which I have referred, are undoubtedly one in design and origin; inseparably and intimately connected; flowing together from the boundless mercy of God, in Christ Jesus our Lord. Yet I have believed, and do still believe that obedience to the will of God, as declared by his Holy Spirit in our souls, is the main thing for us to attend to; because it is not only the means whereby we become sanctified and capable of heaven; but it will bring us to that near and nearer union with our Maker, in which our spiritual understanding becomes enlightened about Christian doctrine in general. By co-operation with the work which is wrought in us, we are effectually made acquainted with the work which has been wrought for us. None are so truly aware of their dependence upon the merits of Christ, as those who obey his precepts. "He that doeth my will shall know of my doctrine." "The secret of the Lord is with them that fear him, and he will show unto them his covenant."

Thou wilt not imagine that I am for superseding the use of means, which are mercifully bestowed upon us by God, and are talents for which we must give account; and I suppose we shall unite in considering that of the means given us, none are more important than the study of the Scriptures. Still it can never *suffice* to cultivate the intellect on this subject, which seems to me much the object of thy friend Bishop Horsley. "No man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man which is in him. Even so the things of God knoweth no man but the Spirit of God."

I need say no more about Horsley; perhaps I am prejudiced about him. Whatever he was, he certainly does not wear the garb of much Christian simplicity and humility. He was not much of a little child. As to Paley, he is pellucidly clear, and of a sound and practical understanding. Still I do not feel when I read him as much as I should wish to feel. Is he sufficiently spiritual? But I am not very greedy of sermons. I think I like Friends' Journals better. I have only one thing to add, which is, that my letter is a great deal better, (little as thou mayest esteem it,) than myself. Again farewell.

In a few stanzas addressed to her in the year

1817, after alluding to some of the excellent points of her character—

"The sympathies that all thy bosom fill,
The charity that speaks and thinks no ill,
The temper, genial as the western breeze,
The haste to help, the watchfulness to please."—

Joseph John Gurney continues:—

"But most I love to mark devotion's flame
Rise from thy bosom in thy Maker's name:
O how I bless the ray of love divine
That first, within thee, taught that flame to shine,
From mists of error drew thy steps away,
And bade thee freely own a Saviour's sway!"

Concluding with the following earnest appeal:—

"And canst thou join the unsubstantial dream,
Where pleasure's idle votaries vainly gleam?
And must thou with the painted crowd, be hurled
Down the gay eddies of a thankless world?
Shall fashion's lure, shall flattery's heartless smile,
Thy higher, better, safer hope beguile?
Ah think again! that Saviour bleeding see;
That thou might'st live to him, he died for thee:
He died to save thee from a world of woe,
Tricked in the flippant pageantry of show.
Though in sweet chime its gilded fetters ring,
Thou know'st its sorrows, *thou* hast felt its sting.
Ah! think again! and from the busy strife,
The gay delusion and the pride of life,
Let Israel's God thy pliant footsteps lead
By the still waters in the verdant mead!
Thine be the spirit willing to obey,
The faithful watching and the narrow way;
Thine be the Christian's daily cross to bear,
His labour and his burden thine to share!
Light is the burden, easy is the yoke,
Rest for thy soul, a meek Redeemer spoke,
Rest for thy soul, and peace without alloy,
And overflowing balm, and everlasting joy."

"Great was the conflict," continues Joseph John Gurney, in his notice of his long valued friend, "when she found herself constrained to make an open profession of Quakerism. I remember her telling me of the agony of her mind in the view of changing her dress, and of addressing her numerous friends and acquaintances by their plain names, and with the humbling simplicity of 'thee' and 'thou.' But her great Master was with her in this time of need, and with remarkable decision and fortitude, she made the change at once, and openly declared herself a Friend. Seldom has a more striking improvement been wrought in any one who has passed under my notice. Truly may it be said, that her valuable qualities have been sanctified; whilst her play of character has not been lost, but has been rendered more interesting than before. Every one who knows her is aware of her *truthiness*, and appreciates her kindness; and 'Quaker' as she is, and a determined one, she is still sought after by some of her old friends in high station."

"May the Shepherd of Israel," he adds, "be with her to guide, instruct, and comfort her during the remainder of her pilgrimage; and may she be his to all eternity."*

* Amelia Opie died on the 2nd of the 12th month, 1853, at the advanced age of 84. I have retained the concluding paragraph in the above extract in accordance with her own desire, expressed in an interesting correspondence which I had with her in connexion with the present Memoir. The following brief extract from a note then received from her, written in her 82nd year, is strikingly descriptive of the state of her mind towards the close of her long life.

"How I love to repeat those lines—

'Just as I am, without one plea,
But that thy blood was shed for me,
And that thou bid'st me come to thee,
O Lamb of God, I come!'

I am deep in Chalmers's Life, and humbly desire to be enabled to profit by it.'

The Journal proceeds:—

2*nd mo.*, 22*nd.* Amelia Opie made her appearance to-day in a Friend's dress; her mind being now fully made up to be in all respects a Friend. I thought she had been marvellously helped through her conflicts, and had been a striking example of faithfulness. A song of praise was raised in my heart on her account. May she be preserved to the end!

3*d mo.*, 1*st.* * * * I have no value for the peculiarities of Friends' *quasi* peculiarities, but solely because I think they are the natural and necessary consequences of what I consider to be the highest and purest standard of Christian truth and worship; and, in holding out the highest and purest standard, as, in my best judgment, I deem it to be, I entertain the humble hope that I may be made of some little use to the flock of Christ, however diversified. Yet the very fact of being thus obliged to dwell for a time on our distinguishing features, ought to be guarded by its antagonist *muscle*—I mean a godly watchfulness to dwell deeply in those fundamental truths of Christianity, in which the whole of that flock is one, and under one Shepherd.

3*d mo.*, 8*th.* To see Friends prospering in the best sense of the term; to behold a real "growth in the truth" amongst them, together with some little encouragement from convincement, would, indeed, be an inexpressible joy to my soul; but even in these things I must learn to be content with little—very little,—and cast myself on the Lord alone; that in him my soul may rest and be satisfied.

To turn once more to the subject of slavery. Since the anti-slavery meeting at Norwich in the preceding spring, the cause had assumed a different aspect. The debate which had followed the motion then made by Thomas Fowell Buxton, had drawn from the House of Commons certain important resolutions, tending to the amelioration of the condition of the slaves, and the Government had

issued a circular letter, founded upon them, to the various colonial authorities.* The steps thus taken at home had exasperated the planters, and, in many of the colonies, "for some weeks after the arrival of the dispatches, not the slightest restraint seems to have been put upon the violence of their rage, which drove them to the wildest designs."† News of the excitement at once chilled the zeal of Government, and it required all the ardour and steady determination of the older abolitionists to maintain their stand. "Even at Norwich," writes Thomas Fowell Buxton to Zachary Macaulay, "our friends were somewhat intimidated." Clarkson, however, had been there and had done his work well. "His address to about forty persons at the Town Hall," says Joseph John Gurney, "was satisfactory and singularly interesting. I was much pleased with the simplicity, constancy, gentleness, and firmness of the man." The crisis was important. The vacillating disposition of Government made it obviously desirable that the hands of the anti-slavery leaders in parliament should, as far as practicable, be strengthened by a demonstration of feeling in the country. Anxious to serve the cause, so far as his influence extended, Joseph John Gurney zealously co-operated with other warm friends in Norwich, in obtaining the appointment of a public meeting in that city, for the purpose of petitioning parliament to support and carry into effect, the late resolutions of the House of Commons. His speech was forcible and effective. It was subsequently published; and, as an example of

* See Life of Sir T. F. Buxton, p. 134. † Idem, p. 137.

his mode of address on such occasions, a somewhat lengthened extract may be here given. After alluding to the resolutions of the House of Commons, and to Lord Bathurst's official despatch to the Colonies founded upon them, he proceeds:—

Were the abolition of slavery a perfectly easy matter, were there no opposition to encounter and no difficulties to surmount, it would be wholly unnecessary for the people to repeat their petitions. We might sit still in the comfortable persuasion that the government would effect the object without unnecessary delay. But what is the real state of the question? How has Lord Bathurst's communication been received? In several of the islands it has been met by a determined, and even furious contradiction. By the legislature of Jamaica, a series of resolutions has been drawn up in opposition to the minister's recommendations, which, were it not almost too ridiculous to imagine, might even be construed as expressing an intention of rebellion against the mother country. * * Among the senators of the colonial legislature, one gentleman in Barbadoes, is pleased to meet the injunctions of our colonial secretary respecting the flogging of women, not only with violent opposition, but with vulgar jokes on the gallantry of Englishmen. Such raillery on a subject of so delicate and affecting a nature, does, I confess, appear to me to be utterly abominable. In the island of Trinidad, a large public meeting of the planters has been held, to pass a series of resolutions, in which they declare that the flogging of women, as well as of men, is indispensably necessary to the good order of the colonies; that it is quite a mistake to suppose that the holding of Sunday markets is any profanation of the sabbath; and that nothing more is needed, with respect to the evidence of slaves, since that evidence is already received, *when it is corroborated by two free men*. The vengeance of West Indians has even been wreaked on the ministers of religion, and the *gentlemen* of Barbadoes have united their forces in demolishing the meeting-house of a methodist missionary, and in forcing him

to flee from the island for his life, on account of his supposed connection with "*the villainous African institution.*" And when a proclamation was issued by the governor, offering a reward on the conviction of the offenders, it was received by these gentlemen rioters with nothing but insult and mockery.—Such is the nature of the opposition which renders it so desirable for us to strengthen the hands of Government by our petitions to parliament.

In reference to "the vehement declarations of some of the colonial legislatures, that the benevolent proceedings of Government could not fail to be productive of the most formidable insurrections among the slaves; that the planters would be the martyrs to a heedless philanthropy; and that all the islands would unquestionably overflow with blood;" he remarks:—

> Is it kindness? is it benevolence? is it the hope of future relief from hardship, which induces a man to rise up in anger against his neighbour? Certainly not, for these things have no other tendency than to pacify and to please. It is the continuance of oppression, it is the despair of amelioration in the condition of the oppressed, which produces a disposition to rise in arms against the oppressor. * * These observations may serve to exemplify and confirm a very plain principle of which our friend Clarkson reminded us a few nights since, that we ought ever to distinguish between the *occasion* and the *cause* of events. Whatsoever may have been the occasion of the insurrections which have at various times taken place in the West Indies, the *cause* of them is unquestionably to be found in slavery, and in slavery alone. Nor shall we ever get rid of a liability to these frightful disasters, until we are delivered from that unrighteous system, out of which they arise.

Adverting to "the heavy condemnation," by one of the leading periodicals, of the assertion of "that

great and good man, William Wilberforce," that the proposition that the condition of the West Indian slaves is fully equal to that of the free peasantry of this country, "is monstrous in itself, and implies a total insensibility to the native feeling and moral dignity of man,"

"Let us," continues Joseph John Gurney, "briefly run through the comparison between the two parties. The slaves, it is said, are clothed, fed, and housed; and we grant that a certain provision of clothing, such as that warm climate requires, is directed by the Colonial law to be given to them,—that they have a small allowance of salt fish, and have provision grounds, which they are permitted to cultivate principally on the sabbath day. In these two points I conceive that the comparison is still to the advantage of the British peasant. The same may certainly be said with reference to habitation, as the huts of the negroes are greatly inferior to English cottages. And with regard to labour, our peasantry would, I presume, be very unwilling to change their condition with that of those unfortunate bondsmen, who not only work like themselves for nine or ten hours during the day, but who, for several months in the year, are compelled to continue their drudgery during half of every night, or the whole of every other night. But let it be conceded for a moment, that in point of clothing, food, housing, and labour, the condition of the West Indian slave and that of the free British peasant are equal. There are still a few other particulars of no very inferior moment, in which a strange difference will be found between the two parties in the comparison. The British peasant settles when he pleases in married life, as easily as any other person, and thenceforward no man may interfere with his domestic comforts. The slave who takes a woman for his companion, is for the most part not married at all. * * But be he married in form or not, his connubial connexion is totally unprotected by law; and the caprice of his master, or the sale by auction of the property of which he forms a part, may at any time

tear his wife from his bosom, and separate his helpless children from their parents. The negro works under the stimulus of the lash, and the laws of our colonies bestow upon his master or overseer a full authority for inflicting upon him, his wife, or his daughter, thirty-nine lashes for any fault or misbehaviour. Now I do not know what one of our free peasants would say to such assault and battery, but I rather apprehend that he would be found to rise up in his own defence, and that in no very inefficacious way. Be that as it may, the law is always open to him, just as open as to our worthy chairman himself, or to the king upon his throne. But how is it with the miserable slave? If his master even exceed the prescribed number of his lashes—if he multiply the tens into hundreds—if he absolutely murder him in cold blood, and if there be present ten thousand witnesses; yet, if all those witnesses be slaves like himself, the laws of the colonies afford no effective redress or satisfaction, and the offender may enjoy an *absolute impunity.* * * In short the British peasant is his own master, and a free man. The West Indian slave is a mere chattel. He is reduced to the condition of the beast of burden. He may, it is true, be very kindly treated. He may also be bought, sold, divorced from his wife, separated from his children, worked hard, flogged, tortured, branded with red hot iron, and under particular circumstances, even murdered, according to the arbitrary determination of his fellow men. I may appeal to the whole of this meeting whether it be not indeed true, that the proposition to which I have been alluding is "monstrous, and that it implies a total insensibility to the native feelings and moral dignity of man."

Utterly is it at variance with the dictates of Christianity, that one man should be regarded as the mere chattel of another; utterly at variance with those dictates, that we should compel our fellow creatures to labour for us, and give them no wages for their labour; that we should inflict upon them the cruel punishment of the whip at our own discretion; that we should degrade, expose, and torture, even the female sex; that we should subject whole families to writs of *venditioni exponas*, by which the nearest ties of affection may be forcibly torn

asunder; and finally, that we should allow of a system, under which, persons who like ourselves possess immortal souls, are regarded and treated like the beasts that perish. Assuredly, all these particulars are in absolute contradiction to that golden rule — "Do unto others as ye would have others do unto you." * * * While, therefore, I would encourage every disposition to moderation and charity, while I can sincerely declare that no persons connected with the present question appear to me to be so much the objects for deep commiseration as the oppressors themselves, yet I cannot but remember that in grounding our proceedings on the noble principles of the British Constitution, and on the celestial sanctions of Christianity itself, we are standing on a rock which cannot be shaken. I must, therefore, implore our benevolent and energetic Chairman, I must implore our worthy Member for the County, (now present,) I must implore you all, whatever situation you may occupy, never to relax your efforts in this holy cause, but to go forward with a step at once measured and determined, at once gentle and resolute, until that happy day shall arrive when every individual within the whole circuit of the British dominions, shall be able to lift up his head with thankfulness and joy, and say, *Behold I am free.*"

His faith in the ultimate success of the cause was strong, and the formidable opposition that was now aroused against it did not dishearten him. The difficulties from without were at this time increased by a difference of opinion in the anti-slavery councils, as to the course to be pursued in consequence of the altered disposition of Government. Without venturing to advise at a distance upon questions of detail, Joseph John Gurney was one who felt bound to support his brother-in-law in making a decided stand.

A few days before the debate upon the question, in which the latter had determined to attack the

vacillating policy of Government, he thus writes to him.*

Norwich, 3rd mo., 10th, 1824.

My dear Brother,

I feel much for thee and for our cause in the prospect of the approaching discussion in parliament, and having been enabled to remember both the one and the other in my prayers, I feel inclined to remind thee (however needlessly) of the apostle's injunction, "Quit you like men, be strong." I do not mean to advise against that course of moderation, or rather spirit of moderation, to recommend which I have already been busy; but to administer my feeble encouragement, in the belief that the cause is identified with that which is just, holy, and true; that it has been in the line of thy Christian duty that thou hast undertaken it, and that therefore there is assuredly one, who will "send thee help from his sanctuary, and strengthen thee out of Zion." I am well assured that on this momentous occasion thou art looking for grace to help in time of need, and as this is the case with thee, he will, I believe, be found unto thee "strength and wisdom, tongue and utterance." * * *

* * * I look upon colonial slavery as a monster who must have a very long succession of hard knocks before he will expire. Why should we expect to get his extinction into full train, in less than ten years? * * Public opinion is now, I think, much advancing in our favour. A knowledge of the subject is extending, and with it a great deal of feeling; and all this, in the long run, will tell.

Nor do I think the extravagance of the West Indians, especially where it issues in such abominable injustice as at Demarara, at all unfavourable to our views.

With regard to thyself, as I am fond of thy popularity, I am prone to dislike the contrary; but I have a strong belief that in due time thy history will afford a plain exemplification of the certainty of the divine promise, "Them that honour me, I will honour." Till then, be content to suffer

* Part of this letter has been already printed in the Life of Sir T. F. Buxton, p. 145.

thy portion of persecution, and let no frowns of adversaries, no want of faith, no private feelings of thy own incompetency, either deprive thee of thy spirits or spoil thy speech!

In the spring of this year he published his Letter to a Friend on the Authority of Christianity, already referred to, and soon afterwards his Observations on the Distinguishing Views and Practices of the Society of Friends. The history of the latter work is thus reviewed in the Autobiography.

In the latter part of the [to me] sorrowful summer of 1822, I spent some time quietly at Hunstanton, on the sea coast, with my bereft and beloved mother-in-law. There I commenced the first sketch of my work on the Religious Peculiarities (since called the Distinguishing Views and Practices) of the Society of Friends.

I soon became warmly interested in this undertaking, and pursued the object with the diligence which it required. Here, indeed, I found some refuge from sorrow, and I can say, from my own experience, that the steady and determined occupation of mind in the pursuit of any desirable object, is one of the best alleviations of grief that this world affords. When the work was completed, I took it up to the revising body appointed for the Society, the Morning Meeting.* The principle on which I have acted in reference to this subject has been to publish general views of doctrine, without this check on my own responsibility; but whenever I have written on behalf of the body, then to give Friends the opportunity of revisal; a course which is obviously dictated by common justice. I believe the distinction now drawn is

*The Morning Meeting is a meeting of the ministers and elders among Friends in and about London, which sits monthly; to which manuscripts written by Friends "relating to the Christian principles and practices" of the Society, are recommended to be submitted previously to publication: see Rules of Discipline, p. 170.

fully recognized amongst us; and it is a ground, on either hand, which ought, in my opinion, to be steadily maintained. A committee was appointed by the meeting to revise the work. This committee gave much time to the object, and remarkably interesting and satisfactory to me were the hours which were spent over it. The work finally received the cordial confirmation of the meeting, and, on my return home for the purpose of publishing it, memorable was the flow of peace with which I was mercifully favoured. This seal of peace was the more valuable, as the work, when published, gave offence to some very dear to me, on the ground of its opposing the outward rites of baptism and the supper; or rather of its showing that Friends have good scriptural reasons for disusing them. These were tender points with some of our circle, and though I had handled the subject with much care, I had more than a little to suffer respecting it. Among Friends the work met with an extensive circulation, and the seventh edition, with some important corrections and addenda, was published in 1834. After the experience of many years, I am not aware that I regret anything in the work; much less do I feel at liberty to shrink from those Christian testimonies to the purity and spirituality of the gospel of Christ, which it is intended to develope and defend.

The first chapter of this work contains a brief exposition of the grounds of religious union between the true followers of Christ everywhere. Joseph John Gurney's statement of his views of the universality of divine grace, of the efficacy of the atoning sacrifice of Christ to those who are destitute of the outward knowledge of it, and of the free extension to all men of the love and mercy of their one Father and Creator in heaven, is striking and appropriate; and when he dwells on the peculiar privileges which are common to all true believers, his heart warms with the theme, and he does not repress his longings that "the love which cements

together the varied members of the mystical body of Christ may more and more abound; that the barriers which ignorance or prejudice has reared amongst them may be broken through and demolished; that Christians may be enabled increasingly to *strive together* for the hope of the gospel; and that, whilst they individually draw nearer to the Fountain of all good, they may be enabled yet more perfectly to enjoy 'the communion of the Holy Ghost;' to 'keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.'"*

From these general views he proceeds to the consideration of the Peculiarities of Friends. "The term *peculiarities*," he says, in an explanatory note which ought not to be overlooked, "has been adopted for the sake of convenience and perspicuity, and I conceive it to be accurately descriptive of those opinions and customs which distinguish from other parts of the church any one community of Christians. It is far from my intention, by the use of such a term, to convey the idea that such distinctions are of little practical consequence."† The term as it stood in the title page of the work was afterwards exchanged for another more appropriate, but it is right that the reader should have before him the author's own explanation of it as originally used. The third chapter, on the Perceptible Influence and Guidance of the Spirit of Truth, deserves the attentive perusal of every serious reader. The doctrine involved in it must ever be of the utmost practical importance; as upon its complete acceptance depends, in no small measure, our appreciation

* Page 48, seventh ed. † Page 69.

and enjoyment of "the fulness of the blessing of the gospel of Christ." Joseph John Gurney's belief that the operations of the Holy Spirit upon the soul are "immediate, direct, and perceptible," that "all are furnished with an inward guide or monitor who makes his voice known, and who, if faithfully obeyed and closely followed, will infallibly conduct us into true virtue and happiness,"* a belief which he here explicitly declares and largely insists upon, was to him increasingly precious. And who that has traced his progress in his Journal can doubt but that he now wrote of what he had himself known and experienced, "tasted and handled?" To that large class of professing Christians who are deterred from accepting this truth by the dread of falling into the snares of enthusiasm, his observations on the marks by which the voice of the Holy Spirit are to be discerned from the voice of the stranger may be especially commended.†

In the 4th chapter the reasons which have led the Society of Friends to the disuse of all typical rites in the public worship of God are stated with clearness. In connexion with his own experience, as recorded in his Journal, this chapter is peculiarly interesting, as marking the progress of conviction in his own mind. And they who are willing to admit, (and what serious reader of the New Testament will shrink from the admission?) that Christianity is *an essentially spiritual religion*, can hardly fail to be impressed with the force of the author's conclusions. One remark appears to be especially applicable in the present day.

* Page 76. † See pp. 90—96

"I would suggest," he says, "that the ceremonies which we have been considering, so far from being, like the moral law of God, *universally* salutary, are evidently fraught with no little danger, as occasions by which the deceitful disposition in the human heart is naturally excited, and brought into action. Here our appeal may be made, not only to theory, but to facts; for it is indisputable that the outward rites of baptism and the supper, as observed among the professors of Christianity, have been the means of leading multitudes into gross superstition. How many thousands of persons are there, as every spiritually minded Christian will allow, who place upon these outward rites a reliance which is warranted neither by reason nor by Scripture; and which, so far from bringing them nearer to God, so far from reminding them of Christ, operates in the most palpable manner as a diversion from a true and living faith in their Creator and Redeemer! How often has the ignorant sinner, even in the hour of death, depended on the 'sacrament' of the Lord's supper as upon a saving ordinance! And how many a learned theologian, both ancient and modern, has been found to insist on the dangerous tenet, that the rite of baptism is *regeneration!*" *

The succeeding chapters, "on the nature and character of the Christian Ministry," "on the selection, preparation, and appointment of the ministers of the gospel," on their "pecuniary remuneration," "on the ministry of women," and on "silent worship," will all repay an attentive perusal, as well as those in which the principles of Friends on the important subjects of war and oaths, and upon plainness and simplicity in dress, and the disuse of complimentary language, are stated with much force, clearness, and feeling. In the seventh edition, a chapter was added explanatory of the Christian discipline and internal government

* Page 169.

of the Society. They who peruse the work in a humble, serious spirit, can hardly fail to profit by it. And if the younger members of his own society do not find every difficulty that may suggest itself to their minds fully cleared, they should not forget that in this state of being, and until the eye is opened to see the whole truth in its completeness, the portion which may already be discovered must necessarily appear imperfect, and, in consequence, present difficulties greater or less, according to the extent of such imperfection. Let them carefully weigh not only the difficulties which may appear to them attendant upon the author's conclusions, but also those which necessarily attach to the opposite ones. And above all let them be very faithful to that which they know to be the truth, and never suffer any doubts as to that which they do not yet fully understand, to draw them away from those convictions, which, in moments of serious reflection, when their hearts have been humbled and made tender, have been plainly manifested to them to be *of the Lord*.

CHAPTER XIV.

1824. ÆT. 36—37.

EXTRACTS FROM JOURNAL AND LETTERS; JOURNEY TO THE NORTH OF ENGLAND; LETTERS TO THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON AND LORD SUFFIELD; RETURN HOME; VISIT TO SUFFOLK.

Earlham, 4*th mo.*, 8*th*, 1824. How probable that this may turn out to be the last volume of my Journal! How little do we know what a day, a month, a year may bring forth! How many are cut off in the midst of their plans of usefulness and service whilst those plans are still immature, or only half executed! I have, certainly, interesting views of usefulness before me, especially in my literary career; and should I be enabled to accomplish them before the thread of life is cut, I shall be thankful. But the Lord only knows what is best for me; best for the church; best for his own cause. May I ever be found believing and submitting. While, however, the day and the strength of life are continued, let me endeavour to labour diligently, remembering the advice of Solomon; "Let thine eyes look right on, and let thine eyelids look straight before thee. Turn not to the right hand nor to the left, and let all thy ways be established."

The Essays on Christianity were now closely engaging his attention. After noticing the kindness of his partners in the Bank, through which he was enabled not unfrequently to devote himself exclusively to this object, he writes:—

4*th mo.*, 19*th*. I have been closely engaged in writing my essay On Man: not without some painful exercise of mind

in reference to parts of the subject. The doctrine of eternal punishment, a doctrine far too explicitly stated in Scripture to admit, in my opinion, of any refutation, has especially dwelt with me; and at times my own hopes have been very considerably clouded. But I have found consolation in endeavouring after an entire submission to the divine will as it relates to myself; and a childlike willingness to receive the truth as it is, without murmuring. * * I can acknowledge that *Christ alone* is the way through whom I can obtain salvation; and am permitted in my inmost spirit to believe, that he *is* my Saviour, and that therefore, notwithstanding every past sin, I shall be forgiven and *live*. May I abide more and more in this only effective and sustaining faith, and may the Lord be pleased to cleanse my inward thoughts and secret motives, and to present me blameless before the throne of his glory. * * I have ventured during the past week to read a little in my beloved departed wife's Journal. It is written in a heavenly spirit, and though it has brought mournful things to my recollection with fresh force, it has administered consolation and instruction.

TO JONATHAN HUTCHINSON.

Norwich, 5th mo., 1st, 1824.

[After alluding to the state of his health.] It is a mercy that the inevitable change is so gradual, and a far greater one to know something of the renewal of the inward, during the decay of the outward man. What could the apostle mean by the "inward man," but that never dying part which holds communion with God, and is formed after the image of his own eternity? How unspeakable the importance of having that never dying part washed white in the blood of the everlasting covenant, and clothed in the perfect righteousness of the Son of God! That it is so with thee, that it ever will be so, I can and do believe; and I heartily desire that as thy hoary head descends towards the grave, thou mayest know every cloud more and more to give way to sunshine, and every note of mourning to the song of

thankfulness and praise. I well know that while mortality lasts, the enemy who has the power of it, lasts also, and will continue to buffet and afflict at seasons. Let us humbly bear it; and endeavour always to remember that he is possessed neither of omniscience nor of omnipotence, attributes which do most assuredly belong to the Saviour whom we love and serve, and who is and ever will be, (I humbly trust,) on our side. I am busy preparing for second editions of my works: and have other literary labours in hand. * * Farewell! Excuse the lameness of the effusions of a *banker* on a *market day*.

5th mo., 16*th*. I have passed an interesting time since I last wrote. A pleasant journey by the Day coach, in company with the Sidneys and Francis Cunningham, during which we talked much and read much, brought me to Upton on second day evening, the 4th, where I found all well and happy. Third day, the 5th. Peaceful meeting at Plaistow, delightful again to be sitting beside dearest Elizabeth. I was pleased by a warm and affectionate greeting from dear John Barclay, my partner (alas) in young widowhood. Fourth day. Went to the meeting of the Bible Society at Freemason's Hall. The meeting was very large, admirably conducted, and fraught with high interest. The report, which unfolded many a blessed prospect, was well read by the able new secretary, Andrew Brandram. The speakers were Lords Harrowby, Bexley, Roden, Barham, Teignmouth, Charles Grant, Sir R. H. Inglis, Sir George Rose, Morrison, myself, Wardlaw, John Cunningham, &c. The Earl of Roden detailed, with uncommon feeling, simplicity, and apparent integrity of intention, his own conversion, occasioned, in the first instance, by the attendance of a meeting of the Bible Society. I made a speech of some length, in which I revived the consideration of the main, original principles of the Bible Society; that all Scripture is given by inspiration; that divine truth is to be trusted by itself; and that sectarian distinctions sink into almost nothing, when Christians are engaged in promulgating their common gospel.

Second day, the 11th. To London with Samuel. Meeting of the British and Foreign School Society—Duke of Sussex in the chair. A warming, useful occasion. Buxton spoke capitally, and I followed him on religious instruction, &c. Third day. Meeting at Plaistow. The voice of warning sounded as an alarm. May it have entered the hearts of some! Afterwards, to London to the African Institution Meeting. This, also, was highly interesting, and, on the whole, satisfactory; but many gloomy things were that day reported. The death of Macarthy* particularly, and the dreadful enormous prevalence of the horrid trade in men. I spoke, advancing the proposition, that the true remedy for the slave trade was to be found in the emancipation of the slaves in our own colonies. Buxton drew a capital comparison between the King of France and the King of Madagascar. Fourth day. Returned by Day coach to Norwich. Reading and very fair company rendered the journey agreeable, and I was rather glad of the opportunity of withdrawing my frail mind from the influence of public excitement. Dearest Louisa gave me a good hint when I was with her, chiefly in reference to my works. "Do thy duty, and care not whether people praise or blame—leave it."

Second day morning, [*5th mo.*, 24*th.*] It seems to me the leading defect in my religious life, that the course in which I am treading derives its deep interest, (and deeply interesting it assuredly is,) too much from present associations, and too little from future prospects. It is very seldom that I enjoy a tangible, unquestionable sense of the soul's immortal bliss. And yet, at times I have known it, and I trust, through adorable grace and mercy, I shall know it more and more.

Sixth day morning, [*5th mo.*, 29*th.*] I can scarcely describe the pleasure which I have felt for some days past, in observing that a work of spiritual religion is really (through adorable and unmerited mercy) going forward among our young people. I have had to notice it to my inexpressible comfort, in several individuals. May the Lord preserve them! May no enemy

* The Governor of Sierra Leone. See Life of William Allen, vol. ii, p. 383.

be permitted to mar the work! May the wilderness still become (as I humbly believe it will) the fruitful field, the garden of roses!

On third day evening I went out for a ride, and the gentle intimations of divine love in the heart, brought me into considerable service. I felt it right to shape my course to ———. There I had an encouraging conversation with ———, and a somewhat powerful opportunity with the poor, struggling, and yet unwilling, mother of the family. May the Shepherd bring her into the fold! Afterwards, I went to see a poor woman in the last stage of a consumption. I found her in a suffering state, but I believe open to the word of the Lord. I ministered the gospel to her; and solemn prayer on her account followed. There was both power and peace to be felt on the occasion, and I subsequently found that she died six hours afterwards in peace.

In allusion to a letter from a valued relative, strongly disapproving of his work on the Distinguishing Principles of Friends, he writes:—

6th mo., 7th. ——'s letter on the subject of my book has been answered deliberately, and with a degree of serenity in which I have felt comfort; and I have been favoured to feel also, after considerable exercise of mind, an increased settlement in the blessed truth, as Friends have been led to hold it. This I can say without judging others; for I do fully believe that grace will be with all them who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity. On the whole, seriousness of mind seems extending itself a little amongst us, which I esteem an unspeakable favour.

TO JONATHAN HUTCHINSON.

Norwich, 6th mo., 30th, 1824.

It seems to be my lot to give satisfaction and dissatisfaction, to pass "through good report and evil report:" and being rather sensitive, I sometimes a little shrink from the touch of man. These observations are suggested by some kind, but

very disapproving remarks sent by a valued relative, who views things in a different light from myself, on the subject of my work on Friends' principles: but I should say that from Friends uniformly who have mentioned the subject, and from several others, I have received much encouragement. May I look less and less to man, and more and more to God!

To his sister Elizabeth Fry, who was then at Brighton, in a feeble state of health, he writes:—

Earlham, 7th mo., 2nd, 1824.

My beloved Sister,

* * It has been a matter of painful feeling to me, even selfishly, to have thee brought so low; and now I can equally rejoice in the happy prospect of thy gradual recovery; for I often find myself much alone, without one in my own *home* circle with whom I can fully communicate. * * I had been occupied in perusing some sheets of almost unmixed disapprobation of my book from ———, when thy letter arrived, stating "John Glaisyer's satisfaction in every sentence." I was quite thankful for such a verdict, from one whose judgment I so highly respect; for it is impossible not to be sensible to pain from the decided turn against my authorship, which it has given to a certain small proportion of our own connexions. The ceremony of the supper is certainly as the "apple of the eye," to many in our circle, to a degree which it is difficult to me to comprehend. Should we be favoured to land safely on yon blissful shore, we shall be all Quakers there, requiring no commemorative ordinances; no uninspired ministry; no judicial oaths; no defensive warfare! It appears to me that ours is not what some would make it out to be, a narrow system of human construction, but the absence of system, the natural result of genuine and unmixed Christianity. This is what Quakerism ought to be; and what it is, when the life of truth has full sway with us. However, the occasion which I have lately found to insist so much on our peculiarities, has made me very sensible how needful it is to dwell in that love, which can overflow all obstructions and

distinctions of feeling between party and party, and sect and sect. And yet with the deepest desire to be preserved in this root of harmony, I am much bound in spirit to the promotion of our own cause; and have often, of late, felt constrained to uphold it very boldly in the ministry of the gospel. Is it not, after all, essentially connected with that which is best in the world? * * *

The duodecimo edition of my book, is begun to be printed; and I suppose will appear in about two months. I have a fourth edition also in hand, of the octavo size. The universal approbation of Friends has certainly been very satisfactory; and there are the scattered few amongst others also, whose minds it has remarkably met. Last evening we had a party of Friends, which was pleasant, and ended with a sweet solemnity. Indeed, we have in these parts, cause for thankfulnesss in observing no ambiguous symptoms of a "growth in the truth." Some of our young men especially, have now given in their names; and as a little evidence of it, have become plain in their dress and language. The meetings too, have been sweet and solemn, and well attended. What a mercy this is! Some tangible evidence that we are not forsaken.

7th mo., 2nd. Night. If the Lord appoint me the continuance of that solitary path which I am now treading, often in great loneliness of feeling, may I be more than willing to tread it, and with regard to the darling children, may I be enabled to assist a little in training them up for eternity. * *

I am low at this dark and silent hour, and have no one to whom it is possible for me fully to unfold my heart, except my beloved Lord and Master, whom I trust I have not by any wilful errors greatly offended. I am sometimes favoured with a sense of his love, so that a little hope arises for myself, for Friends, for the church at large. But cannot I say "I am a worm and no man."

In the prospect of religious service in the North of England to which he now believed himself called, he writes,

7th mo., *26th.* The week passed in as close and determined occupation as I could well manage, the result of which was the complete clearing off of all business engagements, and the satisfactory finishing (except the notes) of Section 2, Essay 10. To crown the week, I found it necessary to go to Acle on seventh day evening to attend their Bible meeting, in a barn, an effort which I did not regret, as it was a very favoured time. Lord Calthorpe, who had been paying me a visit at Earlham, was our excellent chairman. I value the steadiness and almost nearness of his friendship. Enoch Jacobson, (the Friend from Norway,) again pleasantly with me one day. In the adjournment of the Monthly Meeting on 5th day, I laid open to men and women Friends, my view of holding meetings with Friends in Yorkshire, Durham, Lancashire, Nottinghamshire, and Lincolnshire — an arduous prospect — one which, though of old date, has become more defined within the last few days, and has spread not a little. Yesterday I was furnished with a full certificate, signed by all present, and evidently signed heartily. By this sweet unity of my brethren and sisters, I trust I may be strengthened in the prosecution of my undertaking. * * * The afternoon meeting (on the following first day) was very touching. I spoke on the declaration of Paul, that our citizenship is in heaven; and the flowings of the tenderest Christian love, under which I was enabled, in parting, to set forth the virtue, the unspeakable virtue, of the name of Jesus, brought myself and many others, I believe, to tears.

TO SAMUEL AND ELIZABETH GURNEY.

Norwich, 7th mo., 22nd, 1824.

My dearest Brother and Sister,

I have quite longed for some communication with you, and sometimes pined over our inevitable separation. I want to enjoy more of a fellowship with you outwardly, in the gospel of our Lord and Saviour. Inwardly I trust we do enjoy it, and increasingly prize it. Mayest thou, my beloved brother, be preserved in a condition of close watchfulness, WITH PRAYER, that the trammels of the world may not hinder

the growth of the precious immortal seed, or prevent thy being wholly dedicated to the love, fear, and service of God. The world will have its cares, but we need not imbibe its spirit; and let us henceforth endeavour yet more sedulously to keep our hands clean, perfecting holiness in the fear of the Lord.

The following details of his journey are from his Journal. After describing his progress as far as Wansford, in Northamptonshire, he continues:—

I left Wansford on third day morning, 7th mo., 27th, at half-past five, on the outside of the Edinburgh mail; and an agreeable journey, in the company of a pious, well-informed, and travelled stranger, Dr. Gaultier, with whom I read the Greek Testament and Magee, brought me to Robin Hood's Well, about six miles from Doncaster, in the afternoon; whence I came in a chaise to Ackworth. Many friends had arrived before me, and others were fast collecting. The meeting for worship on fourth day morning was large, and much favoured with what I apprehend to be an immediate divine influence. I had breakfasted very pleasantly at Luke Howard's agreeable villa, and walked thither again in the evening, when, with the family and several other friends, we heard read some of Hannah Kilham's letters,* and had, in a very precious religious opportunity, to remember with close sympathy our distant friends who are toiling for the cause of Christ under a burning sun. O that a true missionary spirit, in accordance with our own principles, may more break forth amongst us!

On fifth day the general committee digested their report [of the examination,] and the whole discussion on it was attended with feelings of satisfaction and I hope thankfulness. Certainly after an absence of four years, I am greatly struck with the real progress and improvement of this most interesting institution. There is in the whole system more of spirit

* Hannah Kilham was at this time engaged in religious labours on the coast of Africa.

and effect; and among the dear children, more of civility, more of piety, more of mind. On reflection, I felt best satisfied to go through the scriptural examination of the whole school. Accordingly sixth day was devoted to the girls, and seventh day to the boys. Both days brought their blessing with them. The girls performed very well on the whole; the upper classes exceedingly well. After their examination, and tea with my dear friend Luke Howard, I returned with him to read with the girls at seven o'clock. The opportunity which followed was indeed an hour of weeping to the dear children. How precious are the tears of softness and contrition!

To examine in succession the five classes of boys on the following day, I found somewhat laborious, though highly interesting and every way encouraging. After tea we settled down to a religious opportunity with them at seven o'clock. I attempted to read to them the eighth of Romans, but explanation became ministry, and I was under the necessity of laying down the book, after reading a very few verses. The little fellows were soon melted; the greater part of them I believe; and there was a precious solemnity over us. I afterwards visited many of the children in bed, and found them very sweet and tender. * * * *

On second day morning, (8th mo., 2nd,) an agreeable ride over a fine, and in parts almost a mountainous country, brought me to Manchester. This was (though I forgot it at the time,) my birthday; and I have now lived somewhat more than thirty-six years. How clearly does this consideration bring home the inadequate fulfilment of my stewardship! In the afternoon proceeded to Stockport, where a very kind reception awaited me at the house of Ollive Sims. George Jones called upon me, and we made arrangements for his republication of my letter on Christianity; and I have since adopted similar measures at Manchester and Liverpool. Elizabeth Robson has also taken it out to America, to be reprinted there; so that Friends appear to have taken up this performance, as well as the work on our principles, warmly and decisively.

After noticing meetings at Stockport and Manchester, he proceeds:—

Before I left [Manchester] I earnestly recommended the formation of an association for promoting moral and Christian order in factories, which I trust will lead to some practical fruit. The object is of the first importance in my view, considering that the great mass of the population is engaged in these factories. A wet ride on the outside of the Liverpool mail, after a warm leave taking with Friends, brought me in the afternoon to Prescot, whence I took a chaise for Knowsley. Lord and Lady Derby gave me a cordial reception. It was their public day; and we had a magnificent dinner in their almost royal new dining room. Our party consisted of Lord and Lady Derby, Lord Stanley, his daughters Louisa and Eleanor, and several others. I endeavoured to give the conversation in the evening something of a religious turn, and read a little to them.

Sixth day was pleasant and interesting. Many hours were spent in Lady Derby's sitting room, in scriptural investigation. The divinity of Christ was our subject; and the conversation and intercourse were highly interesting. I also rode with Lord Derby about the park, and pleaded in vain against cock-fighting, racing, &c. The next morning I felt under a weight of exercise, which seemed as if it could have no vent; but at last opportunity offered for the reading of a psalm, with silence, ministry, and prayer, in Lady Derby's room with herself and her husband. It was an affecting time, and I afterwards parted from them under a sense of reciprocal love. Sarah Benson's carriage came for me, and conveyed me to her son Robert Benson's house of mourning at Linacre, four miles from Liverpool, on the mouth of the Mersey. His dear and excellent wife died after her confinement, a few weeks since, and has left him with four children. I have not often seen a more real mourner. Sarah Benson is a nobly comprehensive person, of deep piety and sound judgment.

First day [at Liverpool] was one of much close exercise, and of some real suffering for the truth. The Friends at the morning meeting numerous; the ministry close and almost severe. I felt myself much a mourner and much "in bonds." These, however, were broken asunder in a large and favoured public meeting in the evening, in which the gospel had free course, and was, I humbly trust, glorified amongst us.

On second day morning we were agreeably surprised by the appearance of the gallant "Canada" coming into the Mersey, her mark being known to Robert Benson, and we had the pleasure of descrying Anna Braithwaite in her, through the telescope. I did not however see her face to face till my return to Linacre at night, when I was much gratified by observing her to be in health, and at ease. Her story respecting America is, in a high degree, interesting and affecting. She seems to have indeed gone forth in the needful hour, to detect the secret places of infidelity, and to proclaim the truth with boldness. I should conceive, from her statements, that divine truth is gradually regaining its ascendency among our transatlantic brethren. On third day morning, the 12th, I breakfasted with the family of the Waterhouses. One of the sons, [Benjamin,] an interesting young man of twenty-two, is now my travelling companion. After breakfast to the prison; very defective; but the women under the kind care of a committee. With them we held a solemn meeting. Then a visit to the beautiful docks. What a wonderful, busy, ingenious, adventurous creature is man! How unlikely that such an one should be created for the mere span of seventy years, and for that only! We dined at James Cropper's, and after a little needful rest, he and I called upon his neighbour and my worthy friend William Roscoe. I asked for silence, and in ministry encouraged him in the continuance of his works of benevolence, and preached to him the gospel of Christ, very shortly, but, I believe, in the *life*. We left him tender and grateful. He is not, I believe, far from the kingdom of God; but oh! the obstructions thrown in the path of men by an unsound or incomplete faith! * * * *

Fifth day; parting opportunity after breakfast with ——; close exercise felt and expressed on his account, that without further delay he might close in with what I believe to be the divine will for him, and become a consistent Friend. How happy should I be to hear of this result! There is much in him greatly to esteem and value. A high integrity of character, and a love for the truth as it is in Jesus.

The Friends met me very generally at their week-day meeting that morning. It was our parting assemblage; and very close and clear was the exercise of mind into which I found myself introduced. * * The love felt after the meeting concluded was almost inexpressible, and it appeared to be mutual. I felt particularly bound to some of the young men. After dining with —— and a religious opportunity in their family, my dear young friend Benjamin Waterhouse and myself, ascended the outside of a crowded stage coach, which conveyed us, with rather a frightful rapidity, to Preston, thirty-two miles. Tired and exhausted, I found a comfortable abode at the house of my kind friends, Ralph and Mary Alderson.

From Preston his course was directed, by way of Lancaster and Settle, to Darlington. Writing to his brother-in-law Thomas Fowell Buxton, after an affectionate remonstrance on the subject of shooting for diversion, he says:—

Settle, 8th mo., 18th, 1824.

* * I do feel an earnest desire that all thy ways may be ordered by the noon-day principles of Christian truth; that thou mayest remember how considerable a degree of questionableness attaches to every path in life, in which *self is not denied;* and that every thing may drop off from thy system of living and action which cannot be done to the glory of God, and in the name of our Lord Jesus. Great confidence in thy Christianity I have long felt, and still feel; and yet I think thy public life affords reasons why a deep, determined, steady, abiding watchfulness and continued religious exercise of mind,

are peculiarly needful. "The whole world (says the apostle) lieth in wickedness," and they whose interests in connexion with it are the strongest, (and I consider thy parliamentary life, however right, a most powerful worldly interest,) have the more need ever to watch and pray, "lest they enter into temptation," lest their standard should become lowered, lest they should slide down-hill. Thy personal religious growth is more connected with the welfare of man and the glory of God, than that of many. With thee not a few deeply interesting objects, (as far as the measure of an individual goes,) appear ready to stand or fall; and I am intimately persuaded that nothing will serve thy purpose, or the purposes which in some degree centre in thee, but *divine grace*. It ought to be the root and spring, and protection of all thy proceedings. It will make its way, where to all other principles the door is shut. It comes from Him, who can and will gradually execute his own gracious designs; and, as for thyself, thou hast in my apprehension, nothing of so much importance to do, as to lie low under the mighty hand of God, that he may sanctify all thy talents, enlarge all thy capacities, direct all thy movements, and preserve the instrument in its true brightness and sharpness, free from the rust of the world, which would soon render it comparatively inefficacious. Pray, therefore, that thou mayest dwell deeply in the root of life, even in Christ Jesus, "the wisdom and the power of God."

At Darlington, besides holding two public meetings, he visited the families of Friends. In allusion to these services, he writes in his Journal:—

The burthen seemed very considerable; but I found it greater than I expected, for my private opportunities were upwards of seventy in number. The week was, of course, a very laborious one; for besides these private visits, (almost all of which were accomplished before the conclusion of the following first day, four only being left till the next morning,) there were the meetings with the Darlington Friends on the following first day morning, and with the public on third day,

and again on the following first day evening; and on fifth day, a meeting, a funeral, and several private opportunities at Stockton. The family visiting was, (as it always is,) a peculiarly close labour. Earnestly, however, did I crave divine assistance to divide the word of truth aright; which prayer was the more needed, because I find myself almost constantly led on these occasions, as well as in meetings, to speak to particular states; to enter into feeling for almost every individual, individually. On the whole, I like solitary family visiting best. The visits were generally satisfactory, quite confirming the favourable impressions received in the preceding meetings. Tears almost everywhere, the fruit, in my estimation, of real sensibility, not of sentimentality. In some instances, the work was painfully close and searching, I fully believe rightly so, but I was reproved *in foro conscientiæ*, for mentioning, though in intimacy, a case or two of this sort. A holy discreetness in keeping counsel is, indeed, essential to the Christian minister. * * The concluding meeting with Friends at Darlington, on first day morning, the 29th, was very solemn and affecting. I trust some were *reached* in the heart, to use a quaint but expressive word. I left this interesting and truly flourishing place, (O may it through watchfulness and humility long continue so!) for Durham and Sunderland, on second day, the 30th of the 8th month.

From Darlington, by way of Sunderland and Shields, he proceeded to Newcastle, and thence, by way of Redcar, to Whitby. At Sunderland he writes:—

I held a satisfactory meeting with the young people, among whom (as I have since done at Shields, Newcastle, and Whitby,) I endeavoured to institute an association for reading Friends' books in company, each sex separately, and of course under proper superintendence. I believe a real blessing would attend such little efforts for good.

* * [At Newcastle] on first day, [the 4th of the 9th mo.,] the morning meeting was, I believe, larger than usual. It

was one of close exercise with me. * * I dined afterwards with my dear friend George Richardson, where I met a small party of Friends. He is the individual under whose ministry dearest Priscilla was brought home to Friends, and is a person whose light is shining brightly all around. Would that such more abounded amongst us. Several family visits were paid in the course of second day, through no inconsiderable fatigue. The most interesting was one to David Sutton and his wife, the old man 88, and his wife a complete invalid. There was true life to be felt in their company. After taking tea at our aged Friend Robert Foster's, I held a meeting in the evening with about eighty young people. It lasted two hours and a half, for the life rose into something like dominion, and it was a time of great solemnity. I hope my plan for reading Friends' books will go on among them.

In the afternoon of third day, Margaret and Mary Bragg accompanied me, very pleasantly, to Durham, where a public meeting was appointed. It was not large, and a time of some real lowness and difficulty. It seemed clearly laid upon me to uphold the doctrine of the universal light of Christ in the heart, and to explain our several peculiar religious testimonies. I hope and believe there were individuals present who could receive, perhaps rejoice in the doctrine.

Two days afterwards, the 8th of the 9th month :—

* After a short stormy night, the more so to me from the fracture of a large pane of glass by my bedside through the violence of the wind, I rose a little after four o'clock, and my two young companions having joined me from the inn, we went forward [from Redcar] over a wretched road, a long ride of five hours, to Whitby. The meeting of the Friends there was appointed at half-past ten, and after a hasty meal, we found ourselves seated in it before eleven o'clock. Never scarcely did I feel more entirely oppressed with bodily and mental infirmity, so that entering into religious exercise seemed impossible. But with my gracious Saviour and Leader all things are possible, and I shall not soon forget how I was unexpectedly and

almost suddenly brought into close sympathy with a suffering, afflicted, mournful company of brethren and sisters, for many such, as I afterwards found, there were present, chiefly from outward causes. I ministered to them the sweet oil of consolation, and was also much engaged in endeavouring to arouse, alarm, and bring to Christ the children of the world, who had a name to live but were dead. * * In the evening I met the young people, about thirty; on which occasion, though I greatly felt my own weakness, I believe the necessary help was afforded.

From York, Joseph John Gurney wrote

TO LORD SUFFIELD.

(On the decease of his wife.)*

York, 9th mo., 30th, 1824.

I cannot express, my dear friend, how deeply I have felt interested in the events which have been passing in thy family. I well know the sore distress which must have been thy portion during the time of afflicting suspense, and during the bitter change from hope to hopelessness; and how the whole is summed up by the mournful blank of such a termination of anxiety. But I feel confident that mercy has been richly mingled with the cup of woe. I doubt not but thou hast found that there is, in such scenes, much which tends to satisfy the mind that, in striving after the attainment of vital religion through faith in a Redeemer, we have not been following any cunningly devised fable, but substantial and ever enduring truth. * * *

I cannot help writing freely to thee, my dear and honoured friend. With regard to thyself I cannot but believe that thou hast been strengthened to bow in reverent, holy resignation to the will of thy heavenly Father, and that he has been pleased to administer that precious support by which alone such trials can be rightly endured. Ah! my dear friend, may this severe affliction abundantly yield the peaceable fruits

* See Memoir of Lord Suffield, by Richard Mackenzie Bacon, pp. 202—203.

of righteousness. May it be the means of more entirely weaning thee from a too attractive world, of fixing thy whole heart on God, and of exciting thee to a holy dedication of thyself and of all thy talents to *his* service, who has bought thee with a price, even with the precious price of his own blood. In the path of religion and duty, I can venture to say thy consolations in Christ will abound, and a precious union of spirit will still be felt with her who has (I humbly trust) winged her flight before thee to the realms of light and bliss. * * *

I am almost daily engaged in these parts, chiefly on a visit to the Society of Friends, and expect to be detained a few weeks longer from home. I hope Buxton has been with thee.

I am, my dear friend,
Ever faithfully thine,
J. J. GURNEY.

The remainder of Joseph John Gurney's journey was occupied by engagements similar to those already described at various places in Yorkshire, and the adjacent counties of Lincoln, Nottingham, and Derby.

Earlham, 11*th mo.*, 5*th.* At most of the larger towns I passed two or three days, and held public meetings very generally, and youth's meetings in many places. Deep and various, I may truly say, were the exercises which I passed through; yet ought I gratefully to acknowledge, that in every place the power of truth seemed to prevail. If the question be asked, "lackedst thou anything?" I can, indeed, humbly answer, "nothing, Lord;" for my merciful Saviour has not failed me, that I am aware of, in a single instance. Sometimes, indeed, the strength given seemed only just equivalent to the need. At other times it was dispensed abundantly and powerfully. My gift has often been searching, dissecting, severe; yet, I trust, always in true love.

On second day morning I returned to this dear place, and

found Rachel and the darling children at home. I have to record with thankfulness the health, sweetness, good behaviour, and general improvement of these little ones. May they ever be the children and followers of the Saviour. His for life, his for eternity. They were overjoyed to meet me; we had been separated fifteen weeks. Dearest Catherine came home to dinner; and Francis and Richenda, Louisa, and her little ones are with us, very delightfully. And yet, in this change, (shadowed as it is by old causes of deep sorrow,) I have, to tell the truth, passed through much lowness. The solitude of my path, as it relates to Friends, was almost overpowering to my spirit on my return, but I am cheerful and happy now. I was truly thankful to find the meeting of yesterday large, and something very precious to be felt with that beloved flock, as if there had been a little growth in grace, an increased settlement in the truth. O that it may be so!

TO A FRIEND.

Earlham, first day night, 11th mo., 7th, 1824.

It is sweet and consoling to me, amidst many discouragements, and some deep trial of mind, on my return home to an allotment which is, in some very important respects, solitary, to think of thee; and to dwell on the happy prospect of thy becoming more entirely united with Friends. Thou knowest my opinion of "plainness of speech and apparel." It is my deliberate conviction that it is a good testimony, founded on true gospel principles, and that, however familiar and universal the contrary may have become, Friends are truly bound not to sacrifice one jot or tittle of that testimony. I am pleading for no form, but for that which I thoroughly believe to be a fruit of the Spirit of Christ; and I am certainly anxious that nothing should prevent thy acceding to it; not only because I am persuaded it is a branch of our duty, but because I well know that in thy case, as in that of many others, it is likely to be a little door to a wide field—a little link on which a great chain will hang. What would have

become of my dear sister Fry's labours, had she resisted the early call of duty, and reasoned away the required sacrifice?

Let me earnestly invite thee to make this a subject of prayer, and to refrain from any farther reasoning or speculation respecting it. Follow the Shepherd's voice with childlike simplicity. Ours must be a life of faith; and we must sometimes suffer our gracious Lord and Master to lead us for a season as the "blind, in ways which we knew not, and in paths which we have not known." He is powerfully alluring thee into "the wilderness." Follow him closely. Cleave to thy holy guide, who hath loved thee and given himself for thee. He will give thee thy rich and pleasant vineyards from thence, and the valley of Achor—of deep humiliation—for a door both of hope and of usefulness, which no man shall ever shut.

11*th mo.*, 12*th.* Yesterday at our Monthly Meeting I delivered in my certificate, and had to acknowledge the kindness and mercy of Israel's Shepherd who was with me in the way, guiding me and helping me; also the peace I felt in the humble belief that I had not been out of my right place. I added a few words on the evident gathering of the people in many places to Christ: and on the great importance that Friends should bear all their testimonies consistently in the sight of the world. I felt much true peace afterwards. In the evening I began to re-read Butler, with pleasure.

This morning, I have been conversing with dearest Rachel, who thinks me a little disjointed from home associations, and has her jealousies respecting my course. Her cautions have often been useful and salutary to me. May I be preserved in close watchfulness against all the wiles of the enemy!

O my dearest Lord and Saviour, who art my only refuge and way to the Father, in this often dark and cloudy world, permit me at this time to cast myself at thy feet, and to crave thy gracious aid and protection. Make thy way straight before me. Defend me, I humbly beseech thee, from the wiles of the enemy of souls, who is ever ready to play upon

the deep deceitfulness of the human heart. Let him not mislead me, I reverently pray thee; but be thou my prophet, my priest, and my teacher, my guide and my comforter in all my ways, words, and works. I humbly thank thee for the knowledge of thy truth, and for the hopes of eternity: and grant, I beseech thee, that I may be strengthened of thy grace for the performance of my daily duty; and that I may more abound in pure, unfeigned, uninterrupted love towards all who love and serve thee. Let me ever maintain my footing on the only sure foundation. Let me be kept in the valley of real humiliation. Let me ever adhere to the sobriety and simplicity of thy most holy truth: and since thou hast seen meet to intrust thy unworthy servant with a gift in the ministry, let it be preserved, I pray thee, deep, clear, sound, wholesome, to my own peace, to the good of others, and to thy glory!

Second day morning, 11*th mo.*, 15*th.* * * * Yesterday was a very peaceful and even consoling Sabbath day. Both the meetings large, and both meat and drink to the soul. Ah! may it please our gracious Master to gather our flock in this place more entirely to himself, and to draw others into the enjoyment of this peculiarly sweet and salutary rest. Surely the work of convincement must in the end go forward. For what, after all, can be compared to the preciousness of that principle, which truly leads into the silence of all flesh before the Lord Jehovah?

First day night. Conflict of mind, the secret buffeting of the enemy, a strange mixture of unaccountable bitters in my cup, continued to be my portion, till last night, in a very considerable degree; but, all, it may be, was no more than a needful preparation for the blessed hope and elevation, the sweet peace and flowing comfort of the day which is now brought to its conclusion. "Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me, bless his holy name!"

12*th mo.*, 17*th.* Yesterday I heard of the instantaneous and easy death, (after a few days' indisposition,) of my beloved and truly honoured friend, Samuel Alexander,

aged 75. I have often said of late, that I scarcely knew any one who so much corresponded with my idea of Christian perfection as this dear friend. I had a peculiar reverence for him, the more so because of his deep humility, for self was of no reputation with him. In such a case as his, I am inclined to think that sudden dissolution may be esteemed a real blessing. But O the necessity of being ready at a moment!

12*th mo.*, 30*th.* My religious principles are likely to be put (I mean in my own mind) to rather a severe test, by the reviews which are now rapidly coming out of my work. How can I expect that the world, or the church at large, will do otherwise than frown, at present, on the peculiar tenets of our little sect? Yet I may, I think, with humility and gratitude confess, that, after much conflict from fears and doubts which are very apt to assail me, I am permitted time after time, to find rest in the persuasion, that the truth, as we have been taught to hold it, (without any disparagement of others in their own place,) is, "the truth as it is in Jesus." And never am I so sensible of this satisfaction, as when my soul, in the hours of public worship, is gathered into deep quietness and solemnity before God.

CHAPTER XV.

1825. ÆT. 37—38.

EXTRACTS FROM JOURNAL; LETTER FROM WILLIAM WILBERFORCE ON HIS RETIREMENT FROM PARLIAMENT; VISIT TO LINCOLNSHIRE; ALFRED CORDER; YEARLY MEETING; COUNTY MEETING ON SLAVERY; PUBLICATION OF HIS ESSAYS ON CHRISTIANITY.

THE year 1825 was spent by Joseph John Gurney mostly at home. The Journal of this period derives its interest more from the value of the experience which it unfolds, and the reflections which are here and there scattered through it, than from the newness or variety of the incidents recorded. Not a few will read with an additional interest the numerous and emphatic allusions made by Joseph John Gurney to the peculiar principles of his own religious society, whilst they recollect that he was now deeply engaged in the completion of his Essays on Christianity.

1*st mo.*, 30*th.* The past week has been exceedingly full. Earl B——— here two days. I hope the right standard has been in some degree maintained.

A considerable weight of discouragement has been my companion with regard to our religious society. I am sometimes laden with mournful apprehensions that it is decaying and withering away; and that this "good thing," as I apprehend it to be, should after a season be no more seen on the earth. Perhaps there is nothing which requires so deep a submission of soul to the divine will, as a point of this description. Yet

how obviously incumbent upon us it is to bow very low before the Lord our God, and in every thing to breathe the language "Thy will be done." Sometimes brighter hopes arise, and the strong persuasion that the thing *is* good, and calculated in an eminent degree to promote the glory of God, gives rise to the belief that it will yet take root, and again in due time spread among men.

2nd mo., 6th. I have been much engaged in "overseership" with some individuals. One case has interested me rather anxiously. It is that of a young woman, who I believe would do well in adopting the language and simple dress of the Friend. Such examples are wanted amongst us, yet we have need of long patience. The power of an endless life is the great thing to aim at; which I believe is much promoted by obedience in the day of small things; and I humbly trust more of this power will, in the end, be manifested within our peaceful borders. "I will raise up the tabernacle of David that is fallen, and close up the breaches thereof, and I will raise up his ruins, and I will build it as in days of old."* I cannot doubt that this prophecy is being accomplished, and will be accomplished in the Christian church; and it appears to me to involve the ultimate growth and establishment of those spiritual and unsophisticated principles which our Society professes. But the Lord only knows his own wise and gracious designs.

Early in this year William Wilberforce retired from parliament. On this occasion he addressed to Joseph John Gurney the following "brief but expressive note."†

Near Uxbridge, Feb. 8th, 1825.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

If I do not deceive myself, you will be rather glad than sorry to hear that I have determined to retire from the House of Commons. My physician's advice

* Amos ix, 11.

† From the Familiar Sketch of William Wilberforce. Minor Works, vol. ii, p. 243.

was such as, all circumstances taken into account, led me to believe it to be my duty so to do; and an event so interesting to me, I do not like you to hear from rumour or the newspapers. I scarcely need assure you that I trust I shall not be less occupied, though I may be less *noisy* than heretofore. Were it not for the weakness of my eyes, I should be strongly tempted to pour forth the train of thoughts which is rising in my bosom; but I must check myself and say farewell, my dear friend. I hope you and yours are in good health, and that you are blessed with that peace which I know you prefer to all earthly enjoyments.

May you be favoured with a long course of usefulness and comfort in this life, if it be the will of God, and may you at length be an abundant partaker of those pleasures which will be infinite in degree, and eternal in continuance.

I am ever

Your sincere and affectionate friend,

W. WILBERFORCE.

2nd mo., 14*th.* I have been a good deal struck and affected with the extraordinary want of spiritual apprehension which appears to me to be evinced by the reviews of my work on Friends, in religious publications. How is it that the religious world refuses its sanction so entirely to *practical* principles, especially as it relates to the ministry and the guidance of the Holy Spirit, which I may say, we *know* to be true? Lord, send forth *thy* light and *thy* truth! What is man without them?

2nd mo., 27*th.* The present day has been one of very close exercise of mind. The former part of it occupied by a journey with two Friends to North Walsham. There we attended the meeting for worship, and the preparative meeting, in which the queries were answered; the whole of which was satisfactory. We returned to Norwich to tea, and at seven o'clock were seated in the Goat Lane meeting house, in pursuance of the appointment of a public meeting, to which the gentry were, in my name, specially invited. Notwithstanding the weather, many were there; and after much deep exercise of mind, all

has again ended well. The truths of Christianity were plainly declared to a very mixed, a very attentive, and a very reflecting congregation. "Without faith it is impossible to please God." I felt much relieved, and very full of love towards all, when the meeting was over. How ought my spirit to overflow with humble gratitude to that most Gracious Being, who has never yet failed me in the needful hour!

I wish solemnly to record my full and clear apprehension (much sealed on my spirit this week,) that, when unassisted by the Spirit of truth, I am, as to every religious work, dry and unprofitable. God alone is sufficient for these things. *The unction is everything.* May I not then heartily subscribe to the inspired exclamation, "Not unto us, not unto us, O Lord, but unto thy name be the glory!"

4th mo., 8*th.* My time and mind have been much occupied since first day. Some successful operation on the book: discussions relative to business, involving no little feeling and thought. Emma O'Brien's visit, with Augustus and Angelina and Julia Noel. They came on fourth day morning, and proceeded with me to Aylsham, where we held a good meeting of the Bible Society. Our meeting [for worship] yesterday was attended by our guests, and was very touching and solemn. O that the mental eye of more of the Lord's children might, through grace, be opened to behold more clearly the excellence of such a mode of worship, and of the principles of Friends in general! They increasingly appear to me to be very, very precious.

Sixth day morning. I have just parted from my interesting guests, after a solemn reviving time of religious intercourse and prayer. O the sweetness of the heavenly oil! How well worth waiting for; how well worth being a fool for! And truly it is not to be obtained in man's will, or at man's time. It is poured forth when the Master pleases; and happy those ministers of gospel truth, who are, in any degree, favoured to know when to speak, and when to be silent!

4th mo., 18*th.* The past week has been very busy; and in it I have satisfactorily finished my whole Essay on "Redemption." The Monthly Meeting on fifth day was deeply interest-

ing. I laid before Friends my prospect [of religious service] in Lincolnshire; and the applications for membership afterwards brought great solemnity over the meeting. It is reviving to *gather*, instead of scattering. * * I am clearing off to-day. To-morrow I expect to be on the wing for Lincolnshire. May the Shepherd of the flock graciously condescend to be my helper and guide.

5th mo., 4th. My course was Wisbech, Gedney, Spalding, Boston, Leak, Wainfleet, Holbeach, Gedney again, Long Sutton, Wisbech again, Downham; and throughout I was much assisted by my dear and sympathizing companion, Alfred Corder. How delightful it is to me to see a young man so prepared and anointed for the Lord!* At all the above-mentioned places I held public meetings, some of which were very arduous times. In others there was an easier flow, and a quicker entrance for the word of life; in all considerable, in some profound solemnity. The Friends are a scattered few, but my meetings with them were generally much favoured; and, on the whole, a hope has been felt, that the precious principles we profess, and which in some of the public meetings I felt a full liberty to unfold, will yet be maintained in these districts. I was much pleased with green rural Gedney; and dear Jonathan Hutchinson, though infirm, was, as usual, a highly interesting and truly paternal companion.

*Joseph John Gurney had soon afterwards to record the early removal of this promising young man. With his usual affectionate warmth and simplicity, he thus briefly notices the circumstance in the Autobiography. "The autumn of 1825, is marked in my remembrance by the death of Alfred Corder, a young Friend who had resided at Ipswich, and who travelled with me in Lincolnshire, &c. He was the son of a farmer, and an ironmonger by trade, but nature and grace had, as it were, conspired in polishing him, and his mind was one of peculiar sensitiveness and refinement. Seldom have I known any one who more excited the lively affection of his friends, and for my own part I loved him as a brother. Little adapted to the rigours of this rough world, he bore his living testimony in our religious meetings; and soon afterwards, to the inexpressible grief of his friends, sickened and died."

5th mo., 13*th*. After a somewhat disturbed night, I find myself languid and spiritually poor. But how good it is for us to be brought and kept low! We are not capable here of continued spiritual elevation.

I have been sauntering in the meadows this fine morning with my tenderly beloved children: they are truly very sweet and precious. O may the Shepherd of Israel keep these tender lambs in his own bosom.

TO HENRY BRADY.

Earlham, 6th mo., 9th, 1825.

* * I have been often led of late to reflect on the very strong encouragement held out to us in Scripture to pray for the Holy Spirit. I wish to be more diligent myself, and to encourage those I love to greater diligence in this duty. The Holy Spirit can yet do wonders for us, in consoling amidst sorrow, in cleansing from sin, in anointing for service. May the gift of grace be thine, my dear friend, in all these respects.

I never, I think, felt more thoroughly persuaded of the importance of your labours in the religious instruction of the children at Ackworth. The late Yearly Meeting evidently showed forth the fruits of the Society's increased care in this respect. Such a hopeful rising generation I think I never before witnessed; and many Friends who had attended twenty or thirty Yearly Meetings or more, have borne a similar testimony. The arising of the power of divine life from meeting to meeting was most cheering and animating. My dear sister Elizabeth Fry and myself held a youth's meeting; an evening being appointed by the Yearly Meeting for the purpose. It was a noble assemblage: I suppose nearly two thousand were present, and some hundreds, it was said, could find no entrance. I trust it was a time of instruction and gathering to them, as it was of the deepest exercise to us. * *

I have been holding several meetings since the Yearly Meeting, chiefly in Suffolk. There are many symptoms, I trust, abroad that the truth is making progress, and this ought to cheer our hearts. And though I suppose we are never likely

to be a great multitude, yet I feel much hope that we shall in due season be a strong and lively, if not a numerous body.

I returned home to the funeral of my beloved aunt Gurney, at Keswick. She has long been declining, and of late rapidly so, and made a very peaceful close. She was a true Dorcas, and *lowly in spirit.*

TO ANNA GURNEY.

London, 6th mo., 4th, 1825.

My dearest Anna,

On arriving at Plashet yesterday evening, I received the deeply affecting tidings of my beloved aunt's decease. And yet what can I say when I reflect on the peacefulness of her exit, and on her calm and exemplary reliance on the unconquerable Captain of Salvation. I must, and I do rejoice in such a close of such a life; a life much chequered with sorrows and cares, though on the whole one of much happiness, and certainly one of no common humility, patience, and virtue.

TO HIS BROTHER AND SISTER BUXTON.

Earlham, 6th mo., 13th, 1825.

I have enjoyed returning to this delicious place, more peaceful and sweet I am ready to think than ever, and hope soon to resume my usual *stroke* of work. * * I am not I trust, disposed to dwell on sorrow, or in any respect to turn sweet sunshine into gloom. Let us rather dwell on the hopes of the gospel, and on the joys of eternity. Let us take a little hope and courage in the name of our Lord; and press forward with alacrity towards that better country where there is no sorrow, nor sickness, nor sin, nor *slavery.*

6th mo., 24th. George Withy and Mary Alexander were with us on first day. In the evening, at George Withy's request, we held a public meeting. It was full and very *capital.* O that the truth may spread; the original, unsophisticated, unsectarianized truth as it is in Jesus. Yester-

day our flock met, with little exception; George Withy being with us; he was very singular, very close, and very powerful; and I think made no small impression. A large party of young men from Norwich breakfasted here a few mornings since. There is much hope to be felt respecting them; and some of the more faithful ones are evidently advanced in their career.

Having returned home after attending the General Meeting at Ackworth, he writes:—

Second day morning, [*8th mo.*, *8th.*] How much humbled ought we to be under the sense of the Lord's unmerited mercies, always remembering that all that we possess of either natural or spiritual talent, we have received; and what is more have to account for, before the judgment seat of Christ.

O most merciful Father, the creator and governor of all things, suffer one of the most unworthy of thy children, who is often secretly buffeted and tempted by his soul's enemy, to draw near to thee for help, strength, and deliverance. Let thy holy baptism again and again pass through me and over me, until all is subdued and purified. Continue, if it please thee, to anoint me abundantly with the oil of thy kingdom, that I may preach thy word instantly; that I may avail myself of all right opportunities for the promotion of thy precious cause of truth and righteousness. Be mercifully pleased so to regulate my temporal circumstances, that I may be set more at liberty to serve thee; yea, to dedicate myself unto thee as a Priest and a Levite. Enable me to complete my present work, I humbly and reverently beseech thee; and bless it largely to the increase of thy true church, and to the glory of thine own great name. O my God and Saviour, suffer not my faith to fail. Be all in all unto me, the fulness of strength, joy, and peace. Cover all my transgressions. Let me rejoice daily in wearing the spotless robe of the righteousness of Jesus. Bless my darling children from their early youth upwards. Let them always be thy children. Let them be deniers of self, cross-bearers; willing, per-

severing, diligent, fruitful followers of thy Son Jesus Christ, to whom with thee and the Holy Spirit, one God, all-wise, all-merciful, eternal, be addressed for ever from my prostrate soul, the melody of honour, glory, power, and praise! Amen!

8th mo., 18*th.* On fourth day we finally arranged those matters of business which have been for some time past so weighty, sometimes so oppressive to me. This settlement has afforded me that peculiarly sweet feeling of peace which I know to be indicative of the Master's signet. Often have these words run through my mind — "*In his quidem hæc mihi ambitio est, mi Jesu, vacare tibi.*"

FROM JONATHAN HUTCHINSON.

Selby, 8th mo., 22nd, 1825.

I was last evening much comforted and encouraged by hearing my son read in his family, the first six chapters in the 2nd of Corinthians. What love and sympathy at this distance of time we sometimes feel for eminent Scripture characters! I think mine runs the strongest toward Paul and David, always reserving an unmeasured and indescribable portion for the once suffering, now glorified Redeemer; to whom, with the Father, be all honour, thanksgiving, and praise, in time, and in eternity!

A short visit in the early part of the ninth month to his friend William Forster, on his return from America, scarcely interrupted his varied pressing home occupations.

"It is no time for idleness," he writes to Jonathan Hutchinson,* "I am deeply engaged in many things, as usual. Just now I am publishing my Essays, which is a considerable effort. Next week we are to have a County Meeting on Slavery. We have had a great, and I hope, good Bible Meeting already.

* Under date 10th mo., 12th.

But what, after all, is so truly exercising as the duty of the *Christian Minister?* Indeed, I find it to be so.

Second day afternoon, 10*th mo.*, 10*th.* Yesterday was one of inexpressibly deep exercise to me. In the morning I was long engaged on the great prophecy in Isaiah ii, and was unexpectedly led to dwell on the views of Friends respecting the true nature of worship, types, &c. The same strain in prayer—that the great Anti-type might be over all types, and his power over all forms. It certainly was very confirming to myself to be thus powerfully led on this subject. Sweet time between meetings, at the hospital with two poor men.

10*th mo.*, 17*th.* Yesterday was spent away from Norwich. After some uneasiness about our own flock, and some notion that I might hold a public meeting in the evening, I felt quieted in the belief that I might leave Norwich, and all its concerns, to the Master; and I wish to record it, that on this and other occasions, I have felt quite as much peace in abstaining from services, suggested by my own zeal and natural ardour in pursuit of the great object, as I have felt at other times in a faithful performance of that which he really requires. Let me take the lesson deeply home!

My dear uncle and myself passed the morning in attending Wymondham meeting, and in fulfilling our commission respecting a visit to the tithe-payers. The day was satisfactory.

10*th mo.*, 24*th.* Since I last wrote, I have been, as it were, flooded by a rapid current of interest, chiefly in the Slavery concern, which, with the party at Earlham connected with it, occupied fourth, fifth, and part of sixth day. The party staying here consisted of Lord and Lady William Bentinck, Lord Gosford, Lord Calthorpe, the Lushingtons, Buxtons, Hoares, Hankinsons, &c. It was particularly satisfactory, pleasant, and useful, without undue excitation; and, through preserving favour, I did not feel dislocated from my usual condition. The readings on fifth and sixth day mornings were attended by all the party, and were very solemn and reviving. The holy oil was poured forth for our instruction and refreshment—a favour

for which I cannot be sufficiently thankful; and O, that under such mercies, self may be kept prostrate in the dust!

The Anti-slavery County Meeting on fifth day, was all that could be desired, and far better than we had reason to expect. It was a flowing and interesting occasion, rendered more especially so by Buxton's entire success. I hope the impression produced will be found abiding, and productive of important results. We dined afterwards—upwards of fifty; a delightful party; quiet, orderly, happy, entertaining. On the whole, I have great reason to value the friendship of these persons, whom I believe I have never gone out of my way to meet.

It was at the close of this year that he published the elaborate work, in which, under the title of Essays on Christianity, he has embodied, in a condensed form, the result of the meditation and research of many years. With singular perspicuity of arrangement he here unfolds the evidences and fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion; dwelling with peculiar force upon the great truths of redemption, more especially upon the glorious offices and divine character and perfections of the Redeemer, and the being, power, and work of the Holy Spirit. The tenth essay, in which the scriptural argument in proof of the Deity of Christ is carefully and powerfully stated, contains the substance of the more extended unpublished work upon the subject, which, as has been already noticed, he had commenced so early as the year 1815. The whole is enforced as well by a continued reference to the practical object and tendency of all Christian truth, as by a particular essay devoted to the important subjects of "faith" and "obedience," in which the reasonableness and necessity of their

combined and harmonious exercise are strikingly exhibited.

Deeply sensible of the mysterious, and, to use his own expression in his Journal,* "unembraceable" character of many of the subjects treated of, it was his desire to keep strictly within the limits of that which has been revealed respecting them.

"I wish to remark," he writes in his Autobiography, "that throughout this work, as far as relates to doctrine, I profess nothing more than to present a clear arrangement of Scripture evidence. To attempt to be 'wise above that which is written,' must surely be esteemed one of the greatest of follies.† May I ever be preserved from it; and, in dependence on the enlightening and guiding influence of the Holy Spirit, may I be enabled both to understand and apply Scripture with 'simplicity and godly sincerity,' which may be said to be, under Christ, the keepers of the true key to its hidden treasures."

The whole work breathes the spirit of one whose heart is warmed and animated by the love of Christ. Taught as he had been in the school of experience, and strengthened, in no small measure, to consecrate his faculties to the service of his Divine Master, he was enabled in this volume, and often with singular success, to employ his extensive acquaintance with the original languages of Scripture, as well as with Jewish and Rabbinical learning, and the remains of early Christian antiquity, in throwing a clear and steady light upon the momentous topics of which he treats. Indeed it may be said, without disparagement to the many other valuable treatises

* Under date 3rd mo., 15th, 1825.

† A similar remark occurs in the Preface to the Essays.

extant upon these subjects, that it would be difficult to find a volume in which so much sound and important information is digested in so small a compass, and in so useful and practical a form, as in that now under consideration. Notwithstanding the sound scholarship, apparent in almost every page, the style is clear, and adapted to the merely English reader; whilst the diligent student of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures, can hardly fail to derive instruction from the many incidental explanations, scattered throughout the work, of obscure or difficult passages.

Amidst his numerous other avocations, and his frequent interruptions from company, much steady perseverance was necessary to the completion of such a work.

"To wind up the mind to the effort of writing," he remarks in his Journal in allusion to it,* "is one of the difficulties of my course of life. But," he adds, "as my object is the promotion of truth and righteousness, I believe I may rightly pray, that the Lord would send me 'help from his sanctuary, and strengthen me out of Zion;' and if I should succeed in this important and interesting undertaking, may I be preserved from seeking the least praise for myself, but give the glory where alone it is due!"

It was in the same spirit that it was brought to a conclusion.

"To finish it," he writes, under date 12th mo., 5th, "after the long labour and thought bestowed upon it, was strange to my feelings, with an intermixture of awfulness. I trust I was enabled to pray that the divine blessing might rest upon the undertaking."

* Under date 6th mo., 27th, 1825.

The work, upon its publication, was very favourably received, and has since passed through numerous editions.* In a few warm but expressive lines, the Bishop of Norwich assured Joseph John Gurney of "the high opinion which he entertained" respecting it; and from his brother-in-law Thomas Fowell Buxton he learned the satisfaction which it had given to the Duke of Gloucester. "I read it," said the Duke, "over, and over, and over again." His old tutor John Rogers wrote with a warmth that may be excused towards a favourite pupil: —

In the composition of these essays, you have discovered an intimate acquaintance with the subject on which you treat; you have shown that your mind is impressed with a full sense of its importance, and that it has occupied your most serious thoughts; you have displayed a great knowledge of the original languages, in which the old and the new covenants were written, as well as of the Jewish and Christian antiquities; you have conducted your work in a regular and perspicuous method; and, (what gives it the greatest value,) you have evinced, in general, that excellent temper, and that Christian spirit, which ought always to characterize writings of this nature.

FROM ROBERT SOUTHEY.

Keswick, 4th January, 1826.

I have gone through your volume, with wonder as well as satisfaction, and I hope not without profiting by it. It would have been a surprising book from one who had been bred to the profession of divinity, and pursued the study with ardour during a long life. The evidence is full and complete, the

* It has been re-published in America, and has been translated into German and Spanish. It has also been lately published in a cheap form by the Religious Tract Society, from stereotype plates presented by my friend John Henry Gurney.— *Editor.*

deductions everywhere logical, the spirit truly Christian; and I cannot doubt, but that it will be the means of bringing home many who have gone astray, and of preserving others from error.

My heart went with you everywhere. There are two points only on which I hesitate in opinion. * * * * Do not think me presumptuous. From the changes through which my mind has passed I have learnt the useful lesson of distrusting myself; and for some twelve years I have been conscious of no other change than an increasing sense of weakness, and the necessity of a saving faith.

FROM HANNAH MORE.

Barley Wood, June 15th, 1826.

It is a necessity to which I am too frequently driven, when I have been favoured with a presentation copy of a work from an author, whose mediocrity I either knew or suspected, to return my thanks almost immediately, that I might not be compelled to the painful alternative of rudeness or flattery. You, my dear sir, are an author whose work, to borrow the language of one of the collects of our church, one may "read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest" before one acknowledges the obligation conferred. There is much judgment in the arrangement, great perspicuity in the style, as well as depth and truth in the argument. I pray that it may please our gracious Heavenly Father, without whom nothing is strong, nothing is holy, to make this book an instrument of much good.

FROM CHARLES SIMEON.

K. C. Cambridge, January 25th, 1826.

My Beloved Friend and Brother,

I have proceeded half through your book *regularly* according to your direction,* and have read it with great delight and edification. Your statements throughout

* See the Preface to the Essays.

are judicious and satisfactory, and the richness of your appeals to Scripture renders your book invaluable. * * * * I love your recapitulations exceedingly. The vast advantage of them to your readers is obvious; but they are not less useful to your own mind, in that they induce a habit of order, of terseness, of perspicuity. It is almost impossible for a man who recapitulates, either to run riot, or to talk nonsense. Bishop Pearson's perorations have always delighted me, and yours also will delight and edify many.

I have just perused your most elaborate defence of the divinity of our blessed Lord. I think that the whole church will bless you for it; and in your dying hour it will be no grief to you to have taken so much pains in elucidating and confirming a point that is of such unspeakable importance to all who feel their need of a divine Saviour. Go on, my beloved brother, and may God long preserve you to be a blessing to the church and the world.

"What an extraordinary production it is," wrote his early friend Edward Edwards, "for a young layman—for a banker—above all, for a *Friend*." Not a few of his acquaintance who did not belong to the same religious body with himself, were in fact ready to join in this last exclamation. Accustomed, it may be, to view Quakerism through a somewhat prejudiced medium, to take the opinions of the early Friends from the reports of their opponents, or from a view of their writings, too much confined to those published in the heat of controversy, they were perhaps hardly aware that the early Friends steadfastly maintained the great doctrines of the proper manhood and Deity of Christ, and the reality and efficacy of his propitiatory sacrifice; and that the burden of their exhortations was, that others might be brought in faith and obedience, through the work of his Spirit in their hearts, effectually to know him

in all his gracious offices.* It had been scarcely, perhaps, enough considered that some of their most important and distinguishing principles — those on the subjects of worship and ministry — were simply results, necessary ones, as they believed, of a complete, heartfelt apprehension of the mediatorial, priestly, and regal characters of the Son of God.† Nor had it been sufficiently recollected, that whilst nothing short of regard for his divine authority could have supported them, almost single-handed amongst the professors of Christianity, in the maintenance of their testimonies, grounded upon his plain precepts, against all oaths and war; so it was their reverence for him and for his truth, their deep sense of the all-importance of his one peculiar and distinctive baptism "of the Holy Ghost and of fire," and of the necessity of eating and drinking, by faith, of his body broken, and his blood shed upon the cross for them, that had led them, in rejecting the commonly received outward rites of Christian communion, to press after the reality rather than the representation, the substance rather than the shadow. The more the true character of the gospel dispensation, as drawn by the inspired

* See Selections from the Epistles of George Fox, by Samuel Tuke, pp. 12, 63, 150, 214, 224, 260. Indeed the whole of this little volume is replete with instruction. See also the valuable body of evidence on the Christian principles of the early Friends, especially on the important subjects of the Three that bear record in heaven, of the Divinity and Offices of Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Scriptures, contained in the "Exposition of the Faith of the Religious Society of Friends on the fundamental doctrines of the Christian Religion," by Thomas Evans, Philadelphia, 1828.

† See in particular the little Tract issued by the Yearly Meeting of 1840, entitled, Testimony to the Authority of Christ in his Church.

penmen of the New Testament, and the extent to which it was apprehended by the early Friends, are considered and understood, the less will it excite surprise, either that the writer of the Observations on the Distinguishing Views of the Society of Friends should maintain the truths so clearly set forth in his Essays on Christianity, or that the writer of the Essays should feel bound to the principles which he has advocated in his earlier work. In his view, the two works were consistent with each other, both equally represented his own deep-felt convictions, and both required to be perused in order to the full comprehension at once of the extent and the limits of his religious belief.

After what has been said, it will not be necessary to do more, than to insert extracts from a very few of the letters which he received, upon its publication, from the members of his own religious society.

FROM WILLIAM FORSTER.

Bradpole, [2d of 3d month,] 1826.

"Thou must allow me, in true brotherly love, to offer thee my warmest congratulations, that thou hast been enabled to bring out thy Essays. I entertain a most lively and cheering hope of the usefulness of thy work; that in this cloudy and dark day, it will tend to the establishment of the wavering, to the fortifying of the feeble-minded, and put to silence the cavils of many a proud and self-sufficient gainsayer. To the anxious inquirer after the truth as it is in Jesus, I firmly believe it will be rendered peculiarly helpful and valuable. In short, I cannot but look upon it as one of those labours of love that will be made to abound 'by many thanksgivings unto God.' It would be strange if I did not feel more than a common and passing interest in the work; for, I think, I never found myself upon any occasion so much anticipated; it gives utterance to my own views and feelings in such lucid and convincing language,

and withal it solves some of my difficulties so thoroughly and satisfactorily."

FROM JONATHAN HUTCHINSON.

Gedney, 5th mo., 1st, 1826.

I have lately finished a very deliberate reading of thy Essays, and, on the whole, with a satisfaction which enables me honestly to say, that I am glad to have seen such a book before I die. I rejoice that a friend so dear to me, should, consistently with his own avowed principle of human incapacity for any work that can be denominated good both in motive and act, have been *enabled* to write it. I hope this effort of labour and of love, for such I consider it, will prove of advantage to many, as I think it has been of edification to myself, by exciting me afresh, even under life's declining energies, to "thank God and take courage," and, under some renewal of faith and hope, reverently I trust, to "put on strength in the name of the Lord."

It was with peculiar satisfaction that he received the following from the well-known author of the English Grammar, then far advanced in years.

Holdgate, near York, 2nd mo., 1st, 1826.

MY DEAR AND MUCH ESTEEMED FRIEND,

I am obliged and gratified by thy kind remembrance of me, in the distribution of thy volume.

Being able to read but little myself, I have had the book read to me, and very much to my satisfaction. Proofs thou hast given abundantly of the positions contained in the volume being conformable to the Holy Scriptures. The work is happily calculated, both in its matter and manner, to comfort those who unite in the author's views and sentiments, to disperse the doubts of those who hesitate, and to produce conviction in the minds of gainsayers. Thou hast indeed by this pious labour, very materially served the cause of truth and

righteousness; and I trust thou wilt be blessed for it by Him whose blessing makes truly rich, and will accompany thee to the latest hour of life.

Farewell, dear Joseph, in the best sense of the word!

I remain thy very affectionate friend,

LINDLEY MURRAY.

Two weeks after receiving the above letter, he writes in his Journal:—

On seventh day I received the affecting tidings of the decease of my beloved and honoured friend Lindley Murray. A fortnight before his death he wrote me a letter expressive of his unity with my Essays. How valuable that letter now!

CHAPTER XVI.

1825—1827. ÆT. 38—39.

PANIC IN THE MONETARY AND COMMERCIAL WORLD; ENGAGEMENT IN MARRIAGE WITH MARY FOWLER; JOURNEYS IN THE WEST OF ENGLAND, AND IN THE MIDLAND COUNTIES; EXTRACTS FROM JOURNAL AND LETTERS; PROSPECT OF A VISIT TO IRELAND WITH HIS SISTER ELIZABETH FRY.

THE panic in the monetary and commercial world, and the sudden run upon the banks in London and the country, have rendered memorable the winter of 1825–26. As a banker, Joseph John Gurney did not escape his share of anxiety. A few months previously he had written in his Journal:—*

> Business has been productive of trial to me, and has led me to reflect on the equity of God, who measures out his salutary chastisements, even in this world, to the rich as well as to the poor. I can certainly testify that some of the greatest pains and most burdensome cares which I have had to endure, have arisen out of being what is usually called a "monied man."

These cares now pressed upon him with unaccustomed force. It was a time that put men's characters and principles to the proof. Houses of old and established reputation were giving way; the weaker ones had been already forced to yield. Credit seemed for a time annihilated. Men hardly knew whom to

* Under date 7th mo. 10th, 1825.

trust. Each post brought the news of fresh disasters, and none could tell whose turn might come next. Had Joseph John Gurney been the mere man of business, his constitutional timidity would have ill fitted him to meet such a crisis. But in his case, the man of business was also the servant of Christ. And they who witnessed the quiet courage with which he faced the storm, his wholemindedness to the occasion, the clear and sound judgment, and steady firmness with which he met each new emergency, and through all, the deep repose of his own spirit, could not but acknowledge the reality and excellence of the fruits arising out of such a combination of character; whilst all may be instructed in recollecting that had the Christian minister ceased to be the man of business, the opportunity for thus illustrating by example, the practical results of the religion of Jesus would have been lost.

His Journal at this period strikingly illustrates these various points of his character.

11*th mo.*, 23*rd*, 1825. Since I last wrote, I have had true cause, amidst much trial of faith, to set my seal to the declaration, that the "Lord is good, and that his righteousness endureth for ever." What a week it has been! The post of 3rd day, the 15th, brought me an unexpected letter from my brother Samuel, which rendered it necessary for me to go the next day to London. There I passed 5th, 6th, and 7th days; an interesting but deeply trying time; the city in general being in a state of great distress for want of money, and affairs at their acmé of anxiety. However I was favoured with much calmness, and even cheerfulness, feeling the Lord to be near to us; and was enabled, to a point which could scarcely have been looked for, to assist in arranging everything comfortably, and to quit London and my dear brothers and sisters with an

easy mind, by mail, on seventh day night. Seldom have I more signally experienced the special providence of our heavenly Father. I arrived in Norwich on first day morning, in time for meeting. It was well attended, and was a favoured occasion. I was engaged in thanksgiving and prayer, and in ministry on the declaration, "Happy is the man who hath the God of Jacob for his help, whose hope is in the Lord his God." The afternoon meeting was also highly favoured.

Second day. Norwich Anti-slavery Meeting. Driven up into a corner as I was, and absolutely deprived of the opportunity of previous study or much reflection, I found it necessary to wind myself up to a great effort. In this I was favoured to succeed; and the meeting passed off excellently.

12th mo., 5th. After our successful anti-slavery meeting, on this day fortnight, I was variously and closely engaged for three or four days. On the sixth day morning, I corrected the last sheet of my Essays on Christianity. That afternoon I went to Yarmouth, where I attended a large and hopeful Bible Society Meeting in the evening, and made a long speech, I trust with some effect. The next day in the evening, by the mail, fifty miles to Ipswich. The following first day there was one of close exercise. It was hard work to raise the living spring from the hidden well. The public meeting in the evening was very large and relieving. I was much engaged in prayer, and in preaching on the universality of the grace of God, and on the beauty of holiness. Elizabeth Dudley followed me in the same strain, and concluded the meeting with solemn supplication.

Second day was very affecting to me. With James and Emma Corder I travelled to Coggeshall, where I passed several hours with that family, and much of the time with dear Alfred. I found him much wasted and tried with a sad cough, but beautifully calm, quiet, and resigned. I have not often seen Christian principle more brightly exemplified. After a quiet, affecting leave-taking, and much spiritual exercise in the family circle, I left him in the evening for Colchester; whence, after a few hours' sleep, the mail brought me to Norwich on third day morning. A close trial of faith and patience

daily going forward from continued London anxieties. It has been a stormy time indeed! and I fear my dear brother has had much to endure. Two of our partners went up on fourth day. This has enabled me to stay quietly in my own berth, which was the more needful, as I had appointed a public meeting for yesterday evening. It was very large, and I believe passed off well.

1*st mo.*, 11*th*, 1826. The very day after I last wrote in this Journal, arrived a letter from Samuel, requiring my immediate presence in London, on account of the gloomy state of money affairs. His letter coincided with my own plans; for I had previously taken my place for that day, in the Ipswich mail.

The day to which I allude was fifth day, 12th mo., 8th. It was the day of our monthly meeting, at which Friends signed my certificate for my intended journey to the south and west. Large and solemn were the meetings both for worship and discipline, and eminently with us appeared to be that Lord of life and glory, who ever has been, and, I doubt not, ever will be, "for a crown of glory, and for a diadem of beauty, to the residue of his people." My address to the assembly was that of a friend parting from them for a time, and deeply concerned for their spiritual welfare and progress. I called upon them to walk more worthy of their high vocation, as Christians, as Quakers; being led to insist on the genuine excellence, both of the foundation, and of the superstructure, of what I believe most firmly to be a temple in which God delights to dwell.

He thus continues his history in a letter:—

TO JONATHAN HUTCHINSON.

Norwich, 1st mo., 21st, 1826.

* * * When I arrived in London the next morning by the mail, I found myself entirely arrested by the very painful and anxious state of the monied world. The path of duty was clear, viz., to continue in London for two or three weeks. An awful stormy time it was. I never saw the like before, and truly I can say that the only sure refuge was the "strong tower"—the name of the Lord. Many were deeply distressed,

and I never witnessed any thing so like the judgments of God on a people who had made for themselves idols of gold and idols of silver. It has occasioned me more than a little suffering, from the feeling of my own numerous and important ties to the earth; ties which it would be wholly out of my power to sever. However I endeavoured quietly to repose in that providence by which I seem to myself to have been brought into my present situation in life; and which will, I trust, open the way for my nevertheless performing my religious duties. Ah! how closely do I feel, through all, bound in spirit to Zion—the city of the saints' solemnities! How do I delight in her privileges, in her quiet palaces, in her streams of living water! And how infinitely desirable does it appear to me, to be devoted in heart and soul to the very best, the very dearest of all masters!

When things had become a little quiet I ventured into the west for rather more than a week, and held meetings with Friends and others at Melksham, Bath, and Bristol. At the last place I spent a memorable Sabbath day, in which, I trust, the "truth as it is in Jesus" was in some degree exalted, and finally in dominion.

A few weeks later he writes in his Journal:—

2nd mo., 20*th.* The week has, in part, been one of deep trial; almost overwhelming solicitudes about business, &c., and the state of the country in general, alarming to every thoughtful mind. Memorable are the lessons which these events are calculated to impress on our own Society; and earnest are my desires that we may, in our various allotments, be favoured with ability to preserve clean hands, and to uphold with integrity the cause of our Redeemer. I do not know that I feel condemned in the retrospect and examination of my temporal calling; nor am I aware, that I have ever seen an opening for quitting my post. Yet my soul is exercised in fervent desires that nothing may stand in the way between me and my Maker; and that I may be more entirely brought into the innocence of the Christian life, through the mighty

power of that Saviour, in whom is my confidence, and whose blood cleanseth from all sin.

Another circumstance was at this time deeply interesting his feelings. It is thus adverted to in the Autobiography:—

When the commercial troubles had subsided, I went down into the west of England; and, whilst at Melksham, passed a few days at Elm Grove, a lovely place in the country, with Rachel Fowler, a cousin of my late wife's, and widow of Robert Fowler, whose grave and expressive speeches used to fall with so much weight upon my ear and soul during my earlier attendances of the Yearly Meeting. She was left with three sons and two daughters. Mary, the youngest, immediately attracted my attention. She was fourteen years younger than myself, but appeared in every other respect precisely adapted to my taste and need; and truly may it be said that wisdom was "grey hairs" to her, for never did I meet with, in any young person, so accurate a discernment, or so sound a judgment. I had previously paid the family a visit; and, having now enjoyed a more complete opportunity of intercourse, my mind became quite clear, and I mentioned my views first to her mother, and afterwards, with her mother's full sanction, to herself. It was evident that there was a close correspondence between us in sentiment, taste, and feeling; and, although nothing was then decided, I was well satisfied with my visit; except only that her rapidly increasing delicacy of health made me anxious. After a little time, her mind quietly settled in the affirmative of the question; a decision for which she believed she had the sanction of that gracious Lord whom she desired to serve. But her health soon appeared more and more to fail, and although we were not greatly alarmed, continued to excite our anxiety and close watchfulness for nearly a year and a half. Thus was I introduced to a new description of trial, a new exercise of faith and patience; but hope lived through all, and, whilst involved in inevitable suspense on a most interesting point, I endeavoured as steadily as I could, to

pursue the path of duty, and to do the day's work in the day.

To return to the Journal: —

First day night, 1*st mo.*, 29*th.* I may record with thankfulness a peaceful Sabbath, after a more than usually busy and *careful* week. It is a great mercy that there is provided one day in the week, for the stopping of the big wheel which involves so many rapid interests.

Third day morning. The sweetness of the Sabbath has been mercifully prolonged, amidst much business, and much infirmity. The Lord knows, that notwithstanding all my infirmities, *I love him and his cause, as with all my heart*, and graciously is he pleased to speak peace to my often wounded spirit.

2*nd mo.*, 3*rd.* This morning I have been re-perusing my chapter "on the disuse of typical rites,"* and am favoured to feel much satisfaction in it; so that I can praise the Lord, in the humble belief, that he has been graciously pleased to lead me into his truth, not only as it relates to the common Christian ground, but as it regards the peculiar views and testimonies of our scattered, and to a great degree despised, society—despised not as individuals, but as a profession.

2*nd mo.*, 7*th.* Amelia Opie here. We have passed a solemn time in the family reading; all the servants, the children, and ourselves present. I felt it right to exhort to economy, moderation, seriousness of mind, to the fear of the Lord and the love of Jesus; and was afterwards engaged in prayer for the servants, the children, &c. There seemed to be an open door in the hearts of those present. I feel in some degree inwardly gathered to the centre of light and life, which is, I believe, a condition peculiarly needful, in the present day, to be sought after and carefully maintained.

After an absence from home of several months, during which he was principally occupied by re-

* See Observations on the Distinguishing Views of Friends, chap. 4

ligious labours in the West of England, he writes:—

Earlham, 6th mo., 19*th.* A strange and unusual break in my history! Much, indeed, has passed since I last wrote. I left home on my mission, on seventh day, 3rd mo., 11th, and passed the next day at Plaistow; thence proceeded by mail to Bristol to their Quarterly Meeting. Most closely, and, I may add, arduously, was I engaged in visiting the three Quarterly Meetings of Bristol and Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall, and all the meetings within their compass, one very small one excepted; holding public meetings in most places, and paying many family visits.

During this journey, I was, at times, inexpressibly baptized into deep suffering and affliction of spirit; but mostly found that this experience prepared the way for subsequent elevation in the power of the gift, and sometimes for joy in the Lord. My general concern towards Friends was, to awaken them to a more lively sense of the great principles of truth, and to wean them from a dependence on a mere religion of system and education. In Bristol, I had warmly to plead amongst them for "the faith once delivered to the saints." Nothing could exceed the kindness with which I was received in that city and elsewhere. It might have been spoiling to me, had it not been for the lowering efficacy of the deep and frequent conflict of my own spirit.

Towards the public my general duty was clearly to proclaim the essential truths of our common Christianity, and where more preparation was evinced, espĕcially in Cornwall, to unfold the most spiritual views of religion.

TO MARY FOWLER.

Norwich, 7th mo., 13th, 1826.

* * I often think that I am happier in meeting than any where else. It is indeed a high privilege to be emancipated for the time from the discomposures, cares, and sorrows of this rapidly passing and constantly varying scene, and to be permitted to sit down as in the secret place of God's holy tabernacle. * *

TO THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON.

Norwich, 7th mo., 15th, 1826.

* * I feel myself to be so intimately bound up with thee in mind and circumstances, that everything which touches thee, touches me also, and probably often more to the quick than it does thee. It has therefore been a real pain to me to know of thy being under some discouragements. Yet I trust that thou wilt derive benefit from them, in weaning thee still more entirely from all things temporal, in elevating thy thoughts more towards heavenly things, and in strengthening thy already strong resolution, to glory only in Christ crucified, and to be indeed one of his faithful soldiers; a soldier invincibly simple-hearted, and persevering in the great contest which is now going on between light and darkness, good and evil.

7th mo., 24*th.* Last third day, Amelia Opie and I went to Acle, where we met Lord Calthorpe at E. Sidney's, and held a successful anniversary of the Bible Society. On my return at night, I found Wilberforce and his family at Earlham. They staid till seventh day morning. Lord Calthorpe here part of the time. It has been a memorable visit, and a sweet renewal and confirmation of our now old friendship. Numbers came to meet Wilberforce from day to day, and very delightful have been his conversation and influence. The spirit of prayer was much poured out upon me during this time, especially in a solemn religious opportunity just before their departure.

The eighth month of this year was devoted to various religious services in Worcestershire, Shropshire, and the Midland Counties. Writing to his cousin Priscilla Hannah Gurney, whom he had lately visited, he thus briefly alludes to some of these engagements :—

Wellingboro,' 8th mo., 29th, 1826.

My beloved Cousin,

I need scarcely tell thee that since we parted, it has been my lot to pass through much and various exercise of mind. At Worcester I met a cordial reception from the N—— family, at their pleasant residence; and my visit to the meeting there was interesting and enlivening to myself. The time which I passed with the young people one morning before breakfast was peculiarly touching. I held a satisfactory meeting in the prison, besides a large public one; and then two with Friends, who form a body of tolerable size. Thomas and Lydia Newman accompanied me on third day morning, (now a fortnight ago,) to Coalbrookdale, where I continued until the following seventh day. I held public meetings at the Dale, and at Madeley, in Mary Fletcher's barn. The latter was a touching occasion, and I was much interested in afterwards visiting the house and the room where both the Fletchers paid the last debt of nature. * * At Birmingham I held two public meetings, one with upwards of two thousand people in the Independent meeting house. Through mercy it was much crowned with peace. On fourth day we were favoured with a comfortable farewell meeting with Friends. Fifth day evening at Coventry. Sixth day at Warwick, besides a very arduous and suffering meeting with the butterfly visitors of Leamington Spa. We reached Northampton on seventh day night, where I found plenty of work. I am just returned from a very exercising meeting with Friends of this place and neighbourhood, and purpose a public meeting in the evening. To-morrow the same at Huntingdon. Fifth day I mean to devote to my old friend Lady Olivia Sparrow, at Brampton; and on sixth day, hope to hold a public meeting at Cambridge, which place I have for some time felt bound to, and then to Lynn, on my way home.

TO MARY FOWLER.

Brampton, 8th month, 31st., 1826.

* * We are now at Lady Olivia Sparrow's. The scene on our arrival last night was very striking. The approach to

the hall is through a large conservatory, and as we entered the latter, we saw the hall crowded with people all kneeling, and Malan (from Geneva,) a saint-like looking person engaged in fervent prayer. We stood contemplating the scene for some time; it was something like enchantment from the mixture of splendour and apparently deep piety: not to mention the mingling in one common offering of earnest prayer, of many individuals of high rank with the servants, cottagers, &c., &c. We have been warmly received and most kindly treated. There are many religious persons of the party; Lord and Lady Mandeville, Lady William Bentinck, &c., &c. and I have been much engaged in ministry among them this morning after the morning reading.

His visit to Cambridge is thus noticed in the Autobiography.

It was the third time of my there convening a public meeting, and my dear friend Simeon being aware of my intention, a large number of the young gownsmen attended; but nothing could I preach on the occasion but those views of the spirituality of worship, ministry, &c., which distinguish our own Society. Power appeared to go forth with the word, and certainly it was clothed in love. Nevertheless, my open avowal of these views gave considerable offence; and I have but little reputation to lose at Cambridge, as a preacher!

Whilst I heartily deprecate sectarianism, principle is principle, and truth is truth, and they cannot be concealed. To be misconstrued by the good, is a trial to which I am no stranger. Such things belong to the peculiar infirmity of our present condition; but they must be patiently borne. All will be set right in that better world, where error and prejudice will for ever give place to unmixed truth and absolute unanimity.

The somewhat brief intervals of leisure which he enjoyed at home at this period were not unimproved. In the autumn of this year he wrote a

few observations addressed to his friend Lady P——, on the state of the "religious world," in which he briefly but pointedly adverts to three subjects of much practical importance; the proneness to place too much dependence on *ceremonies*, on *ministers*, and on *words*; adding a short but expressive observation on Christian practice in connexion with "that most desolating of the scourges of the world — the practice of war."* But his principal literary engagement was one of much more weight and importance; the composition of the Biblical Notes and Dissertations, intended chiefly to illustrate and confirm the doctrine of the Deity of Christ. "I had long been collecting materials for this work," he writes, "and pleasant, though by no means very easy, was the labour of digesting them, adding to them, reducing them to order, clothing the bones with muscles, and thus preparing them for the public. But great care was necessary, and I moved on slowly."

TO MARY FOWLER.

Norwich, 11th mo., 4th, 1826.

* * * I have begun my studies once more in good earnest, and hope I shall become quite interested in them. Real study is peculiarly wholesome for the mind. Indeed I know of scarcely anything that gives me the same satisfaction, so long as I can believe that it is in any degree in promotion of that one great and glorious cause to which my soul is bound. I have collected, in my own line, a very useful and comprehensive library, and I think thou would'st have been

* These observations were subsequently published under the title of The Contribution of a Member of the Society of Friends to a Lady's Album, and passed through two editions

amused to see me this morning amidst a sea of books and papers, looking, I doubt not, very grave and abstract.

I am expecting some public calls in the service of the Bible and Anti-slavery Societies, but have otherwise a prospect of much quietness, which is very preferable. However, the root of quietness lies deeply seated in our own hearts. It is a conscience void of offence in the sight of God and man. Would that this might become more and more our blessed and soul-satisfying portion.

TO THE SAME.

Norwich, 11th mo., 11th, 1826.

* * I do most cordially agree with thy sentiments on the subject of literature and study. There is scarcely anything which makes me more sick at heart, or which more convinces me in what a wrong state is this fallen world of ours, than to see men of many and various talents making idols of intellectual pursuits, instead of steadily aiming *through them* at the promotion of the glory of God, and of the welfare of mankind. It is, on the other hand, very pleasant to reflect how much a single eye to the glory of God will enable a man to effect, even in the cultivation of mind and intellect, and how much the work of divine grace refines and illuminates the natural faculties. How delightful is the combination, in some persons whom I know and love, of intellectual vigour and childlike submission to the grace and government of our Lord Jesus Christ. How abundantly true it is that "in *Him* are hid *all* the treasures of wisdom and knowledge."

To return to the Journal:—

9th mo., *10th.* I have heartily desired to have my drowsy powers quickened for the service of God. This is often needful, especially in the pursuit of my studies. I have a line of study before me, but am fearful these pursuits may never again be very productive. Yet I trust I may be preserved from allowing the garden given me to cultivate, to

run to waste. Be pleased, O Lord, to forgive my innumerable transgressions and to blot them out of thy book; and bestow upon me, I pray thee, a comforting assurance that my name is recorded in thy book of life. Be with me in all my pursuits, and in the performance of all my duties, that perpetual protection from the snares of the enemy, both in prosperity and adversity, may be my peaceful lot. Suffer me to cast on thee the burden of all my temporal cares, and of all my spiritual solicitudes. Graciously bless the little flock over which thou hast been pleased to call me to be an overseer in the Gospel, and grant that our scattered, and in some respects degraded, Society, may still be enabled to show forth the purity of thy law, and the spirituality of thy worship. And be thou, O Lord, with thy universal church, to confirm, increase, and multiply, that thy servants may rejoice, and thy own holy name be exalted above all.

TO MARY FOWLER.

Norwich, 9th mo., 10th, 1826.

* * It has been very instructive to me to be brought during the last fortnight so much into the society of pious people not of our profession. I trust it has still further enlarged my heart towards all who love the Lord Jesus. At the same time it has had, in no common degree, a confirming effect as it relates to my own principles. I have felt the beneficial influence of my Quakerism, and have had repeatedly to believe that we should not have been so preciously baptized together into the unity of the Spirit, had not the arrangements been upon *Quaker principles*. Our silence has been peculiarly solemn.

TO HIS UNCLE AND AUNT JOSEPH GURNEY.

Norwich, 9th mo., 16th, 1826.

* * I am ready to marvel at now finding myself the only one of our family in Norfolk of my generation, who is maintaining the peculiar religious principles handed down to us by our forefathers. Such a state of things, is, indeed, humbling, and has led me, as I doubt not it has you, to close

searching of heart. The result, as far as I know it, is a degree of peaceful confidence that, notwithstanding all discouragements—and just now they appear to me to be more than a few—our little Society is not, and will not be forsaken; and that a people will still be preserved, who shall bear a consistent testimony to the truth as we view it; that is, (as I still believe,) to the truth in its unmixed simplicity and spirituality. Never did I more highly value our simple mode of worship; and when a little tempest-tossed, I am, perhaps, too apt to conceive that to be at meeting is not only the happiest, but the only happy thing in life. With respect to the outward ordinances, I apprehend, that in the entire disuse of them, we are bearing a noble testimony to the spirituality of the gospel dispensation. Oh! that our lives and conversation may, more and more, correspond with such a testimony!

I may just add, that I increasingly feel how much an abiding in the root of our own principles, is the means of enlarging the heart towards ALL who truly love the Lord Jesus Christ!

After the week of the Bible Society and other religious meetings at Norwich, in the course of which they had enjoyed a flow of "peaceful and not soon to be forgotten Christian love and harmony," he writes:—

9th mo., 22*nd*. I sit down in deep solitude of soul, and in the privacy of my own study, the throng being gone to hear our dear friend Simeon preach; and my cousin Anna G—— and Legh Richmond being together in the drawing-room. My spirits are very low, and I have been both weeping and praying. After the extraordinary flow of the present week, the circumstances of this evening have strongly reminded me of my solitude, that I have lost the beloved wife and sister, who once sweetly united in my peculiar course; and the recollection of them has been blended, in a somewhat melan-

choly manner, with that of dear Alfred Corder, with whom, for a short but bright season, I enjoyed more intimacy, as a Friend, than I have ever done perhaps with any other person. May I not hope that these beloved ones, and many others with them, are, through the infinite mercies of God in Christ Jesus, for ever centred in bliss? And must I not humbly endeavour to press forwards after the mark for the same prize?

My soul has been deeply revolving how far my peculiar principles can stand the double test to which they are now subjected; that of the solitude, poverty, nakedness, and apparent decline to which we poor and misunderstood Quakers are exposed; and on the other hand, that of the flowing association, the high tone of religious feeling, and the evangelical prosperity of the many pious persons, not Friends, by whom I am surrounded, and with whom I have been lately permitted very sweetly to unite in essentials, and in the social, though not public, worship of Almighty God. Can I under such circumstances, and especially under that probable deepening and heightening of the picture, to which I may look forward, live and die a Quaker? The question is to me one of awful and solemn interest; and I think I am favoured at this time, in the humiliation and silence of self, with a degree of quiet decisiveness to answer it in the affirmative. Little as our peculiar profession is thought of, and even despised as it is by many, I yet have had renewed cause during the past week, to believe that the power of our principles is felt, that they really have a strong practical influence. Thus a hope lives with me, that in the tender mercies of our God, we shall not be forsaken or destroyed; and that testimony-bearers will yet be raised up, who shall, after this sort, testify of the perfection and spirituality of the gospel dispensation.

Quakerism is, I trust, nothing to me as a name, and nothing, I would hope, as the inscription of a sect. I abhor sectarianism. I crave to possess the impartiality and comprehensiveness of the wisdom and of the love of God, so far as they are bestowed upon man. All I desire is, that there

may be preserved among the living members of the universal church, those who shall uphold a complete standard of spirituality in worship, and of true innocency in conduct, which have long appeared to me genuine and most essential marks of real Christianity.

FROM LEGH RICHMOND.

Turvey, Olney, Bucks, October 4th, 1826.

My dear Friend and Brother,

Once more returned to the bosom of my family and my parish, refreshed by the recollections of your Christian hospitalities, and strengthened in my spiritual course, as I trust, by the public and private intercourse of Norwich and Earlham, can I help telling you how greatly you and yours are thus endeared to my heart? It was indeed a season of holy festivity, and I desire to bless God for it. Such times are like the oases of the wilderness, to invigorate the wearied traveller, and fill him with peace and joy through believing. My Norfolk excursion has left indelible marks of gratitude and satisfaction on my mind: may they be cherished for time and eternity by the goodness of Him "in whom we live and move and have our being!" Greatly as I have felt obliged to you for personal kindness towards myself, I have felt, if possible, still more indebted to you for your Christian affection shown to my very dear and beloved son. He is so near to my heart's tenderest feelings, that whatever concerns his welfare both in soul and body excites the most earnest breathings of my soul towards God. I hope you will not forget him. I know you will not in prayer;—but sometimes write to him. Your friendly conduct has won his heart and may be of essential service to him. I have had severe trials in the successive loss of his two elder brothers. The one, after ten years' absence in India, died on his passage home; but I have every reason to believe that he died in the Lord. The other died at home, exhibiting beautiful tokens of the divine love towards him; his death was blessed to not a few. Deeply grateful to God for these special mercies, I nevertheless feel much; above all I often anxiously enquire whether these affecting bereave-

ments have produced their right effects upon my own soul, upon my ministry, upon my domestic habits.

Your Essays please me more and more; I delight in finding such unity of sentiment with other Christians. The Christian Observer reviews them this month with much approbation, and so it ought.

TO HENRY BRADY.

Norwich, 11th mo., 1st, 1826.

* * I paid a very satisfactory and comforting visit last week to the school at Croydon. It seems now to be animated with an Ackworth spirit; and I was particularly well satisfied with thy cousin E. F. B——, the present superintendent, who seems superior in point of both intellect and piety. We had all the children collected, both boys and girls, and I had them under instruction for two hours and upwards. A sweet solemnity crowned all. * * * Art thou favoured to perceive in any of the dear children at Ackworth, marks of the work of grace in the heart; something, I mean, beyond outward propriety of behaviour? How affecting have been the deaths of various hopeful young persons in our society, and how animating would be the belief that others are coming forward to supply their place!

TO JONATHAN HUTCHINSON.

11th mo., 1st, 1826.

* * I am just returned home from a short western journey. My principal object was to pass a few quiet days with my beloved friend at Melksham, and I had the happiness to find her radically improved in health. I persuade myself she is a person whom thou wilt value and love. Hopeful, however, as I am respecting her health, I do not look to the *speedy* accomplishment of our wishes. It may be that while she is gradually regaining her strength, I may be again sent forth to labour in the vineyard.

The prospect of a lengthened visit to Ireland, in company with his sister Elizabeth Fry, was now opening before him.

First day evening, 11*th mo.*, 26*th*. After a week of considerable exertion, I have been graciously permitted to enjoy an edifying peaceful Sabbath. The reward of sweet and deep inward quiet, has been most undeservedly bestowed; apparently in consequence of my having been made willing, at both the meetings and in families, to labour in the vineyard. The exercises of the morning meeting were painfully searching: I humbly trust, not in vain; those of the afternoon were more easy and comforting to myself, and the Scripture was opened to me to my own admiration. The prospect of service among Friends and others, in Ireland, has gradually gained an ascendency over my mind; and, I am strongly inclined to believe, I shall have to lay it before my friends at our next Monthly Meeting. The undertaking is, indeed, one that calls for close, unreserved dedication. The Lord alone is sufficient for these things. May he be my perpetual help and protector. How inexpressibly precious is his anointing. May I ever be preserved from crude attempts to exercise my ministry without it. Indeed, I never was more fully sensible of the necessity of being moved in all things appertaining to God's kingdom, by the gentle impulses of divine wisdom and love, or otherwise of not being moved at all.

Fourth day morning. I can breathe a sincere prayer, that every thought and imagination within me may be brought into captivity to the obedience of Christ; that his mind may be my mind; that I may be thoroughly conformed to the whole will of God respecting me; and that his blessed, pure truth, may never be wounded through my want of faithfulness or courage.

12*th mo.*, 3*rd*. The week agreeably concluded by the arrival of my dear sister Fry. Our Irish prospect seems a good deal opening upon us; and it is a great satisfaction to me to find her views, as to the time of throwing it before Friends, correspond with my own. Indeed, it seems pretty clear now, that I must mention it at our next Monthly Meeting. May all be done to the glory of God!

12*th mo.*, 11*th*. My uncle was telling me, the other day, on the authority of the late John Bateman, that our great

grandfather, Joseph Gurney, a meek and humble man, scarcely ever failed to be engaged both in prayer and preaching, at every meeting he attended; but always in the *life*.

The frequent repetition of services of this description, to which I find myself called, often tries my faith, and brings me into close and deep exercise of soul: but I must follow my holy Leader. O that I may never be found presenting unsavoury offerings on the Lord's altar! How remarkable it is, that from generation to generation, there are those raised up amongst us who have thus to bear a public testimony to redeeming love and power. May it continue to be the case, through the unmerited goodness of Israel's Shepherd, and in due season may the number of anointed priests and Levites be multiplied on the face of the earth! I fully believe that this description applies to many out of our pale, and yet, perhaps, not in the same way and degree.

His friends having given their sanction and encouragement to his proposed visit to Ireland, he writes, after a week spent in religious labours, in Suffolk, and subsequent short visits to London and Melksham, the intervals being closely occupied by literary and other engagements at home:—

First day night, 1*st mo.*, 28*th*, 1827. I am likely to leave home with clear hands; and may, with humble gratitude, confess that a remarkable feeling of repose has been my portion, as I have quietly yielded to the stream which is conveying me onwards to an arduous and extensive field of gospel labour.

CHAPTER XVII.

1827. ÆT. 39.

DEPARTURE FOR IRELAND; LABOURS IN DUBLIN; VISIT TO THE MARQUIS WELLESLEY, THE LORD LIEUTENANT; PRISONS; DR. MURRAY; ARCHBISHOP MAGEE; ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM; TRIM; COOTEHILL; ARMAGH; LISBURN; JOHN CONRAN; LURGAN; BELFAST; LONDONDERRY.

Joseph John Gurney left Earlham on his way to Ireland, on the 2nd of the second month., 1827. "We were in that island," he writes in his Autobiography, "for about three months, in all its counties except four, paying a general visit to Friends, holding many public meetings, inspecting prisons, communicating with persons in authority as occasion required, and mingling with members of various denominations in the pursuit of works of benevolence, Roman Catholics, at times, as well as Protestants. When not engaged in ministerial labours, it was very much my office to help my beloved sister in her comprehensive designs for the benefit of her fellow men."

TO MARY FOWLER.

London, 2nd mo., 3rd, 1827.

I was favoured yesterday to leave home with a degree both of clearness and peace — clearness, because all my memoranda and *agenda* were swept away to my satisfaction; peace, in the belief mercifully afforded that my going was in the

ordering of divine wisdom and love; and in the secret persuasion that my beloved sister and children on the one hand, and myself on the other, would be preserved to a happy meeting again. However, this is not to be stamped higher than an agreeable presentiment. * * * I increasingly feel the necessity of dwelling deep in the root of true wisdom; that I may not be deceived by any superficial, unauthorized sensations, but may be enabled quietly and faithfully to follow the true Shepherd. I hope thou wilt be enabled to pray for my preservation particularly in this respect; for I imagine that my naturally sanguine temperament exposes me to the danger of error more than many others. Probably thou hast found this out, and therefore dost not regret (nor do I) that much of the necessary ballast of secret suffering falls to my lot.

His Journal of this visit, is contained in a series of letters to his sisters Catherine and Rachel, from which the following extracts are taken.

Holyhead, 2nd mo., 9th, 1827.

My dear Sisters,

We are just arrived at this place, in good health and spirits, after an interesting journey. E—— and I much enjoyed our peaceful journey to Worcester. It was a peculiar pleasure to me, to pass so many hours with her, in undisturbed *tête à tête*. We drove through the vale of Rodburg, and were quite inspirited by the scenery. A large party of Friends met us at Worcester, at my particular request; persons about whom I had been interested at my last visit. It was a pleasant rendezvous, and ended in a religious opportunity. A young man present poured forth an acceptable prayer for our preservation; and it was cheering to me, to observe an evident piety prevailing in the circle. Yesterday, after an early breakfast, we left Worcester, and reached Coalbrookdale in a few hours. There we dined at Barnard Dickenson's, and met another interesting and interested circle of Friends. Our evening journey was somewhat long, and we did not reach the beautiful Llangollen, till ten o'clock last night.

Our journey of to-day has been delightful, notwithstanding the coldness of the weather. I have occupied the box much of the way, and we have all feasted on the delightful scenery. The vale of Llangollen was the first lovely object which greeted us. Afterwards we passed through some magnificent, wild, mountain districts; particularly by the lake Ogwen; scenery which appeared to me, about equal to that of the Trosachs in Scotland; and though we missed the summer verdure and foliage, these were in some measure supplied by the full cataracts and large icicles. We dined at an inn, within a mile of Bangor; and after dinner, examined and passed over that wonderful work of human ingenuity, the Menai bridge.

We have been travelling all day by the finest road in England. It has been really curious to trace this smooth and perfect work of art, winding along through the roughest and wildest scenes of nature. There is something very animating in the beauty and magnificence of these scenes; and it has given quite a flow both to health and spirits. Our dear sister is writing her journal home, and drawing the Menai bridge for her children. We hope to sail at eight o'clock to-morrow morning. We are favoured with a feeling of tranquillity and comfort, though sensible of the weight and importance of our undertaking. The sympathy and prayers of our friends have been truly welcome.

Dublin, 2nd mo., 15th, 1827.

Since I wrote on second day morning, we have passed three very full and very interesting days, having gradually found our footing on this island, and our way amongst Friends and others. On second day, we were much occupied in paying a variety of visits; first to the Deaf and Dumb Institution, about two miles from our residence, and to Joseph Humfreys and his wife — superior Friends, under whose superintendence it is placed. It was a pleasant sight and especially instructive to observe J. Humfreys' manner with the children, to whom he had managed to communicate much religious instruction. Some of them seemed under the power of religion. Then to the bed-ridden widow of the late John Hilton, of Bristol; then

to an afflicted family, known to dear Priscilla, of the name of Stott. In all these visits, and many similar ones, we have had religious opportunities; and it is particularly comforting to find ourselves, both in public and in private, brought into such remarkable unity of mental exercise. Before dinner I called at the Secretary of State's office, to deliver a letter from Peel, and was very kindly received by the Under-secretary of State, William Gregory, who promises every assistance. We dined at Robert Fayle's. This was the family with whom dear Priscilla lodged. Her memory is precious among Friends in Ireland.

Third day was devoted to the Monthly Meeting, the largest and longest I have ever attended; for I think that even in the meetings for business (both being included) there were not less than 400 Friends; and the men's meeting did not conclude (with an interval, of course, for dinner) until half-past nine at night. The weight and variety of business excited my sympathy towards the bearers of the burthen. It was a memorable day—the divine unction continuing to flow on, very remarkably, for many hours. * * *

Yesterday, after making arrangements for the printing of my Scripture Instruction documents, in the form of a tract, we again set off on a series of visits. Seven or eight interesting private opportunities with Friends, individually, or in families, occupied the morning. We paid a visit to the Dublin "Retreat," where are about fifteen patients, kindly managed on the improved system, and under the care of judicious Friends. We afterwards dined with the Doyle family, and in the evening attended a youths' meeting, held at seven o'clock, by our appointment. It was a very solemn but exercising time; about 500 persons present. Some were there who had no connexion with the Society.

2nd mo., 19th, 1827.

We breakfasted on fifth day, at Major Sirr's, at the Castle. The rest of the morning was passed in receiving and paying visits. Before dinner we went together to the Secretary of State's office, and met a very cordial reception from William

Gregory, the Under-Secretary. We dined with an elderly and pious Friend, Sarah Phelps, and had to entertain and instruct a party of fifty in the evening. It passed off well, though I was poorly, the commencement of rather a trying attack of cold and fever. Notwithstanding my poorliness, we were under the necessity of attending a public meeting appointed for sixth day morning. This proved a memorable occasion, and did me no harm. I was enabled to unfold the doctrines appertaining to the person and character of Christ, with a good deal of clearness and power, being made strong out of much bodily and mental weakness. Dear E—— passed part of the morning with the "Sisters of Charity," at their nunnery. They seem to have been delighted with her visit. On seventh day morning she took an early drive through the "Liberty," where the lowest part of the population dwell. At eleven o'clock, we held a meeting with the heads of families, &c., among Friends. It was one of deep and close exercise of mind; numerously attended, and I hope for good. Various calls from gentlemen and ladies at our lodgings afterwards; amongst the rest the pious Lady L—— and her daughter. At three o'clock we went by appointment to call on the Marquis Wellesley, the Lord Lieutenant, at the Vice-regal Lodge, Phœnix Park. The park is beautiful, about a mile from Dublin, with a noble view of the Wicklow mountains. The Viceroy is a clever, easy, polite, sensible, elderly man; small and grey-headed. He entered fully into our views; promised us every assistance in his power; and agreed with our sentiments on capital punishment, prisons, &c. Perhaps there may be a little of the courtier about him, but I believe him to be sincere. His wife, (a Roman Catholic American lady,) was confined up stairs with illness. We afterwards dined at Samuel and Jane Gatchell's, where in the evening we met a large party; among the rest John Leslie Forster's wife, a pious and exemplary woman. We returned home very tired. I was not well in the night, but rose refreshed in the morning. The meeting on first day was crowded by Friends and others. It was a good time, in which the truth

was, I trust, exalted. Afterwards we made some calls on the afflicted; dined with the Bewley family, interesting and pious Friends. Drank tea at James Martin Pike's, one of the Dublin Philanthropists, a clever Friend, with a lovely family. Held a large public meeting at seven o'clock, in which the doctrines of the Atonement and of the Holy Spirit were largely set forth. It was a very solemn meeting. * * *

At John White's, near Edenderry, King's County, 2nd mo., 25th, 1827.

Since I last wrote, we have passed six days of strong and rapid interest, and having been all of us but poorly in the course of it, we consider it no small favour, that we have been permitted to quit Dublin in peace, and to enter unhurt on the country part of our engagement. It would have been unsafe to have continued longer in that city; for our dear sister's strength would probably have failed under the impetuous attentions of the thronging multitude. But to continue the thread of our history.—On second day, after breakfasting at a Friend's house with a large party, we commenced our visits to the prisons, and examined four principal ones that morning. Two of them very bad, particularly the Dublin Newgate; an awful scene of multitudinous wickedness and misery! Vast crowds of criminals, without occupation, without instruction, without any provided clothing, and therefore half-naked, herded together in great dens; for such was the character of some of their day rooms. Thence to the City Marshalsea prison, for small debtors, which was, if possible, still worse. Then another large debtors' prison, very bad also; and, lastly, the Smithfield Penitentiary, where there are a great many women and boys, in pretty good order. We dined that evening at the Secretary Gregory's, in the Phœnix Park. He is one of our kind Friends. We met a select and interesting party; amongst others, two ladies of rank of the Clancarty family, of which Lady Anne Gregory, the Secretary's wife, is a member, and their brother the Archbishop of Tuam; a person full of kindness, intelligence, and piety. The great subject of conversation at these Dublin

parties, now seems to be the religious stir among the Roman Catholics, which is already technically called the "Reformation." The Protestants are delighted with it; consider that it is spreading, and will spread; and mix up their feelings on the subject with a certain degree of party zeal, against which we have done our best to hold up a yet purer standard. There is prevalent in Dublin great zeal, and great love for the truth; but there is wanted more of the garment of universal charity, and more of the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit. Yet there is a blessed work going on, which is far more conspicuous in the upper classes of society there, than in any part of England with which I am acquainted.

I forgot to tell you, that while we were visiting one of the prisons, the judges, then on the bench of a neighbouring Court, heard of us, and sent a message to invite us into their presence. We thought it right to go, and were ushered through a little door, on to the Judge's bench, in the front of a crowded and inquisitive assembly. We conversed some time with Judges Johnstone and Jebb, both eminent men, and found them true men on the subject of Capital Punishment. On third day we attended Meeting: (they hold two week day meetings in Dublin, on third and sixth days:) it was large, flocked to by many not Friends, and a very solemn, I hope profitable, occasion. Our dear sister's ministry was, as usual, very touching. I think it has produced a very considerable impression, her way having been remarkably made to the hearts of the people. After meeting we resumed our course of prison visiting, and that morning inspected two more debtors' prisons; and Kilmainham, the county jail. This jail is well conducted and superintended, and forms a striking contrast to the Dublin Newgate. We met several gentlemen of importance there, among whom were the Sheriff of the County, Sir Thomas Needham, and John David Latouche, the banker, a man of eminent liberality and respectability. E—— and I (she with a sad cold on her chest) went at six o'clock to dine at Baron Pennefather's, one of the judges, where we were handsomely entertained by some very superior people. The Baron is a highly cultivated, enlight-

ened man, and his wife a solid Christian character. We met there two interesting clergymen: Cleaver, the son of the late Archbishop of Dublin; and James Dunn, a person of high reputation, who continues to preach in the Church of England, but from motives of conscience, has given up two valuable livings. We returned home very tired, and dear E—— was quite poorly for the next day or two, but nursing was impossible. Out of weakness we were made strong for services various and arduous.

On fourth day to breakfast at a lady's named Hoare, where about forty serious persons were assembled to meet us. It was a good time I hope. Thence to the Richmond Bridewell, a great prison, where we were met by several gentlemen, including the Inspectors General of the prisons of Ireland, and I suppose nearly one hundred ladies, many of them of consideration and station. The object of the meeting was to organize a Ladies' Association for visiting prisons; our dear sister was, of course, in the chair, and I sat by as her secretary; the Inspectors General on either side. She managed the whole affair with great ability. The association was formed, and large Visiting Committees appointed for the four principal prisons. We had afterwards to examine the prison itself. We returned home, dear E—— much fagged, but obliged to prepare for a visit to Lady Wellesley, at the Phœnix Park. * * On our way back we spent a short, but very interesting time with Dr. Murray, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin. He is a pleasing man, of humble and Christian deportment, and did not appear to object to any of our views. There was something very sweet in the manners, and apparently in the mind of this Archbishop; but with it, we apprehend, a strong and determined attachment to his own church. In point of simplicity of life and appearance, he is an example for Christian prelates. We dined that evening at the house of John Henry North, a person of evident genius, and of great urbanity and elegance. Dr. Singer, of the College, a learned man, was there, and a pious clergyman in great repute, of the name of Magee. After dinner, many religious persons flocked into the room. Immediately after

tea, —— stood up, holding a little Bible in his hand, and began to read, then to preach, and then without a moment's pause, called on "our dear friend and sister" to pray. Forthwith the company dropped on their knees. I was obliged to ask them to sit down in silence, and after a time dear E—— prayed very sweetly. I had also to address them. This description will give you some idea of the state of society in Dublin. I should imagine that these Bible readings are extensively supplanting cards and other such amusements. We rather fear that there is with it all, a pretty full infusion of high Calvinism.

Fifth day was equally remarkable. We breakfasted at home, and afterwards received an interesting visit from the famous Magee, Archbishop of Dublin. We conversed together nearly an hour, particularly respecting his book on the Atonement, Friends' Principles, &c. He appeared to be high church in his views, an acute and very clever man. He promised to read my Essays, as did Dr. Murray; Lord Wellesley also intends reading them. They are but little known in this land: but where known, appear to be liked. Many besides the Friends seem to be acquainted with the "peculiarities."

When the Archbishop had left us, we went to the House of Industry; a vast receptacle of aged, infirm, lunatic, and idiot paupers, under the government of Colonel Morris, who gave us a most cordial reception. It is a wonderful institution, supported by Government, and finely managed. The same may be said of the Richmond Lunatic Asylum, which we next visited with Dr. Jackson, the physician. In both these institutions the patients are kindly treated, and to a great extent employed and instructed. Then to the Richmond General Penitentiary, a sort of home Botany Bay. Here, however, the Governor, who considers himself amenable only to the Lord Lieutenant, refused to allow us to speak to the prisoners, or to see those who were in solitary confinement and under punishment. As we had engaged to quit Dublin on the morrow, it was difficult to know how to act; but on our return to our lodgings, we found our kind friend the

Archbishop of Tuam; and he and I went to the Secretary's office, where I was furnished with the Lord Lieutenant's commands to the Governor, to show us every thing we wished. I much enjoyed my walk with the Archbishop. There is something very noble and pleasing about him. His Christian course is a decided one. In the evening we were at home and received numerous guests.

On sixth day we rose with an almost overwhelming prospect of service: the morning meeting with Friends; the difficult task of re-examining the penitentiary; a report to make of the result to Government; and then a journey of nearly forty miles to be accomplished. However, way opened for the whole, and very satisfactorily. When we reached the meeting-house, we found it thronged to excess, and had considerable difficulty in reaching the gallery. Hundreds went away disappointed of a place. About 1500 were supposed to be present. With full minds, and tired bodies, we found it no easy task to cope with such a meeting; but it proved a memorable one. There was, I think, a true effusion of the Spirit on the occasion; and our dear sister was wonderfully enabled to surmount her bodily weakness and mental fears. I hardly ever heard such preaching as hers was that day; and the whole was concluded by the hearty ascription of all glory where alone it is due. Her text was, "Holiness becometh thine house, O Lord, for ever."

Soon after meeting, I had a happy *rencontre* with the Governor of the Penitentiary in the street. We took him to the prison in our carriage, delivered the Government order, and made a thorough visitation of the institution. Happily, there was no great evil lurking, and we parted with our defeated friend in harmony; and I had real pleasure in going to Secretary Gregory, and making a favourable report.

In the end we got through all our labours: dined; packed our carriage; left Dublin at five o'clock, truly grateful to our friends, of the Pim family, for their uncommon kindness and attention; and, after travelling until eleven o'clock at night, we arrived at Christians-town, county Kildare; at the hospitable house of our dear friend, James Forbes. * *

At Jonathan Richardson's, Lisburn, 3rd mo., 4th, 1827.

* * I last wrote from John White's, near Edenderry. We left his house about ten o'clock on second day morning (the 26th ult.) for Trim, the county town of Meath; passing through a country very incompletely cultivated, with wretched earthen huts on the sides of the road, the inhabitants of which appeared to be but little elevated above the condition of the heathen world. They seem to understand little that one says to them, and nothing can well exceed the filth in the midst of which they live. Knowledge, with a sense of need, both temporally and spiritually, is that first step to improvement, which does not seem yet taken, in many parts of this unhappy land. I believe, however, that education is making rapid strides; and the more it prevails, the more uneasy the people become, both with their physical and their spiritual degradation. I find there are almost daily tidings of the progress of "the Reformation" in many places. Trim is a wretched capital. The Duke of Wellington's towering monument being in true Hibernian contrast with the filth and misery which surround it. The prison was once the pride of the county, but is now considered one of the worst in Ireland. We found it, as we do all the county jails, full of prisoners, chiefly for rioting and the work of the shillelah. It is kept in good order, and is carefully superintended. We endeavoured to lay the foundation of a ladies' committee. Thence over an improving country, and past several gentlemen's seats, through the town of Kells, to our friend Lord Bective's, at Headfort. It is a fine extensive nobleman's place, conducted with great care and economy. We arrived in time for dinner, and were most kindly received by the Earl and Countess. There is something truly amiable about them both. We passed, however, rather a sleepy evening, for we were tired; and Lord B—— was obliged to leave us at night, on his way to attend Parliament, on the Roman Catholic question, of which he is a warm supporter. He and his wife promoted our religious intercourse with their household, and the next morning we had the family together, including a number of Roman Catholics; a general anxiety

prevailing to see the stranger guests. Dear E—— read Matt. xxv, and we had a remarkably interesting meeting afterwards, a little like that at Lord Derby's, in days of old. Much love towards us was manifested by all the party, especially the servants, who seemed full of zeal in helping us. We spent an hour or two with Lady B—— at Kells, their neighbouring town, in inspecting her public charities, and a wretched little prison, happily not often used; and we then drove off to a desolate place called Ballyborough, on our way to the next meeting of Friends. The people seemed anxious for tracts, of which we distributed a large quantity; and there being no horses to be had in the place fit to use, we were happy enough to meet with two pairs on their return home, which we kept for two days' service. It is a desolate country and the roads very bad; and very tired we were when we arrived at Cootehill, a little town in the county of Cavan, where we were most hospitably entertained by J. C—— and his two sisters. The change from the vast chateau to their humble abode, was far from unpleasant; there was so much cleanliness and comfort in the accommodation provided.

There are only a few scattered families of Friends in this place, (Lisburn,) which is one of some importance, being a principal linen mart for the north of Ireland. The domestic manufacture of linen is the staple of this part of the country, and every poor man is his own flax grower, weaver, and merchant. As we advance towards the north, the peasantry assume a more respectable appearance. The children may like to know that we met on our road, a day or two since, a vast body of peasants, neatly dressed, attending the corpse of a young woman to its burial, and the attendants round about the coffin were chaunting the funeral cry, very improperly called "the Irish howl." It was a touching sound. This is a fine harvest for the priest, who levies a handsome subscription on the people present at the burial. We held a meeting at Cootehill on fourth day morning. It was largely attended by a mixed company of Friends, Protestant church-people, and Roman Catholics. It was a time in which the truth was, I trust, exalted, and many,

especially of the Roman Catholics, have since been applying to our host for tracts. He tells me his whole stock has been exhausted, by the sudden demand our meeting occasioned. The inquisitive state of the public mind, where education has at all prevailed, is deeply interesting. From Cootehill, our four horses, which we had met with the day before, brought us through some fine nobleman's domains, and afterwards through a dull country to Monaghan; where we spent an hour in visiting a new and very tolerable county jail, full of prisoners; and in sowing the seeds of a ladies' committee. We dined at the inn, and reached the hotel at Armagh in the evening. The travelling in these parts is uncommonly tedious, the Irish stages swelling to an unreasonable length; and no mile stones. It is difficult to get on without four horses. Fifth day morning at Armagh, was highly interesting. It is a fine inland town. We first visited the county jail, and found a peculiarly open door for intercourse with the prisoners; the first time this has happened to us in Ireland. Popery has, in general, appeared to block up the way in the minds of the prisoners. From the prison we proceeded to the lunatic asylum for five counties, admirably managed, none under restraint, and a considerable number of both men and women employed. We then went to Lady Lifford's, at the deanery. She knew dear Priscilla, and is a close ally of Lady Gosford's. Here we met several ladies, and laid the foundation of a visiting association. Lady Lifford is a charming, elderly lady; an humble, solid, practical Christian, abounding in good works. On separating one from another, we were favoured with a true solemnity. Thence to Richill, where a large meeting of Friends and others were assembled at two o'clock; I believe to a good purpose, as the gospel was fully preached and gladly received. That night we reached Rhoane Hill, near Grange, where we were kindly entertained by an interesting family of Friends, and on sixth day morning we held a large meeting at Grange. It was to me a time of deep exercise of mind. These were the parts in which Friends were once so led away by infidelity, and their present state reminded me of the condition of the Jews after they came from Babylon; returned indeed from

captivity, but yet without the Urim and Thummim, and after a time without prophets. Through all, there seemed a strong hope of revival, and two young people have lately begun to minister there. After a tedious journey, we reached this place (Lisburn) on sixth day evening, and find ourselves quite at home, under the care of our young friend, Jonathan Richardson, in his father's comfortable house; the parents in England. There is an excellent Friends' school here, the Hibernian Ackworth, and most of yesterday was employed in the examination of the children, and in setting on foot the Ackworth plans of scriptural instruction. I found the wheel move rather heavily, but believe success is likely to crown the effort. The meeting of ministers and elders was held in the evening. I am sitting up now to finish this letter after a laborious day. A large meeting with Friends this morning, and with the public this evening, besides a continued stream of family engagements. One of our companions in the work has been John Conran, a veteran preacher of 88 years, who stood his ground valiantly in the time of the secession, and was for some years afterward the only minister, or elder, in the north of Ireland. He has already been joined by six more, and many others seem likely to follow in the train. Nothing can well exceed the loveliness of this dear old man's spirit. His preaching highly animating, his fine white locks flowing over his shoulders. Our meetings have been much favoured to-day, and I think we all retire to rest with the feelings of thankfulness and peace.

Grace Hill, County Antrim, 3rd mo., 14th, 1827.

My Journal is sadly in arrear. I last wrote on first day the 4th from Lisburn. The public meeting that evening was remarkably interesting; many Roman Catholics there; and my doctrine, as I supposed, very anti-papistical; but the report made by one of their community was, that I preached the same things as their own priest!

The following day was devoted to the business of the Quarterly Meeting, which was large; twice the size of ours. It was a day of unction. Our dear sister and her sister

E. F—— visited the men's meeting; and John Conran, that veteran warrior in the army of the Lamb, preached in the course of the morning one of the best sermons I ever heard, on the Sonship and Divinity of our Saviour. A young man in a low line of life, knelt down and supplicated very powerfully. There is a remarkable breaking forth of the ministry in these parts, chiefly in the poorer class of the Society.

On third day a concluding meeting for worship, with a very large and interesting body of Friends; it was an extraordinary time, and one that could not fail to leave very encouraging impressions. Then to the County Infirmary, a valuable institution, a Ladies' Committee established; then to the Provincial School, to drink tea with the children, amongst whom I finally established my plan of scriptural instruction; then another large public meeting. The state of the public mind in this country requires a nice and delicate touch, and the greatest care is requisite to keep clear of all sectarian and party feeling.

On fourth day we left Lisburn on our way to several country meetings. The weather wild. After attending a large meeting at Ballinderry, we went through a driving snow to Lurgan, county of Down, the original settlement of Friends in this land. A large old meeting-house, and a small scattered flock. There was no invitation, and the weather was very severe, yet the inhabitants of the place flocked to meeting, evidently athirst, in no common degree, after living waters; and a very solemn assembly we had. Dear E—— was much strengthened for the occasion. A long drive through wind and snow, brought us late at night to the hospitable mansion of Thomas Christy Wakefield, of Moyallen. This was once a flourishing colony of Friends in a beautiful country; a village of pretty villas; but, alas! the bright scene has vanished under the deadly touch of infidelity. Many of the principal Friends seceded many years ago, and have remarkably come to nothing. There is a little faithful band preserved from the wreck, some of whom are particularly pleasing. Notwithstanding the snow, we had a meeting with Friends in the morning, and with the public in the evening. The next day,

more snow having fallen, we could not proceed on our journey, the roads being impassable. I called on the Friends, and in the afternoon and evening we were met by a large party of young people. We were anxious to go off the next morning, and four horses took us, with considerable difficulty, to Hillsborough, where there is a small settlement of Friends. We held a meeting there, to which many came through a pouring rain.

On seventh day night we returned to our old lodgings at Lisburn, and proceeded on first day morning to meeting, at Belfast; a beautiful drive of seven miles, through a fruitful valley, under fine mountains. Belfast is the Liverpool of Ireland. A few years ago there were only two or three Friends; now there are thirty families. A remarkable seriousness seemed to prevail among the young people, and here we heard another young man minister very acceptably. Our public meeting that evening was held in a large school room, on an upper floor. There was an almost frightful *effusio populi*. When we arrived punctually at the time appointed, we found the people going away by hundreds, disappointed for want of room. We were put to difficulty to get into the room. The crowd was very overpowering to our dear sister, and I was afraid she would have fainted. However we got to our places at last. Protection and strength were graciously afforded. I was enabled to declare the gospel with rather unusual power, and all was soon profoundly quiet; and, in the end, the vast assembly dispersed in quietness and safety. I am sure you would have felt for us, could you have watched our movements that night.

The next day we had abundance of work as usual. First, a visit to the House of Correction, with a crowd of ladies and gentlemen flocking after our dear sister; amongst the rest, the clergy, English Church, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic. Dr. Croly, the Roman Catholic Bishop, was with us, a very liberal man. All these denominations unite in the religious instruction of the prisoners. I sent the bishop both my works. They say his liberality enables him to proselyte more successfully. Then to Carrickfergus,

a long and beautiful drive under the mountains by the coast. There is a large county jail there for Antrim; and very thoroughly we inspected it. While I visited the male side, E—— succeeded in forming a ladies' committee. We returned to a late dinner at our friend William Bell's; a crowd of Friends, chiefly young, came in the evening; and it was no light matter to meet the occasion after the fatigue of the day. However, all passed off well. But alas! on our return to our lodgings to supper, behold another party to meet us, some of the principal Presbyterians. The Presbyterians form the largest portion of the population in this part of Ireland, and are at Belfast divided into two parties, Orthodox and Arian. By dear E——'s desire, another public meeting was appointed for yesterday morning, at eleven, to which the upper classes were principally invited. It was a beautiful congregation of upwards of 1000 orderly, attentive, well-dressed people; and a highly favoured occasion. The place which our dear sister has among them all, is truly remarkable; amongst other effects, it seems in a singular degree to stop the objections entertained to women's preaching. A clergyman who had expressed these objections before the meeting, said after it, "No one who loves the truth would dare to prevent them." A variety of public institutions were next to be visited. E—— went to the Penitentiary, and I to the Schools; both of us to the Poor-house, a place of refuge for the aged and infirm, and for orphan children; very well managed. In the evening dear E—— had a congregation of ladies at the meeting-house, to arrange committees for visiting the Poor-house, the Penitentiary and the Prison. I went to Carrickfergus again, having been brought under a concern of mind to hold a public meeting there. The rain poured in torrents; but there was a pretty good congregation in the Methodist meeting-house. * * * *

Omagh, county Tyrone, 3rd mo., 19th, 1827.

My dearest Sisters,

I wrote to you from Grace hill, the Moravian settlement, on fourth day evening. That morning we passed

an interesting hour in surveying the settlement; the first I had ever seen. The single sisters, about fifty in number, occupy one large house, and seemed very cheerful and happy; but they do not appear to live greatly for the benefit of mankind; not attending much to the education of the poor, and leaving the sick to their ministers. We left our various books, and proceeded to a little meeting at Low Grange, consisting of an aged widow, and her son and daughter, with a few others. However, many persons came in, including two clergymen, and we had a very comfortable meeting.

We took a repast of eggs and bacon at a public house in a small town hard by — Portglenone. Here we distributed tracts. The *empressement* of the people to obtain these treasures, is really interesting. They seemed delighted with my letter on Christianity, chiefly because of its neutrality. We find it does not at all answer for us to issue any controversial tracts, or to mix ourselves in the questions now so warmly agitated between the churches of Rome and England. It seems our business to bring home to the one Foundation.

We arrived in the evening at a Friend's house in the country, where we held a meeting, with a very small flock: including a young Roman Catholic lady, who seems convinced of the principles of Friends. Her brother trod the same course before her, and underwent great persecution, and has since died in early life. We travelled that day on the banks of Lough Neagh. Some of the scenery was fine, especially in the demesne of Earl O'Neill, whose castle overlooked the lake, till it was consumed by fire. It is now a pile of ruins. * *

On seventh day, we proceeded, chiefly by the sea coast and the banks of Lough Foyle, to Londonderry; where we arrived early in the afternoon, having appointed a rendezvous at the jail at three o'clock.

The situation of this little city is highly beautiful, on the banks of the river Foyle, and with a good harbour; the town is encircled with a wall, on the top of which is a fine walk; and the cathedral, finer than Irish cathedrals in general, towers over the whole scene.

On our arrival at the jail, we found our letters had not reached their destination, so that no one was there to meet us. But it was curious to observe how soon the scene was changed. Forth came, on the notice of the moment, the mayor, the government inspector, the clergy, (Presbyterian and Church of England,) the bishop and his lady, and many others. The openness of everybody towards us was interesting. After our business had been effected, we three dined at the bishop's, at half-past six, and met rather a grand party; chiefly of the Northland (or Knox) family, of which he is one. He is a generous, and liberal-minded man; freely spending the large income which his see produces. He is the head and supporter of all the charitable institutions. It was amusing to see him and his lady, with other authorities, arranging the seats of the great court house, for our meeting in the morning. We may truly say that times are changed. How different from the persecutions Friends once endured!

Yesterday was one of deep and varied exercise of mind. We felt it very much in prospect. At half-past ten, the hour appointed, the court house was rapidly filled with the gentry of the town and neighbourhood. It was a solemn and satisfactory meeting; many seemed deeply impressed, particularly a lady of rank, who was completely broken down. She said, after our afternoon meeting, that she must have come to it, had it even cost her her life. The afternoon meeting was held at the Presbyterian meeting house, at half-past three. About 2000 persons there; the bishop himself and his family sitting immediately in front of us. It was no light occasion. I never found one more arduous. But all ended well, though through deep humiliation. After it was over dear E—— met the ladies, and completely succeeded in forming her committee. The bishop took me in his car, to see the Infirmary and other institutions. We turned our backs on Londonderry, with peaceful minds, at half-past six this morning; still accompanied by our four active and agreeable guides, Thomas and Charles Wakefield, John Christy, and William Bell. We have visited two large jails to day, two Infirmaries, and one

Lunatic Asylum at Lifford, the county town of Donegal. Here at Omagh, the county town of Tyrone, there are 104 prisoners for trial; ten for murder! They are cases of violent political feeling and revenge. The assizes begin to-morrow, and we are stopped for want of horses. It was entertaining to see the members of the bar, in numbers, running down the street, on our arrival being known, to meet us at the prison. We have formed our committee, and our dear sister has been with the judges, who happily agree with us on the subject of Capital Punishment. We mean, if possible, to reach Sligo to-morrow.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1827. ÆT. 39.

ROUTE TO SLIGO; STATE OF THE COUNTRY; HIBERNIAN BLUNDER; GALWAY; ILLNESS OF ELIZABETH FRY; CLONMEL; CARLOW; DR. DOYLE; BALLITORE; YEARLY MEETING IN DUBLIN; FINAL VISIT TO LORD WELLESLEY; WICKLOW; ENNISCORTHY; WEXFORD; WATERFORD; RETURN TO ENGLAND.

Mountmellick, Queen's County,
3rd mo., 25th, 1827.

I WROTE last from Omagh, in Tyrone, where we stopped in the midst of the confusion of the assizes. This was last second day. I went to bed very tired, and rose at half-past four in the morning, not greatly refreshed by the damp little bed which had fallen to my lot. We were obliged to rise thus early, as we had a long day's journey in prospect. A very difficult stage of about twenty English miles, over a road dangerous for night travelling, brought us to Tempo, a little village, where we obtained some breakfast in the mud-floored room of a public house. The Roman Catholic population of the place were very eager for our tracts, of which we distributed many. Indeed, I may say that the dissemination of them, and particularly of the Letter on Christianity, has been one of our very interesting objects during the past week. We meet on the roads vast numbers of intelligent looking people, to whom the gift of a tract is most acceptable. They commence reading them forthwith, with much zeal. Sometimes, however, they are afraid to receive them. I happened to give a poor man a copy of the Letter, just as a priest was riding towards him. The man immediately delivered up his treasure to the priest, who, with an expression of peculiar bitterness, tore it in halves,

and threw it into a ditch:—a sly little boy, however, ran off with the fragments. The thirst for information which prevails in the parts of Ireland where we have lately been, is most remarkable. I believe that the system of the papal priesthood begins to be shaken to its centre; and we have seen enough to convince us, that provided *truth*, and not *infidelity*, is the alternative, the sooner it falls the better; for it is an iron yoke.

From Tempo to Enniskillen, a populous town, prettily situated on the banks of Lough Erne. Here we visited the infirmary, and a very indifferent jail, in which were six persons under a charge of desperate murder. This is no uncommon crime in Ireland. Deeply settled revenge is in general the cause; and it is often attended with awful barbarity. I do not exaggerate when I say that we have seen dozens of murderers during the last week. In Roscommon jail were ten more, for the murder of a member of our Society, a mere nominal Friend, who had a quantity of arms in his house, which were in part, the object of pursuit. He defended himself vigorously, but it was all in vain. He was shot by the assailants; and more desperate characters than they appeared to be, I never beheld. At Sligo there was a prisoner who had roasted a poor woman alive! Nothing can exceed the ferocity into which the unbridled passions of this unhappy people lead them, when party spirit has the sway over them. After forming our Committee of Ladies, we left Enniskillen in the afternoon, on our way to Sligo, in some hopes of reaching that place before night. Our drive during daylight was delightful; the scenery like that in the Highlands, under fine mountains, and by the side of a beautifully wooded lake; Lord Enniskillen's castle, at Florence court, being a principal object in the scene. The peasantry very numerous, well dressed, decent, and intelligent. We enjoyed supplying them with tracts. The linen manufacture extends as far as Sligo, and has a great effect in promoting the decency and welfare of the population, it being entirely a domestic manufacture.

Our efforts to reach Sligo proved fruitless. We were benighted just as we arrived at an inn, called the Red Lion, which the

persons we met on the road described as a "very grand" place; but it proved so wretched, that we determined to push forwards to Manor Hamilton, ten miles farther, notwithstanding the risk which attends travelling by night on these roads; both from the deep ditches on each side, and from the prevalence of violent robbery. We found it difficult to get along, and when at last we reached the town, O the extreme filth and poverty of the accommodation which awaited us! I never before lodged in so sad a place; and felt really anxious for dear E———, and her sister, who had risen at four in the morning. But we ought to be more than content to suffer a little—and it is but a little—for the sake of a good cause.

I set off, with two of the guides, early for Sligo, on fourth day morning, to prepare the way. Our visit there was uncommonly interesting. We came total strangers to the place, but all sorts of people had open arms to receive us. I soon found a few pious persons, they called on others, and early in the afternoon we visited the prison, in company with a crowd of ladies and gentlemen, including the High Sheriff. The assizes were going on in the town, and not a bed, room, or hovel, was to be had at any inn. We took private lodgings, but this was unnecessary, so many were desirous of making us their guests. In the evening we went to the rector's, where we were met by a large inquisitive party. We did what we could to interest and instruct, and formed a Ladies' Committee very satisfactorily.

The next morning was very interesting. We breakfasted at the house of some pious people named Whitacre, who had provided me with a lodging. After breakfast, several of the late converts from Popery came to see us. Sligo has already added forty-two names to the "reformation," and fourteen more were to come forward to-day as recanters of error. The people who met us that morning excited our sincere regard and interest. They were intelligent men of the lower middle class, and had been all brought to a knowledge of the truth, chiefly through the reading of the Scriptures. Their account of the faith that was in them, and of their scriptural reasons for renouncing Popery, was wonderfully clear. They were

evidently enlightened by a power more than human, and appeared spiritually minded, hungering and thirsting after righteousness. There was an obvious approach in some of their minds, towards the principles of Friends. It is, indeed. a wonderful work, which now appears to be rapidly going forward in the minds of this afflicted, but interesting people.

As the morning advanced, we held, in the Linen Hall, a large public meeting; which we understood to have been the only one that had been held there for thirty years and upwards. It was genteelly attended, which I attributed chiefly to E——'s public character, and was a time of remarkable openness, the word appearing "to run" and find entrance. It was difficult to make our escape from Sligo, the people were all so loving. However, after an early dinner we drove off, and arrived in the evening at the pretty town of Boyle, county of Roscommon, (still in Connaught,) where we found a comfortable inn. On sixth day we travelled through much of that desolate looking county, and reached Roscommon to dinner. There we visited the Infirmary, Jail, and Lunatic Asylum; the last a horrid place indeed, which we have represented to Lord and Lady Lorton, the most influential people in the county, the latter of whom was repeatedly with us in Dublin. Some of the scenes we have of late witnessed in the public institutions have been most distressing; vice and misery in abundance. Nobody can tell what this country is, without visiting it; but long must be our visit, were it required of us to obtain a full knowledge of the Irish character. We held our evening meeting at a little village called Ballymurry, where there are a few Friends; and lodged at the clean comfortable house of a widow, Margaret Robinson, with an interesting family of young people. Yesterday morning we went more than twenty miles, to a ten o'clock meeting at Moate, in Westmeath, from which place we came hither last evening. Westmeath is one of the most disturbed of the counties; murders very frequent. Fifteen poor men are expected to be executed at the jail at Mullingar! You may depend on our not running any unnecessary risks. I fully believe we have nothing to fear.

We find a large Quarterly Meeting assembled here, about four hundred Friends, and the day has, I hope, been a good one. Dearest Priscilla is remembered with peculiar love and delight. We have been spending the evening at the house of her intimate friend, Ann Shannon, where we have seen a party of one hundred, chiefly young people. I hope they were ministered to with some effect. Friends are not satisfied here with a large circle round a room; the whole square surface is filled like a Lancasterian school-room. * *

Galway, 4th mo., 1st, 1827.

After a deeply exercising, and, in various respects, serious day, I sit down to continue my journal; though I despair of giving to any persons, who do not see Ireland for themselves, a full notion of what it is, and what the people are.

Last third day morning the large Quarterly Meeting at Mountmellick, for the province of Leinster, concluded with a meeting for worship; in which there was an uncommon outpouring of that influence which prepares both for the utterance and the reception of the gospel. Friends parted from us in much love. Afterwards I had three considerable schools to visit, in all of which I succeeded in establishing my system of scriptural instruction. The Provincial Friends' school at Mountmellick, has been reduced to a very low ebb; and, I rather hope, our visit to it will have a considerable effect in its revival. In the evening we held a public meeting, which was largely attended.

On fourth day morning, a day of continued and impetuous rain, we went to breakfast at the country seat of James Pim, of Monkstown, the brother of our host at Dublin; where we met about twenty-four of that family. We passed an interesting hour with them. Then to the county jail for Queen's County, at Maryboro'; carefully superintended by a pious clergyman, named Harper; for all the jails in Ireland are under the care of local inspectors: a very good arrangement. The state of immorality in these parts is tremendous. There were eleven cases of murder for trial at the assizes, which were

then about to commence. Whilst E—— was forming her Ladies' Committee, I was engaged with these wretched felons, who appeared considerably affected, especially one of the poor murderers.

It is a sad circumstance, that the priesthood are now entirely set against the schools for "all," especially in the diocese of the famous Dr. Doyle, where we find all the children of the Roman Catholics removed, and many a noble Institution miserably ruined in consequence. It may truly be said, that the blind teachers of this blind people, prefer darkness to light. The effect produced by the reading of Scripture, has alarmed them thoroughly, and the consequence is, at present, very lamentable; but there are cheering symptoms of the gradual breaking of this truly iron yoke.

We held good meetings at Mountrath and Abbeylieux, in Queen's County, and took up our quarters for the night at Abbeylieux house, Viscount de Vesci's. Here, in consequence of an Hibernian blunder (and in this land accuracy is a scarce article,) we found ourselves in the humbling character of uninvited guests. We had been led to understand that we were warmly invited, whereas nothing of the kind had taken place; and this was not intentional deception, but only that total want of exact representation of the truth, to which the traveller in Ireland is frequently exposed. The result in the present instance was curious; a party of seven Friends drove up to a nobleman's house, on a dark night, knocked at his door, and quietly informed him that they were come to lodge.

Lord and Lady de Vesci are truly kind, hospitable people, resident on their own beautiful estate, and the benefactors of the population around them. They received us kindly, and took five of us in. The next morning we held a public meeting, which passed off well, and left them in peace, on our way to Rathdowny, where we dined with a newly settled young couple of Friends; and proceeded onwards to Knock, to attend a little country meeting. It was a darksome evening, but the meeting was well attended by Friends and others, and was a very solemn one. We lodged at Ballymalish, the house of Joseph Thacker, a county magistrate. He is connected with Friends,

has an interesting family, and received us with great hospitality; his family accompanying us in their carriage to Roscrea meeting the next morning. He gives a curious account of the Popish population by which he is surrounded. Their late "jubilee" has been attended by very injurious moral effects; the ceremonies practised on the occasion being thought to have the effect of procuring free forgiveness for the sins of seven years past, and free license for the sins of the seven years now to come. This, at least, appears to be the notion of the extremely ignorant amongst them.

The meeting at Roscrea, a large town in Tipperary full of curious remains of antiquity, was a large one; and the truth seemed to make its way. In most of these meetings, besides the small company of Friends we have their neighbours also, which we find relieving to our minds. Indeed, a greater degree of selectness seems impossible, for there is a vast eagerness on the part of the people to come to our meetings. In the evening we held a large public meeting at Birr, in King's County; a fine town; where the Roman Catholics are in a state of much agitation, in consequence of quarrels between their priests. Many of them came to the meeting. I was much led to insist on the right and duty, common to all, of reading the Scriptures, and on the guidance of the Spirit. I believe they were generally satisfied. This town belongs to the Earl of Ross, who resides near it. He, and his wife and children, were at the meeting, and seemed much pleased.

On seventh day we travelled seventy English miles, through the county of Galway, to this truly foreign place; and in the course of this long day's journey, held a good public meeting at Ballynasloe, a large town. There are several serious clergymen in that part of the county, who gave us a warm reception; amongst the rest Archdeacon Trench, one of the Archbishop of Tuam's brothers, who was lately in danger of his life at one of the discussion meetings. The "Reformation" is going on at Ballynasloe. The Roman Catholics flocked to our meeting, which was an open and favoured opportunity. We could not but believe, that a work of true religion is going on there. The drive to Galway is through an uninteresting country.

The population appears pretty well attired; but, in some parts, the hovels are wretched in the extreme. On visiting one of them, we found a poor Roman Catholic widow, a true Christian, living upon almost nothing, and full of a peaceful, thankful spirit. She had contrived to impart an uncommon degree of neatness and cleanliness to her miserable hut, though her pig has free egress and ingress. We arrived here late at night. Galway is an old Spanish town, containing 40,000 inhabitants in the depths of popery, 150 priests, three nunneries: filth and ignorance abounding, notwithstanding a fine harbour and considerable trade. We have passed a truly strange day. Early in the morning the mayor came to us, to say that if we chose to hold meetings here, he should feel it his duty to mount a guard of soldiers over our congregation; at the same time, professing a readiness to assist us. He seemed completely alarmed at the prospect, and it required a little steadiness and faith to go forward in the path of duty. We, of course, declined a guard, and endeavoured to quiet his fears. We have since held our meetings: the first at eleven o'clock in a large room at the inn; about 200 people with us. The power of truth was remarkably to be felt; and we found ourselves enabled to preach the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, and the peaceableness of true religion. They were chiefly Roman Catholics, and were going in and out during most of the meeting. I believe we were as strange to them as possible. Another meeting was appointed for four o'clock in the Corn Exchange, a large room. This was to us all an inexpressibly exercising meeting; a time of real conflict of mind. There was a vast crowd, chiefly of Roman Catholics, in spite of their bishop, and some tumult on the stairs and at the doors; the congregation itself of the more respectable order. In the present irritable and touchy state of public feeling, with the poor frightened mayor in the room, we had, indeed, need of the "mind of Christ." We were marvellously helped through. I preached on faith in the Father, in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost. Dear E—— unfolded the practical part with admirable force and clearness, and E. F—— concluded with prayer. At the close of the meeting the poor Irish *stamped* approbation.

We were greatly relieved, and the Roman Catholics of the upper class appeared fully satisfied, as well as the Protestants; who are here a small minority, about one-fortieth part of the population. The Roman Catholics were heard to say, that if we had meetings every night, they would be sure to come, and that all the priests in the kingdom should not prevent them. I have since been walking by the harbour, and through the crowded streets. It is like one of the populous towns in France, quite foreign in its appearance. We have jails, schools, and nunneries to visit to-morrow.

On third day we are going, (if not prevented) to Sir Edward and Lady O'Brien's, on our way to Limerick. We are all well, though the weight of our engagements is great indeed.

TO MARY FOWLER.

Cork, 4th mo., 8th, 1827.

* * * On third day we proceeded to Ennis, in the county of Clare, where we were met by a crowd of ladies and gentlemen; inspected the county prison, poor-house, and infirmary, and parted after a short, solemn meeting with them. We dined and slept at Dromland, the seat of Sir E. O'Brien. The openings for religious service amongst them and their friends were numerous; especially in a little town called Newmarket, where Lady O'Brien employs a great number of the poor in fine needlework, which sells well in London. Our visit being noised abroad, we had a flock to meet us there, chiefly I suppose, from a desire to see my dear sister; and, amongst the rest, the Roman Catholic dean was quite caught in the net. I read the Scriptures to the assembled crowd, and we had, I trust, a very precious and solemn meeting. We went thence to Limerick, where we were most kindly entertained by our dear friends Joseph Massey Harvey and his wife. We passed three nights under their roof. Whilst in that city we could a little understand what the apostle Paul meant by "being pressed out of measure," for the multitudes that came after my dear sister put us to some inconvenience at the prisons; and the meeting house was so completely filled, that on one occasion it was said

500 went away. However, I trust and believe, the Master was with us: the hearts of the people seemed wonderfully opened towards us. * * *

At this period of their journey the health of his sister, Elizabeth Fry, began to give way under the effects of over-exertion and fatigue, and they were glad to avail themselves of the repose and unremitting attentions afforded them under the hospitable roof of John Strangman, of Waterford.

Joseph John Gurney subsequently writes to his sisters:

Carlow, 4th mo., 26th, 1827.

We passed a very anxious week at Waterford, our invalid requiring the closest watching and attention. The attacks of fever were certainly violent, and we could not tell what might come of it, as a dangerous fever was very prevalent in the place. It was some trial of faith and patience to be detained day after day; but I endeavoured to make some use of spare moments, in calling upon Friends, &c. Last fifth day after meeting I went to examine the Mendicity Institution. There is one of these in most of the principal towns—a receptacle where the extremely indigent, who would otherwise have no resource but begging, are fed and employed, and their children instructed; very useful institutions, but not now adequate to meet the wants of a half-starved population. It is affecting to think of the sufferings of the poor, in the towns particularly. The landed proprietors have driven them off their estates, in large numbers, taking advantage of the expiration of the leases on which they once held their miserable huts; and they have no refuge but in the towns, where many of them are reduced to an extremity of want. They meet their afflictions with a very strong principle of resignation. It is one of the effects of the Roman Catholic religion here, which above everything else preaches "submission."

I believe the bloody and riotous part of the population are

far from being the most distressed. It is no wonder, with all this want and misery, that the low fever should so abound. In Waterford there were, while we were there, from twenty to thirty applicants, day after day, for admission to the Fever Hospital. This hospital I did not visit, but it is admirably attended to, and there are two or three noble minded men, (Friends,) who have long been accustomed to risk their lives in close personal attention to its poor inmates. Happily, there are very few large towns in Ireland without a similar provision.

On sixth day morning last, though dear E—— had passed a poor night, and was very weak, we all felt it right to move for Clonmel, where the Quarterly Meeting was to commence on the following day. The way opened for us beyond expectation; and at one o'clock we were in the carriage. The drive of about thirty miles, English, lies through the "golden valley," a rich and beautiful green district, watered by the Suir. The contrast between the extreme fertility of the land, and the wretchedness of the inhabitants, which we never observed more striking than in the town of Carrick on Suir, is melancholy and almost unaccountable; partly to be attributed to the whiskey shops, which abound on every side. Alas! what a work the Prince of darkness has wrought in this land! In the evening we arrived at Melbrook, the picturesque residence of the widow Mary Strangman, and her agreeable daughters. Dear E—— bore the journey very tolerably, and slept fairly. Whilst she remained quiet in her room, on seventh day, I passed some hours, after the select meeting, in a laborious visitation of the prisons, and the house of industry.

The county of Tipperary has been in a very disturbed state, and the outrages committed, almost nightly, have been of a horrid character, not much connected with political causes. They are rather, I fear, symptoms of a deep moral degeneracy. In illustration of this, I may mention that about 150 ruffians were discharged by proclamation, at the late assizes at Clonmel, because the prosecutors were prevented by the law of terror from coming forward against them. These prosecutors

are liable to a fine in consequence, which is paid by the offending parties, and so the matter is, in many cases, compromised. But this state of things is only in two or three of the counties. Dearest E—— was able to attend the morning meeting on first day, (the Quarterly Meeting,) and was wonderfully helped to minister. It was a time of close and rather painful exercise of mind. In the evening she went down to Anner Mills, where we took up our abode for two days; a delightful place, inhabited by a veteran in the good cause, Sarah Grubb, a widow upwards of 80, and strong in her intellectual, as well as lively in her spiritual faculties. She lives with her daughter, Elizabeth Clibborn, who has twelve fine children. It is truly an abode of peace, a Christian family. Here we were most comfortably accommodated. E——'s sister and I joined her there after attending a large public meeting in the evening, in which it was particularly laid upon me to unfold the spiritual nature of the gospel, and the universality of the grace of God. It was a time of deep solemnity. We dined that day with Margaret Grubb, an aged, but lively minister, daughter of the late Richard Shackleton, and were enabled, I trust, to minister to her consolation. There is nothing more enlivening than a green old age. We have seen much of this lately, and ought to be confirmed in our course by it.

On third day, the concluding meeting for worship was held, a very large one, and I have not often sat in a meeting in which there was a more evident effusion of the Spirit of the Great Baptizer. It was a great comfort thus to end well at Clonmel, and to leave the place with minds so much relieved. After parting visits of an interesting nature, to our dear Friends at Melbrook and Anner Mills, we journeyed on for about forty miles through the county of Kilkenny, a fine, arable, cultivated district, to the Royal Oak, a country inn, where we slept, our beloved invalid evidently improving.

Dublin, 5th mo., 2nd, 1827.

I wrote from Carlow last fifth day morning. That day turned out to be one of rather peculiar interest. Whilst dear E——

and her sister visited some of the Friends, I undertook the more laborious task of inspecting the jail, &c. The public mind was a little afloat about us, and numbers of the gentry of the county met me. In the course of our round the Roman Catholic priest made his appearance, and began to lodge his complaints with me (as if I was umpire) against the crowd of Protestants present, and chiefly the Protestant clergy, for interfering with his spiritual cure in the jail. The two parties have been a good deal aggravated against each other in these parts, and it seemed peculiarly important that we should pacify and reconcile, if possible. I therefore begged the priest and the Protestant clergy to come to our lodgings to discuss their knotty questions, (chiefly relating to the use of the Scriptures in the jail,) with my sister and myself quietly. We happily brought them to terms, and I went afterwards to the Roman Catholic Bishop Doyle to get the arrangement confirmed. He is considered by far the most able and powerful supporter of the Popish system in this land, and is painted very black by the Protestants, very undeservedly so I believe. He gave me a polite reception, and is not more acute than gentlemanlike and pleasing. He gave his full sanction to the arrangement; but you will a little judge of the state of things here, when you are told that the only terms on which we could get the Scriptures read to these miserable criminals were, that only the Douay version should be used, that the priest should select the chapters, and that either he or some Roman Catholic prisoner should be the reader. It is unquestionable that Popery presents an effective bar to free and fair religious instruction. There is a perpetual fight going on between the tyranny of their system, and the desire for knowledge which is every where arising. I was glad to add Dr. Doyle to the number of extraordinary men seen and known by us in Ireland. Whilst I was with him, dear E—— paid a visit to the nunnery, where she was warmly received. We proceeded in the afternoon a long stage to Ballitore, not expecting a meeting there till the next morning, and being very weary with the day's work; but on our arrival, we found both Friends and other people assembling to meet us, and

many already seated in the meeting-house. I was frightened for our weary invalid; but there was no alternative, and she was wonderfully carried over the difficulty, being enabled to minister to what we afterwards found to be the state of those present, with much effect. The minister of the parish was there, as is the case in most of our meetings. He seemed a serious character, and expressed much satisfaction.

Ballitore is classic ground among Friends in Ireland, having been from generation to generation, the residence of the Shackletons, by one of whom Edmund Burke was educated. Burke's schoolfellow and intimate friend, Richard Shackleton, a venerable elder, is still remembered in Ireland with reverence and affection. Infidelity made sad ravages in this little meeting at the time of the secession. The school is still maintained by a learned Friend, named James White. I had an opportunity of establishing my plan of scriptural instruction, and have been truly glad to find so general a willingness on the part of Friends to co-operate in the prosecution of this object.

On our way from Ballitore to Dublin, on sixth day, we visited the jail at Naas, the county town of Kildare, reaching the house of our hospitable friend Jonathan Pim, in the evening.

On seventh day morning Richard Pope came to breakfast with us. He is the talk of Ireland just now, and a highly interesting person. He has broken off his connexion with the Church of England, which clears him of all ecclesiastical authority, and he moves about in the work of the gospel where and as he pleases. His late public disputation with "Father" Maguire, in Dublin, which lasted several days, has excited intense interest. The Papists claim a "splendid victory," and I believe the Jesuit troubled poor Pope more than was expected, but there is little doubt that the cause of truth will be promoted by the discussion. They say that Pope's arguments were solid and convincing, and his eloquence at times surprising. I felt a real love for him, he is modest and deep. I fear, however, that his bodily powers are rapidly giving way. He has worked too hard.

I hardly know how to enter on the particulars of our Yearly Meeting. It has been so far a remarkable occasion; much life and solemnity in most of the sittings; and the meetings for worship highly favoured by the presence of Him, who can alone teach his disciples how to worship aright. The Friends are collected in great numbers, and we have the company of many from England. The labour is considerable, many pressing after us, and a variety of visits to the houses of Friends filling up all the intervals between the meetings. Yesterday we had a very agreeable interview at the castle, with the Lord Chief Justice Burke, a very superior man, who enters warmly into our views, and promises all the aid he can give, both now and in future. We have been certainly much gratified with the acquaintance we have formed with the Irish judges, many of whom are very useful characters.

To-day we again paid a visit to Lord Wellesley, at the Vice-regal Lodge. He is particularly intelligent, and evidently very desirous to promote the good of the country. Like the king, in England, he has the power of life and death, and his hatred of capital punishment made it easy for us to intercede for one poor man, whom we are anxious to save from the gallows. Ever since our dear sister spoke to this poor creature, (at Ennis, in the county of Clare,) he has shown marked evidence of contrition and reformation. I have no doubt that the man's life will be saved. The Lord Lieutenant listened with the greatest attention to our suggestions on various points, and it is agreed between us that we are to provide him with a written report, addressed to himself, on every subject which we may deem worthy of notice in connexion with the state of Ireland. This he intends communicating to the government at home. We feel the responsibility much, and I heartily wish I may be enabled to draw up such a report as will be useful to this afflicted people.*

* See *infra*, p. 373, a notice of the Report subsequently prepared by Joseph John Gurney.

Milford Haven, 5th mo., 11th, 1827.

My dearest Sisters,

I shall begin this concluding sheet of my journal, by telling you that fair wind and fine weather were our agreeable companions in crossing the sea to-day, and we arrived safely at our desired haven after a good voyage of ten hours.

The Yearly Meeting in Dublin concluded in great solemnity on sixth day evening, and we afterwards met a very large Irish party at our lodgings. There was a remarkable influence over us of divine love, and this was eminently the case the next morning when we parted from our kind friends at William street, as well as in the concluding meeting for ministers and elders.

We got clear of the great city after a final call at the Secretary of State's office, that afternoon; and a drive of thirty English miles, through a very pleasant, rich, and fertile country, brought us at night to Joseph Pim's, at Wicklow, a little town on the sea coast, something like Cromer. There we passed a very interesting "Sabbath;" a meeting with Friends in the morning, a public one in the evening; besides a visitation of the county jail, and a successful effort in forming a Ladies' Committee. There are some very pleasing and serious people in that neighbourhood. The public meeting, held in the court house, was excessively crowded, and brought us into deep exercise of mind. Such meetings in Ireland, under its present circumstances, are occasions of peculiar responsibility. A curious circumstance in connexion with this meeting deserves to be recorded. The rector's usual service was appointed, at the same hour. His whole congregation was with us, with the single exception of his clerk, who forthwith preferred a humble petition that he also might go and hear the Quakers. The rector consented, and he and his clerk came to the meeting together. The Protestants are in general very good tempered towards each other, of which this is a specimen.

On second day we took a fine journey through one of the most romantic districts in Ireland—the vales of Avoca and

Arklow. The weather was fine, and the scenery very admirable —much on a level with some of the finest parts of the Highlands. It was refreshing to us to revel a little on the beauties of nature, and our numerous guides were delighted by our pleasure. The land in the fertile valleys of Wicklow lets in parts for five pounds or six pounds per Irish acre. The barren mountains which they intersect are chiefly of fine granite. We arrived in the evening at the little village-city of Ferns, a bishop's see of many thousands per annum, with an old ruined castle. In the neighbourhood is a quiet meeting of Friends: few in number, but of the right sort. We had much satisfaction in paying them a visit. On third day morning we held a meeting at Enniscorthy with Friends of that district, a scattered flock, which is the more affecting, as the last generation made so noble a stand in those parts at the time of the rebellion. Their deliverances were truly wonderful. The meeting was spontaneously attended by numbers of strangers. The hearts of many are open to receive the truth in the love of it. We were kindly entertained there by Ann Thompson, a young woman who devotes her time to the education of the poor, and accompanied Hannah Kilham to Africa. It is proposed to her that she should go again to Africa. We rather advised her to continue in Ireland. No mission more important I believe. The county of Wexford is a very interesting part of Ireland; the people are of English origin, and in some parts talk the old Anglo-Saxon. They are much more decent than the Irish poor in general, though deeply distressed at present by the failure of the potatoe crop.

We arrived at Wexford, a large town on the sea coast, early in the evening, and truly it was an evening of overpowering exertion. Crowds were waiting for us at the jail, at the entry of the town. It was in vain to attempt to pass by it, though a public meeting was appointed for seven o'clock: we visited it, and my sister formed her committee. When we went to the appointed place of meeting in the evening — a large assembly room on an upper floor — we found it fearfully crowded, and almost insufferably close. Dear E—— seemed much overcome, and what with this, and what with the ticklish state of the people,

the noise of a hooting boy-mob under the windows, and the idea that the floor might possibly or probably give way, it was a time of some real conflict of mind to us. However, we were enabled to get pretty well through it, and the truths of the gospel were plainly uttered, and, I trust, joyfully received; and no accident occurred beyond the occasional breaking of a form. You can hardly imagine how really appalling some of our public meetings have been in this land; and yet, I believe, we have been engaged in no service which has told so much. This place is one of the strongholds of Popery, and it was in vain that we proposed to the Romish priesthood, our conciliatory plans for the reading of the Scriptures in the jail. They set their faces against it, under every modification. How long will such a bondage be maintained?

The next day (fourth day) we held meetings, summoned for Friends, but public in effect, at Forest and Ross, and passed through a country interesting for its recollections. Vinegar hill, so infamous for the horrid cruelties practised there by the rebels, and Scalabogue, where they burnt the barn, full of their Protestant victims. This part of the country is now peculiarly peaceable, and free from crime. We dined at Hoareton house with a county magistrate, once a Friend; and at Ross were most kindly entertained by Samuel Elly. The meeting there formed the peaceable and solemn conclusion of our public services in Ireland.

On fifth day to Waterford, where we found a variety of things and people to attend to, and, in the evening, with many kind attendants, we went down to Dunmore, the harbour, where we were glad to take refuge in the Vixen steam packet, which has now so happily restored us to our own land. On the retrospect of our whole deeply interesting journey, we feel quiet, peaceful, and unexcited; and, I trust, can most sincerely adopt the language of David, "What shall we render unto the Lord for all his benefits towards us?"

CHAPTER XIX.

1827—1829. ÆT. 39—42.

ARRIVAL IN LONDON; ALARMING ILLNESS OF HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW, THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON; MARRIAGE WITH MARY FOWLER; HIS SISTER RACHEL GURNEY'S ILLNESS AND DEATH; PUBLICATION OF REPORT ON IRELAND; VARIOUS JOURNEYS; EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS AND JOURNAL.

JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY'S return from Ireland was somewhat clouded by the gradually increasing illness of his sister Rachel, who, with his children, had been staying at Brighton during his absence, for the benefit of her health. On his arrival in London he found his brother-in-law Thomas Fowell Buxton deeply absorbed in preparing for the impending debate upon the question of the continuance of the slave trade in the Mauritius. His brother's state of health awakened some anxiety, though he little anticipated the alarming attack of illness which soon afterwards threatened suddenly to put a period to his important labours.*

TO THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON.

Upton, fourth day, 5th mo., 23rd, 1827.

* * * Pray, my dear Buxton, take entire rest and recreation; and do not overwork the Mauritius case. A few broad

* See Life of Sir T. F. Buxton, pp. 189—194

proofs will tell better in the House than any vast quantity of detail. I believe the best of helpers will not fail to be with thee; and, after all, nothing will do but putting our trust in Him.

Be sure to get into a truly Christian spirit towards the supposed offender, which will tell more than much scolding.

Earlham, 6th mo., 6th, 1827. Four interesting and important months have passed away, and I find myself once more in this profoundly quiet and peaceful spot, having returned hither by the Day coach last second day evening. * *

On fourth day, the 23rd ultimo, I went down to Brighton, where I was greatly comforted and refreshed in being once more with my beloved sisters and children. I found dearest Rachel, however, a good deal fallen in my absence. The dear children gave me a most affectionate reception. * * *

On second day, we received, by a special messenger, the account of Fowell's extreme illness. He was lying insensible at Upton. We waited the next post, which brought somewhat better tidings, and with Richenda and Edward, I reached Upton on third day afternoon, the 29th. There we had the happiness to find our beloved brother gradually recovering; and since then he has been making a rapid daily improvement. The relief has been inexpressible. I am remarkably favoured on my return with quiet waters outwardly, and with a precious degree of inward peace. Praised be the name of the Lord!

The following are from his letters to Mary Fowler at this period.

Norwich, 6th mo., 6th, 1827.

* * * Having passed a very salutary and reviving Sabbath at Upton, Plashet, and Plaistow, I was the more prepared to enjoy a quiet journey hither; in the course of which I read, with much pleasure, nearly a whole volume of Bishop Watson's Apologies. * * *

In the tender mercy of my heavenly Father I am favoured, on my return to this place, with more than a common portion of the reward of peace. The whole place is clothed in abounding verdure, and I promise myself that thou wilt find it a peaceful and pleasant home. For my own part, I feel very thankful that such a resting place is provided for us, and I see no reason to believe that it may not be our permanent residence; to be exchanged only for one infinitely brighter, purer, and sweeter. I find my solitude not only very pleasant, but very convenient, as it affords me the opportunity of continuing with some portion of vigour and stillness my Report to the Irish Government. I shall not be thoroughly relieved about Ireland till this is finished and despatched. * *

Earlham, 6th mo., 15th, 1827.

* * To-day, I am staying at home to write my Report. I find it hard work, and am too much disposed to an indolent feeling about it. I am sure, however, it cannot be right for me to be idle, since it was but yesterday that I was preaching on "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might." * *

In allusion to a visit to the school at Croydon, he writes: —

6th mo., 25th, 1827.

* * My visit was interesting. Though tired with my journey, I got well through the examination of the whole school on seventh day. With the boys I was pleased, with the girls delighted. I never saw children in better training; and their knowledge of the Scriptures, corresponding, as it does, with their conduct, is very gratifying. In the evening we had a table spread on the lawn, covered not with meats, but with a variety of books for rewards. About seventy children received prizes. The next day I had the boys and girls assembled for an hour before meeting. They all had their Bibles, and turned to a variety of passages by way of commentary on the part which principally engaged us — Rev. xxi.

Earlham, first day evening, 7th mo., 1st, 1827.

* * * How apt are we to fail both in faith and in thankfulness! In myself I can truly acknowledge this failure, and it is my prayer that in both of us, peace, love, gratitude, and joy in the Holy Ghost, may more and more abound. Our meetings to day have been solemn and edifying. I have been but little engaged in ministry since my return until this morning, when the stream flowed, I believe, from the depths. The feelings, thoughts, and words, came to me as if they rose spontaneously out of a fountain over which I had no command, and with which I had no right to intermeddle. * * *

I am getting on pretty well with my Report, and have received a very polite communication on the subject from the Lord Lieutenant. I hope it will not turn out a very dry document. It is well I have it to do in this interval, I might otherwise, possibly, be fretful and impatient.

I have been meditating, during my solitary walk this morning, on the infinite advantage of having an all-wise and almighty Friend; and, I think, I have been in some slight degree enabled to commend myself and my beloved ones, our pleasures, pains, cares, wishes, and hopes, to him. * *

On the 18th of the 7th month he was married to Mary Fowler. "Bright, hopeful, and happy," to use his own words in the Autobiography, "was our wedding day. We dined on the lawn, a large united company, and rejoiced together, I trust in the Lord. Mary and I left the party at Elm Grove in the afternoon for North Devon." He afterwards writes: —

Linton, North Devon, 7th mo., 24th. We are now on the point of quitting the delightful scenery of this place, on our way to Ilfracombe, dearest Mary being my only companion. In waiting from time to time on the Lord, chiefly in silence, we have, I think, notwithstanding our great unworthiness, (and my own is great indeed,) been favoured with a sweet, enlivening sense of the divine presence and favour. It is, I

believe, our great and separate desire to be devoted to the service of truth in this evil world. And O that we may be preserved from all the snares of the enemy!

Earlham, 8th mo., 5th. On sixth day evening, after a pleasant journey, viâ Oxford and Cambridge, I brought my dear wife home. Our arrival was very comfortable, and the darling children gave us a truly cordial reception. We have since settled most agreeably, our only cloud being our dearest Rachel's state, who is very ill, and suffering much. It is a deep interest to us all, but adds to our sense of the value and comfort of my beloved Mary's arrival. The preciousness of the gift bestowed upon me is inexpressible.

8th mo., 10th. The death of Canning, of which we heard yesterday, is an awful stroke. It is a singular circumstance, that he should have ended his career in the same house, and I believe the same room as Fox, under political circumstances so very similar. Each of them attained the summit of his ambition and fell. I cannot help entertaining a strong hope, that his repeated warnings may have been the means of bringing him to his God before he died.

TO JONATHAN HUTCHINSON.

Norwich, 8th mo., 25th, 1827.

My dear sister Rachel is greatly sunk, and it has been for the last two weeks our affecting task to watch her entrance on the valley of the shadow of death. In the frame of her spirit she is as one who has *begun to die.* Remarkably redeemed does she appear to be from all dependence on human help. She finds the reality of those things in which she has so long believed, and speaks sweetly of the inexpressible privilege of feeling and knowing that her "Redeemer liveth."

8th mo., 27th. On our return with Richenda, from Lowestoft, on third day, we found our dearest Rachel a little further sunk, and we have been chiefly occupied during the week in attending to her. She seems wonderfully helped to meet the approach of death. On ——'s throwing out a hint

respecting the "sacrament," she disclaimed any wish or intention to partake in that ceremony, acknowledged that in past days she had received benefit from the services of the Church of England, but that she was now feeding exclusively on the substance, and did, indeed, eat the flesh and drink the blood of the Son of Man. I am truly thankful for her being brought to this experience. Indeed her abstraction from all dependence on human help is wonderful.

His sister's illness continued to engross much of his attention for several weeks. The following are a few selections from his own more detailed account of her last days.*

One morning on going into her bed-room after our reading, I found her enjoying a sensible visitation of divine love, and she sweetly uttered the words of the Psalmist, "I have none in heaven but thee, nor on all the earth that I desire beside thee." Another time when my sister Fry went to her in the night, and expressed her belief that peace was prevalent: "yes," she said, "I feel the Ruler and Head of his people to be very near to me." "Yesterday," she added, "was one of great suffering; such an one as I never passed before, but, through all, I leaned on the Beloved."

A few days later, upon her medical attendant's coming into the room, she said, "I *must* tell you that there is but one principle which can support us, the love of God in Christ Jesus;" and speaking of her own feelings she added, "Divine love and power are with me every moment."

The day before her death she had a most affecting and striking interview with the dear children and their attendant, whom she summoned to her bedside. The children brought her nosegays, and my dear wife and their attendant H—— S—— stood beside them. Nothing could exceed dearest

* In making these selections, a few slight additions and verbal alterations have been made, in order to connect the sentences, but not so as to alter the sense.

Rachel's tender and affectionate manner towards them, and their intense interest in what they saw and heard was strongly marked. She spoke to them of the fear of the Lord, of her own happiness, of her love to them, of the danger of all sin, and that evil thoughts were sin, &c. The whole picture and group cannot easily be forgotten.

Her death took place on second day morning, the 24th of the 9th month, whilst we were all assembled round her bed; dear Louisa being engaged in very solemn prayer for the accomplishment of the blessed work. After the close had taken place, dear Elizabeth uttered a song of thanksgiving in the midst of our great sorrow.

"A sister," adds Joseph John Gurney, "so persevering in kindness, so entirely interested in one's concerns, and so affectionately and devotedly attached, few brothers have ever enjoyed. She was to me much of a watcher and guardian, and never withheld a hint that could be useful. Her advices are deeply engraven on my heart and recollection; and I can, with respect to her, feel the full force of the expression, 'she being dead, yet speaketh.' May I be enabled, through the love and power of the Lord Jesus, to rejoice with her purified and glorified spirit."

Joseph John Gurney now completed his Report on the state of Ireland, which he addressed, in the joint names of himself and his sister Elizabeth Fry, to the Marquis Wellesley, and, with his permission, subsequently published. In this report, he takes a comprehensive survey, in three distinct sections, of the Prison, the Lunatic Asylums, Houses of Industry, Mendicity Associations, and Infirmaries; and lastly, of the general condition of the people. The observations on this last subject, in particular, will still repay the perusal of the reader whose heart is alive to the welfare of Ireland. The questions of pauperism and its re-

medies, of the uncertainty of tenure, of the system of middlemen, of absenteeism, emigration, crime, intemperance, and scriptural education, are, amongst others, successively passed under review; and, much as has been attempted and accomplished for the improvement of Ireland since its first publication, nearly thirty years ago, the intelligent reader cannot fail to notice how many of the observations are applicable, with nearly equal force, at the present day. The Report has passed through three editions, the last of which was printed in 1847, in a size uniform with the octavo edition of Joseph John Gurney's works.*

* In the course of the late Session of Parliament, at the close of the year 1852, the late Attorney-General for Ireland, (Joseph Napier,) on moving for leave to bring in "a series of measures, having for their object, the adjustment of the relation between Landlords and Tenants in Ireland," alluded to this Report in terms of high, but not undeserved commendation. After referring to the labours of the Parliamentary Committees of 1819 and 1823, who "had appeared to arrive at the conviction that the people of Ireland were a nuisance, and that the main question was how to get rid of them," and stating that the Committee of 1827 had "achieved only the proposition of some equally temporary nostrum," he continued: —

"He had perused a Report from another source on the same subject, to which he would direct the attention of the House. It was a Report emanating from some members of the Society of Friends. In the year 1827 the excellent Mrs. Fry and her brother, who had conceived a deep interest on the subject, visited Ireland; they examined every county, and made the most minute inquiries into every element of her condition, and the result was that they prepared a kind of Report on the subject for the Marquis of Wellesley; and a better State Paper on Ireland never was produced. They stated that what they found in Ireland was want of employment, a defective administration of justice, and a want of education prevalent throughout the country; and they added, as a remarkable feature, that scarcely anything was made the

TO HIS SISTER-IN-LAW, ELIZABETH GURNEY.

Earlham, 10th mo., 20th, 1827.

The longer I live the more I become persuaded that the Lord's children, unworthy as they are, are the objects not only of his spiritual grace, but of his especial providence; that they are of more value in his sight "than many sparrows," who yet fall not to the ground without him, and that "the very hairs of their head are numbered." If this belief is well founded, if it is proved both by Scripture and experience, what a repose we may feel in it, in the various turns and changes of our mortal pilgrimage! Truly "all things shall work together for good to them that love God." * *

Dear Catherine is, on the whole, wonderfully well, pursuing her objects, especially the teaching of our children, with vigour.

most of, and that everywhere the country presented the spectacle of a fair and fruitful land with utterly inadequate cultivation. They expressed their conviction that if sufficient cultivation was applied to the soil by the adequate employment of the people, any failure of the potato crop, under existing circumstances so terrible a calamity, would be amply and most beneficially met by a regular supply of the more suitable and far more nutritive description of food, *wheaten bread*. They considered, they said, that employment would be a far better remedy for the distressed people of Ireland than emigration, although, to a limited extent, this latter remedy also might be useful; and they insisted as a grand remedy, upon the effectual alteration of the system under which high nominal rents, low wages, and insecurity of tenure afflicted the country; and they also recommended (for this was before the Emancipation Act of 1829) the establishment of equality of civil rights; adding that the less distinctions of religion were insisted on in civil polity, the greater would be the probability of the establishment of a state of things leading to permanent tranquillity. Had the suggestions made by these able and benevolent persons been acted upon at the time, he would venture to say—not scrutinizing the designs of the Almighty in the dispensations which had befallen the country, nor causes over which men had no control—he would venture to say, humanly speaking, we should have been spared calamities which Ireland had, of late years, endured." *Hansard's Debates*, House of Commons, 3rd Series, Vol. 123, column 312.

Mary and I read a good deal together; the prophets in the morning, and Barclay's Apology in the afternoon. Our Bible Society week was passed through with a considerable degree of facility, and I hope not without edification. Our dear sister Fry may be informed that I have received a polite letter from Colonel Shaw, with Lord Wellesley's full permission for the reprinting of our Irish Report. This I have begun doing.

TO HENRY BRADY.

Norwich, 10th mo., 6th, 1827.

It is very satisfactory that thy first engagement in the ministry was accompanied by such a flow of peace. I well remember the happy day I passed after a like occurrence. Yet it is more than probable that thou wilt have thy deep tribulations of spirit in connexion with the work. In such case thou wilt, I trust, be able to recur to the love and joy of "thine espousals," as an evidence that the work is the Lord's, and that all will yet be well.

TO A RELATIVE.

10th mo., 14th, 1827.

* * Blest as thou and thy dear partner in life are; led along by so many tender mercies, how peculiarly are you bound by the ties of gratitude and allegiance, to devote yourselves and your all to him who hath loved you; or, to use the expressive phraseology of our own Society, to give yourselves up to "the service of truth." That this may be the case with both of you is my earnest desire; and if either of you are sensible of a call to the more open services of the gospel, it will be well to exercise the active as well as the retiring virtues, and not to wait until the ripe fruit begins to wither and decay. That I would have the fruit ripe, I trust, I need not assure you. But the time is short, and the responsibility infinite.

First day night, [*10th mo.*, 21*st.*] Our meetings have been peculiarly solemn. In the afternoon, I found it my place to exalt the doctrine always professed by Friends, of a divine seed,

or principle, placed through the mercy of God in Christ Jesus, in the hearts of all men. O! may I more and more vitally understand this myself; that I may more and more effectually present it, both by example and precept, to the attention of others.

The close of the year was devoted by Joseph John Gurney to various religious engagements, principally in Buckinghamshire and the counties of Gloucester and Wilts. "Some of the meetings," he writes in his Journal, "especially those at Cambridge and Aylesbury, were evidently times of great solemnity and of the putting forth of what we may believe to be the divine power; and in all of them, I may humbly acknowledge that sufficient strength was afforded to meet the duties of the day." A single incident deserves to be recorded. At one of the meetings where he was present, a marriage was solemnized, and notwithstanding the apparent unsuitableness of the occasion, he felt "constrained," as he expresses it, to preach upon the subject of death. A few weeks had scarcely elapsed before three of the assembled party, including the bridegroom himself, were called to meet their God.

1*st mo.*, 25*th*, 1828. How silent, how imperceptible, yet how awful is the approach of death and eternity! The Lord grant that I may be ready when my change cometh; that all my pollutions may then have been cleansed away, and all my doubts and fears scattered before the Sun of Righteousness.

2*nd mo.*, 25*th*. Never that I remember has the rapid flight of time been so awfully impressed on me as of late; "the sand is running out of the glass irresistibly;" and every grain that falls is bringing me nearer to death and eternity. Is it possible that there should be any true repose but in Christ?

First day night, [*3rd mo.*, 16*th.*] Deep discouragement was the clothing of my soul during the greater part of our two nearly silent meetings, chiefly in the apprehension that several amongst us are taking retrograde steps. Alas! for the power of the world, the flesh, and the enemy! An increasing neglect of meetings is apparent in some of our members and attenders; and how can we expect it to be otherwise with those who refuse to take up their cross and follow Jesus? Some painful fears have also found their way to my heart, lest a lurking infidelity should have insinuated itself into the bosoms of some of our juniors. In the midst of these sources of anxiety and depression, I was a little gladdened by a visit to old Sarah Aldrich, whom I found in a lively, loving frame of mind; full of joy and thankfulness in the midst of her infirmities. She said, that the Lord, in bringing her into trial, had brought her into his "banqueting house," and that her consolations in Christ were inexpressible.

FROM JONATHAN HUTCHINSON.

Gedney, 3rd mo., 22nd, 1828.

* * We must not spend all our time and our strength in merely exclaiming "O wretched man that I am!" but rather consider what a favour it is, that amidst all our trials and changes, even our passions may be restrained and regulated by a superior principle, and directed into their proper channels by the pointing of an unerring hand. And does not this view of our situation raise us from the dust, and inspire the devout and grateful ejaculation, "thanks be to God?"

3rd mo., 23*rd.*. I am permitted to feel some substantial relief this evening, after a well attended afternoon meeting, in which I was brought into deep exercise, and had not only to supplicate for the visited ones, the wanderers, and the poor prisoners appointed to die, but also to preach Christ to the people as the Rock, the very rock. The ministry has, I trust, arisen from a right source, but it has of late been to me unusually difficult of utterance! O! that I may be more deeply hum-

bled; more willing to be as a fool; as one of no repute, if it can but serve the cause of truth and righteousness!

In the fourth month he was again engaged in the service of the gospel in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, and some parts of the counties of Nottingham and Northampton. From Halifax he wrote

TO HIS BROTHER SAMUEL GURNEY.

4th mo., 9th, 1828.

My beloved Brother,

In the midst of some deep exercise of mind, which must be expected to attend me as I pass along in this work, my heart very much turns toward thee, from whom I have in every way derived so much assistance and encouragement. I find myself bowed before the Lord in a sense of great weakness and of utter inability to serve him and promote his cause, except through the gracious renewal of his love and power. We left Ackworth early this morning, and arrived here in time for meeting with the increasing body of Friends in this place. I am resting this afternoon in the prospect of a public meeting this evening, appointed to be held at seven, in a large Methodist meeting house. To-morrow the like services appear to await me at Huddersfield; and on fifth day I propose being with Friends of Wooldale in the morning, and with Friends of Sheffield in the evening. On seventh day to take coach for Leicester. On the whole, the journey has produced a feeling of some renewed encouragement as to the prospects of our own Society.

I feel it profitable to be extricated for a season from the thoughts of this world, and am the more easy in it, as I left the business after thoroughly attending to my own department of it. That thou mayest be favoured to arise from time to time above the trammels of business, and to hold daily communion with God in spirit, is my earnest desire and prayer.

4th mo., 27*th.* I have felt a peculiar desire to-day, that the ministry in me may be preserved within its true limits,

bright and deep. It is a powerful principle on which our ministry turns, if faithfully kept to. O that it may be more and more appreciated and understood!

5th mo., 2nd. Notwithstanding this desire, I have some reason to believe, that in the exercise of the gift, I have not always the unity of those whom I greatly love and approve: and this sometimes happens, when, to my own apprehension, the unction has been rather peculiarly bestowed upon me, and when the seal of peace has been more than usually impressed. On such occasions I do not wish to say, "I am right." I rather look upon such circumstances as evidences of the deep imperfection which hangs about us in this comparatively clouded condition; and desire that every discouragement of the kind may tend to my further humiliation in the presence of Him, who is perfect in wisdom, and who, through good report and evil report, unity and disunity, has an undoubted right to be obeyed and served to the very best of the ability which he is pleased to bestow. In the mean time, love and forbearance, and the spirit which can prefer another's judgment to our own, are great matters.

Third day morning, [*5th mo., 6th.*] Yesterday the anti-slavery meeting was well got through; large and interesting The exertion, however, was considerable. O! that the friends of religion may be more and more awakened and bound to the cause, and that it may, in due season, please infinite wisdom and grace to loosen the bands of the oppressed! The detail of the subject is horrid indeed!

First day afternoon, [*5th mo., 11th.*] The scythe of the fell destroyer of mankind seems put forth, stroke after stroke. O that I were divested of the fear of death! O that I had faith and love enough to rejoice in the withering away of that which is mortal! Rapidly advancing towards the completion of my fortieth year, with the prospect before me of but a short additional journey, and with the retrospect of innumerable sins and infirmities on my part, and of many great mercies on the part of my God, I think I can preach to myself a sermon on the following text of Scripture: "Thou

shalt remember all the way which the Lord thy God hath led thee, these forty years in the wilderness, to humble thee and to prove thee, to know what was in thy heart, whether thou wouldest keep his commandments or no:" Deut. viii, 2.

7th mo., 14*th*. We left home in the expectation of a three weeks' excursion, and returned on seventh day evening after an absence of eight weeks. So little are we in our own power!

On my journey to London, I was exposed for a short time to extreme danger from an accident, being thrown from the coach-box; but was mercifully delivered without material injury. Dearest Mary, however, suffered from her journey; and during the whole of our sojourn in London was very unwell; so much so as to excite great uneasiness and even alarm in her mother and myself. It was a comfort to me to be able, nevertheless, to attend our Yearly Meeting; my dear wife being laid up in the interim at our lodgings, hard by, in Bishopsgate street; so that I could undulate between private and public duties without difficulty. The Yearly Meeting was memorable; deeply interesting to me, from the nature of the subjects brought before it, especially that of the disturbances in America.* We were addressed in an epistle by the seceding Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia; but without any dissenting voice, it was resolved neither to read nor to receive the communication. The unity and harmony of the body were never, in my recollection, more comfortably experienced.

Towards the close of the Yearly Meeting, a meeting of the young people was appointed at my request. It was a large and beautiful assembly, and I hope it was not in vain, that gospel principles were unfolded, under the influence, I trust, of the love and power of Christ.

Amongst the many dear friends who were at the Yearly Meeting, it was peculiarly pleasant to me to be again in close intercourse with my beloved friends, William Forster and Jonathan Hutchinson. I also enjoyed some precious intimate hours with my uncle Joseph. After the Yearly Meeting

* This alludes to the separation from Friends in America, of Elias Hicks and his followers. See *infra*, chap. xxvii.

we took up our abode for a time at Upton, where my dear wife gradually improved. I was occupied in the mean time by the meeting for sufferings, preparing Friends' petition on slavery, attending Gracechurch street Monthly Meeting, &c. As soon as my dear wife was fit to move, we went to Hastings and passed three weeks there, and at Brighton, Worthing, and Bognor. On our return we made short visits to Bury Hill, Tottenham, Upton, and Saffron Walden; all of which were satisfactory, and were favoured at length to arrive in safety with our beloved mother, at this peaceful and pleasant home.

7th mo., 29*th.* During the past week, visits to the Bethel,* visit from Friends, and the meeting of the Bible Association at Melton, were satisfactory points; also our reading meeting here last evening. To live, in any measure for the good of others, gives a feeling of satisfaction not to be derived from any other mode of life. But surely a vast deal of self indulgence is worked up into my whole system. And as to philanthropy, how tainted sometimes are its secret springs!

9th mo., 17*th.* The time which has passed since I last wrote, has been fraught with lively interests. My dear sister Fry's satisfactory and comforting visit, from fourth to seventh day last, was perhaps the principal. I never saw her, that I remember, in a more favoured condition, and she was the means of raising me considerably in the scale of spiritual feeling, wherein I am so very apt to find a low place. Greatly gifted she assuredly is, both by nature and grace, and is enabled to exercise a gentle and unseen, yet powerful, influence over all about her. She was present at our large and highly favoured Monthly Meeting, last fifth day, and was memorably engaged amongst us as a daughter of consolation.

9th mo., 22*nd.* Solemn and sober silence was the almost uninterrupted characteristic of our meeting on fifth day. I felt the value of it as a release to myself, and as profitable to all. On sixth day a pleasant and successful expedition with Kinghorn and Brightwell, to the Aylsham Bible Meeting. I

* An establishment for the insane, at Norwich.

found the Wilberforces here on my return, and very much feasted on his society the next morning, before his departure.

In the tenth month he again left home in the service of the Gospel. Upon his return he writes :—

11*th mo.*, 9*th.* * * During my late journey I visited all the meetings of Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire, Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire, a large proportion of the families, particularly at Hitchen and Hertford, and held nineteen public meetings. It has been a time of deep occasional depression; but, I clearly experienced the value of the guiding hand. The public meetings were generally favoured times, especially so at Bedford and Cambridge.

During the autumn the institution at Ackworth was visited with typhus fever, which, besides carrying off several of the children, proved at length fatal to Henry Brady, in whose gradually maturing character Joseph John Gurney had long taken a lively interest, and whose loss to Ackworth seemed to him at the time almost irreparable. This event, together with the continued delicacy of his beloved wife, the decease of his valued cousin Priscilla Hannah Gurney, and more than all, the deep sorrow into which his sister Elizabeth Fry was now plunged, all contributed to throw a shade of mourning over the conclusion of the year. Cast down and brought very low, it was, to use his own expressive words, "at the foot of the cross," that, "in prayer and supplication" he was permitted to find refuge and consolation.

12*th mo.*, 1*st.* The gloom which rather remarkably hangs over the world of temporals, has been accompanied with a

measure of painful anxiety. I wish I may be enabled to imitate the example of Wesley, who tells us, that although he grieved, he never *fretted*, which he speaks of as the result of many fervent prayers. I think there is good reason to suppose a period of some strift and considerable loss to be at hand. Well, let it be so, if it be the divine will and purpose, and let me be quietly resigned. Why should I perplex myself by anticipations? Why should I not rather fix my whole soul on God, and grasp, more firmly than ever, those unsearchable riches, which are in Christ my Lord?

12*th mo.*, 13*th.* The accounts received on fifth day determined me to go to Upton the next morning. On first day the meeting at Plaistow was instructive and affecting. The necessity and benefit of complete humiliation, and the saving power of the Redeemer were livingly before us; and temporals in some measure were bidden to recede from our view. In the evening, previously to my departure by the Ipswich mail, my dear sister Fry and I went to Newgate to pay a farewell visit to a convict who was appointed to suffer the awful penalty of death the next morning. The interview was affecting, but in a short and solemn time of religious retirement a remarkable degree of hope and encouragement on his account was felt by us both.

TO A FRIEND.

Earlham, 12th mo., 22nd, 1828.

I am grieved to hear the tidings of thy dear wife's renewed, and I fear severe illness, though I hardly like to use the word *severe*, in reference to any of the dispensations of a most merciful God towards his unworthy but believing children. O that we may all be enabled, amidst the various painful vicissitudes, to which in this world we are exposed, to place a yet firmer trust in Him who is head *over all things* to his church, and who undoubtedly orders *all things* well for those who love and serve him! It has certainly been a period of deep affliction to our religious society since thou and I met. What can we do but quietly resign *all* into the hands of our heavenly Father, and encourage the hope, that from the depth

of these humiliations, his children may yet arise to serve and praise him in the beauty and strength of true Christian principle?

At the opening of the following year, Joseph John Gurney writes: —

1*st mo.*, 2*nd*, 1829. I rose early and have been endeavouring to pour forth my heart in prayer to the Almighty, and to commend all my cares, and, above all, my own soul, to his merciful providence. In temporals, I have many weights and somewhat extensive solicitudes. I pray to be preserved from fretting on these subjects, doing my daily duty with faithfulness, and leaving all results in quietness to Him who hath the disposing of all our matters. * *

The condition of that part of the church of Christ, which is within the borders of "Quakerism," is a cause, from time to time, of much humiliation and depression. Life is at a low ebb amongst us, I greatly fear; and the removal from the scene of warfare of so many promising young persons, seems, to our finite eye, almost to preclude the hope of revival. And yet in such a notion, I am sure there is a radical want of faith. At the commencement of this new year, which begins in clouds, I feel a renewed persuasion, that it is my place and duty, to maintain an unbroken testimony, whether Friends survive or perish, to the spirituality, simplicity, freedom, peaceableness, and perfection of the gospel dispensation.

TO THE BISHOP OF NORWICH.

(Then under severe domestic affliction.*)

Norwich, 1st mo., 3rd, 1829.

My beloved and honoured Friend,

Though I have for some days hesitated respecting the propriety of intruding upon thy sorrows, I cannot feel satisfied without just saying that, under thy present circumstances,

* See the Life of Bp. Bathurst, by his daughter, p. 345.

thou and thy family have my sympathy and my prayers. For many years have I now enjoyed the privilege of thy friendship, and I can truly say that I have never more felt the value and pleasure of it than during our late intercourse. I have contemplated thee as one gradually descending with a peaceful step to the grave, mercifully endowed with unimpaired faculties, and still enabled to communicate comfort and happiness to thy family and friends. That events should have occurred, one after another, to disturb thy repose, and to occasion thee heartfelt sorrow, can be no matter of indifference to one who has so long experienced thy kindness. Nevertheless I entertain a firm conviction that these painful dispensations are graciously intended for the promotion of thy eternal welfare, through a yet closer communion with God, and *a yet more intimate dependence on that Redeemer, whose blood alone cleanses from all sin.* * * *

1*st mo.*, 5*th.* In the afternoon of yesterday, a satisfactory time of solemnity, beside the dying bed of poor old Roger Norman, who, I trust, is about to enter into the rest prepared for the righteous. In our silent waiting this morning, (my dearest wife and I being alone,) I could not do otherwise than express "my desire that we might, during this week, dwell near to God, and be found at the foot of the cross of Christ; that we might be faithful in our stewardship; that while diligent in the performance of daily duty, we might have our conversation in heaven; that even the little circumstances of life might be sanctified to us; that the life which we now live in the flesh, we might live by faith in the Son of God, who loved us, and gave himself for us."

1*st mo.*, 12*th.* Much prosperity, and much care and responsibility, seem to be my allotment in things temporal, and I often feel anxious that neither the advantages, nor the perplexities of riches, may divert me from the one thing needful. I would have deeply impressed on my soul, our blessed Saviour's precept, "Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness, that when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting habitations." Comp. 1 Tim., vi. 17—19.

2nd mo., 14*th.* The trying position of the affairs of some of my near friends, is one of the crosses of the day. Some exercises of patience must be expected; yet a secret hope lives with me, that, with patience and watchfulness, I shall know my way to open for such services in the gospel, as may be in store for me. In the mean time, it is my wish to be like the poor penitent, who lay at the feet of Jesus, washing them with her tears, and wiping them with the hairs of her head.

3rd mo., 18*th.* Some precious communion with God graciously permitted this morning, and often of late. Inward conflict drives even wandering minds to a throne of grace.

Having been again occupied from home in various religious engagements, he writes, after an absence of rather more than ten weeks:—

Earlham, 6*th mo.*, 20*th.* I visited all the meetings in Berks and Oxon, several of those in Bucks, including a general visit to families, and holding nearly twenty public meetings.

The visits to Reading and Oxford, were both particularly interesting to me. At the former place, two meetings, with a large company of young people, were relieving and cheering. The public meeting at Oxford was very large, and very fairly attended by the students. A great many Friends met us there, and it was a memorable occasion. Through the zealous intervention of A—— H——, I was introduced to many of the pious collegians, whom I met at his rooms, the day after the meeting, at breakfast and dinner. More ingenuous youths than the young students among them, I have scarcely ever met with, and their piety seemed very genuine. Several of them accompanied us in the evening to Farringdon, where the public meeting, though deep and difficult exercise to me, proved to be a very uniting time; and the young men seemed afterwards to overflow with love. * * *

The Yearly Meeting was very absorbing during its whole continuance, and certainly was an occasion of powerfully renewed favour. It was well attended, and the unanimity which prevailed among Friends, especially in issuing the document respecting America, and declaration of our faith in our blessed Redeemer, was peculiarly precious.*

On the whole retrospect of this interesting time, I feel that I have, under a deep sense of my own unworthiness, abundant cause for thankfulness to the Author of all good, who has most mercifully led me about and instructed me, and supported me in times of more than common mental trial; covering me with favour as with a shield, and anointing me from time to time for the work and service to which, I believe, he was pleased to send me forth; and now, on my return home, I am favoured to feel a degree of tranquillity and of renewed encouragement to trust in his holy name.

6*th mo.*, 13*th*. On waking this morning, I was favoured with a precious tranquillizing sense of the Lord's preserving care and undeserved love. How delightful it is to feel the extension of the wing of divine goodness!

After writing the above, I went to the bank, and came home with a tried and perturbed spirit, the world not having pleased me. Alas! how great is my weakness! Our dear friends William and Martha Smith came to dinner. On sitting together after tea, we were eminently favoured with a sense of divine love; and M—— S—— was particularly enabled to minister to us, according to our necessities. The trial of mind which I have lately passed through, was aptly described by her, and strong encouragement given to persevere in the work of the Lord, *fearing nothing but disobedience to his will.*

6*th mo.*, 22*nd*. * * I am afresh persuaded that I shall never gain strength by committing myself to the guidance of other people's scruples. I heartily desire to follow the "anointing," and verily believe that our society, (never more dear to me than at present,) can be preserved and improved,

* A copy of this document is inserted *infra*, in the Appendix to the second volume.

only by our individually following on to know and serve the Lord in the way which he condescends to point out to us. In the mean time may we be preserved from judging one another; may love reign and abound; and may the ungodly part in us all be judged, condemned, and die, through the Lord's own power, that nothing may obstruct our final and perfect union with him.

7th mo., 10*th*. Friends of our Monthly Meeting have set me at liberty to hold a few meetings in the course of our intended Ackworth journey, as "Truth may open the way." I have, of late, heard objections raised to this quaint expression, in which the word, "truth" appears to stand for Christ, or rather the Spirit of Christ; as it operates on the understanding and will. For one, I cleave to it as sound and scriptural, (John xiv, &c.,) well understood by Friends, and rendering unnecessary the too familiar or frequent expression of the name of Jesus Christ.

After his journey to Ackworth, and the attendance of a few meetings in connexion with it, which occupied little more than two weeks, he continued mostly at home until towards the close of the year. During his intervals of leisure at this period, he was still closely engaged in the completion of the Biblical Notes.

8th mo., 30*th*. Yesterday my mind was brought into a considerable degree of conflict, but in the evening peace seemed remarkably restored, and was permitted to flow in my soul more than I have known it for some time past. This day has also been a favoured one; in the morning particularly we were permitted to know the breaking of bread as at the Master's table. On the whole, a little rest to the sole of the foot is just now experienced.

9th mo., 11*th*. Our party has come, and is gone; our meetings have been held and are over. Our Earlham lodgers were Fowell, Edwards, Steinkopff, Fitzgerald, Tyrell, Long,

Weyland, Lord and Lady Radstock, &c.; and we have been mercifully favoured with the quieting and delightful influence of an infinitely more glorious and powerful Visitor and Guest; and on fourth day morning especially were enabled to obtain living access to the throne of grace. The public meetings have been also excellent. That of the Bible Society a noble one indeed.

TO JONATHAN HUTCHINSON.

Earlham, 10th mo., 4th, 1829.

The sanguine hopes of youth are now pretty fairly passed away with me, (for I am 41,) and I no longer entertain glowing expectations of great things within our borders; but still in my best moments, I am the most settled in the belief, that a remnant will be preserved amongst us, by whom the principles professed by us will still be manifested in some degree of brightness and purity. For ourselves, as individuals, I am increasingly convinced that the only resting-place is in the fulness and perfection, which are in Christ. Come what may of height or depth, of life or death, we may still flee to him as to an all-sufficient Saviour, and find safety. That this is thy constant refuge I am assured, and cannot doubt; and that it is one which will never fail thee, either for time or eternity, is my comforting conviction.

Towards the close of the year he was engaged in a visit to all the meetings and families of Friends in the Quarterly Meetings of Essex, besides holding many religious meetings with others not in profession with Friends; an arduous engagement which "afforded close hourly occupation," for the greater part of six weeks. He returned home commemorating the mercy through which his "wants in every way had been graciously provided for." "May we," he adds, "be filled with gratitude, trust, and love."

"I have been often led to think lately," he writes to Jonathan Hutchinson,* "of the Christian grace of *hope*. We are to be 'rejoicing in *hope*,' as well as 'patient in tribulation;' and I am apt to think that many of our dear sorrowing Friends are more exemplary in the latter, than in the former duty. But I find it easier to preach this doctrine, than to apply it to myself, as a dark cloud is often permitted to rest on my path, at which time, patient submission seems to be nearly all that I can attain to."

* Under date 12th mo., 25th.

CHAPTER XX.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF CHARACTER.

INTEREST IN NORWICH POOR; BREAKFAST TO OPERATIVES AT EARLHAM; VISITS TO PRISON; JOHN STRATFORD; THE BETHEL; RECONCILING LETTER; VISITS OF SCHOOL CHILDREN TO EARLHAM; ADVICE TO A YOUNG FRIEND ON HIS MARRIAGE; GIVING AND RECEIVING; DAY UPON A STAGE COACH; HOUSEHOLD DISCIPLINE; ECONOMY OF TIME; YOUTHFUL RECOLLECTIONS OF EARLHAM.

NUMEROUS as are the details of the "inner life," furnished by such a Journal as Joseph John Gurney's, it is yet not always easy to collect from them the materials necessary for the full illustration of his character. In that mirror in which he appears as reflected to himself, we do not perceive with sufficient distinctness how he appeared in the sight of others. The disclosure of the inward warfare is necessarily very much unconnected with the exhibition of those practical results that were conspicuous to all around. It is the object of the present chapter to endeavour to furnish a few hints that may assist the reader in supplying this deficiency.

None can have attentively perused the foregoing pages without perceiving that one leading feature of Joseph John Gurney's character was an unwearied active benevolence. Like his sister, Elizabeth Fry, he seemed continually to live under a deep sense

of his responsibility toward others.* A cheerful and bountiful giver, it was not merely by large pecuniary assistance that he proved his interest in objects connected with the welfare of his fellow men: to these objects he was exemplary in devoting no common share of time and personal attention. His steady devotion to the Anti-slavery and Bible Societies is already before the reader. In addition to these great and often absorbing interests, his exertions for the distressed labouring population of Norwich were unremitting. Year after year, during the winter, or on any occasion when their distress was aggravated by want of employment, he was at his post, stirring up his fellow citizens to the necessary measures for the alleviation of their wants. The District Visiting Society, (which he was himself mainly instrumental in originating,)† the Soup Society and the Coal Society found in him a steady and effective supporter. Often would he say that the painful consciousness of the poverty and suffering of many thousands around him, almost prevented his enjoyment of the abundant blessings with which

* "I may say, I am morning, noon, and night under a deep impression of my responsibility towards others." From an address of Elizabeth Fry to a Bible committee, preserved by one of her nieces. A great example was before them, Rom. i, 14.

† He led the way towards the raising of the necessary funds by a donation of £500. The formation of the Society is thus noticed in his Journal under date 11th mo., 26th, 1830. "In Norwich I have been deeply interested in the endeavour to form a District Society, for visiting and relieving the poor; and, I may confess, it has been a subject of daily prayer. After several preparatory meetings of gentlemen, in a private way, we launched our vessel yesterday, under the kind and masterly pilotage of Charles Wodehouse, for which I have felt truly thankful."

he was himself so richly favoured. On one occasion, he expended a considerable sum in providing the capital for an attempt to supply the poor weavers and mechanics with employment during a scarcity of work. But though, like many similar attempts, it failed to answer the expectation of the promoter, and was abandoned, it served at least to furnish another proof of the sincerity and earnestness with which he laboured for their welfare.

The depression in trade occasioned by the "panic" of 1825 will be long remembered. Norwich did not escape its influence. As a banker, Joseph John Gurney was more than usually absorbed in his own more immediate cares, but his heart at once turned towards his suffering fellow-citizens. "The dreadful distress," he writes to a friend,* "which prevails in the great mass of our once labouring, now, alas! idle population, has been such as to call forth my strenuous efforts on their behalf. In this, success has been mercifully vouchsafed, and many thousands of families have been already fed. We have raised £3300 in five days."

One more illustration deserves notice. In the winter of 1829–30, the manufactures of Norwich were again greatly depressed. The weavers became unsettled, holding riotous meetings and using threatening language against their employers. The state of things was alarming. Joseph John Gurney felt it his duty to use his influence in checking the spirit of discontent that was rapidly spreading. He attended one of the very large and tumultuous meetings of the operatives, and endeavoured to persuade them to desist from their disorderly proceedings,

* Under date 1st mo., 21st, 1826.

and quietly to resume their work. With a view of still further winning them by kindness, he invited a deputation from those assembled, to breakfast at Earlham the following morning. Between forty and fifty of them came, with Dover, a notorious Chartist leader, at their head. After the usual family reading of the Scriptures, they sat down to a plentiful repast, which had been provided for them in the large dining room, of which they partook heartily, and their host afterwards addressed them in a kind, conciliatory manner upon the subject of wages, and their duty to their employers. The men conducted themselves in an orderly manner, and appeared grateful for the attention shown them. The scene was one not soon to be forgotten.

His visits to the prisoners at the jail have been already alluded to. These visits, whilst doubtless greatly contributing to the benefit of many a poor degraded criminal, frequently introduced him into considerable personal labour and great mental suffering. This was particularly the case in regard to prisoners left for execution. In their behalf he would spare neither trouble nor expense, if he thought the circumstances such as to warrant an application for a reprieve. Several instances of this kind have been already noticed. To another case arising out of his prison labours, we owe the well-known Tract containing the touching account of John Stratford. The story is thus simply recorded in the Autobiography.

"It was at the summer assizes at Norwich, in the year 1829, that John Stratford, one of our most ingenious mechanics, was condemned to death for poisoning. He had been

guilty of gross immorality; and, in attempting to destroy the husband of the object of his shameful passion, he occasioned the death of another individual, and endangered the lives of several more. His complicated wickedness was the practical result of infidelity; and afforded me, when I visited him in prison, an awful example of the effect of those dreadful publications, which are employed by the enemies of religion to sap the principles of the working classes. He was a man of strong understanding and warm feelings. In his low estate the Lord opened his eyes to behold his aggravated sinfulness. I was with him in private shortly before his execution, noted down his confessions, and listened to his earnest petitions for mercy. His doubts respecting the truth of religion fled swiftly away at the awful approach of death. As far as I could judge, he was a deep and thorough penitent, who turned to Christ with much fervour of spirit; and I entertain a humble belief, that in his extremity he found mercy of the Lord. He died, calling on the name of Jesus. As soon as possible after his execution, I published a tract, containing an account of the case, and put out an advertisement, offering it gratis to any of my fellow citizens who chose to apply for it. About 10,000 copies were, on these terms rapidly taken; and it has since been largely circulated by Tract Societies, and through other means.* I trust the Lord of whom it testifies, may have blessed it to some.

The afflicted inmates of the Bethel and the Norfolk and Norwich Hospital were also objects of his Christian solicitude, and, for several years, he was

* Besides the 10,000 copies which were thus disposed of, more than 10,000 were afterwards sold at 1d. each. Norwich did not then possess a steam press; and the comparatively slow operations of the ordinary printing press were insufficient to satisfy the eagerness of the applicants. So great was the rush when a fresh handful was brought out of the printing office, that it was not safe to deliver them in the shop or at the door; but it was found necessary to carry them some paces into the market-place, where they were eagerly seized, all wet and unfolded as they came from the press.

in the habit of regularly visiting them at short stated periods. The time between the two meetings for worship on the first day of the week was frequently devoted to this object. Not very long after his return from America, as he was travelling in an omnibus between Yarmouth and Lowestoft, a well-dressed female, with an anxious countenance, who had sat gazing at him for some time, suddenly exclaimed, "You are Mr. Gurney—I am sure you are. Ah! it was a bad day for us when you went away, Sir; we felt as if we had lost our best friend. How well do I remember your blessed Scripture readings and your solemn prayers!" He recognized her as a former inmate of the Bethel, and, taking advantage of a pause, observed, "Then I hope, my good friend, my visits to thyself and thy poor fellow sufferers were not all in vain." "O no, indeed, Sir," she replied, "we used to watch for your coming; all you said had such a soothing effect upon our minds; and we missed you sadly when you went away. I shall never forget the last chapter you read to us, Sir. Here it is:" and she pointed to the 103rd Psalm. "We used to read it over and over again; and, for my own part, I learned it all by heart." He then took the Bible and read some verses: the poor creature, says an eye-witness, seemed to cling to him, as if she thought he had indeed the power to heal the malady, which, (though she was no longer an inmate of the Bethel,) was evidently not yet removed.

The following letter affords an apt illustration of another feature of his character. It relates to a member of another denomination of Christians, an individual whom he greatly esteemed.

TO ———

Earlham, 8th mo., 31st, 1832.

DEAR FRIEND,

From information which I have received from a friend of mine, not connected with your congregation, I have reason to believe that the illness of our valued friend —— is partly to be traced to great vexation of mind arising from some difference in his church; and I very much fear that, unless this vexation can be removed, his recovery will be greatly endangered. I understand, on further inquiry, that certain resolutions proposed by thyself are matters of great grief and agitation to him; indeed I am pretty certain that this is the fact, to an extent probably quite unknown to thyself. I have no doubt that thy resolutions were brought forward with a good intent; and, of course, I can be no judge of the affairs of your church. But, as a member (I trust) of the Church of Christ, I do feel a very high value indeed for the life of our honoured friend; and I am deeply convinced that the carrying of a point in your own body, ought not to be put in competition with the interest which the church at large has in the labour and influence of this our exemplary fellow-citizen. I venture, therefore, to entreat thee, if possible, to set his mind entirely at rest on the subject. As a common friend I thought I might make this appeal, but I can assure thee that it is from my own sense of duty, and of true regard to both parties that I do it; for no one has suggested such a thing to me.

I am thy sincere friend,

J. J. GURNEY.

After what has already appeared in the preceding chapters, it will not be needful, in this place, to dwell long upon his warm and affectionate interest in children and young persons. And yet a trait so prominent and characteristic claims some further notice. "It has long been one of my greatest pleasures," he writes in his Autobiography, (and they who knew him most intimately will best

appreciate the truth of his words,) "to communicate at my ease with children, especially in schools, to amuse them, and play upon their minds as on an instrument of music; to bring forth their powers, and to lead them as through a flowery path into the habitations of Zion." Perhaps few occasions presented a more complete illustration of this part of his character, than the happy summer evenings which the children of many of the different schools in Norwich used to enjoy at Earlham by his invitation. Year by year he delighted to share in their holiday pleasure; and beautiful was the sight of the youthful parties seated upon the lawn in front of the house, in companies of from 100 to 200, whilst he would assist in handing the tea, cake, and fruit provided for them; or, with joy beaming upon his countenance, would listen to their happy voices reciting the hymn or psalm which he had given them to learn; or when, in the pause which followed, he would himself affectionately address them, reminding them of their duty to their teachers, their parents, and above all to that Heavenly Shepherd who had given his life for the sheep.

The playful seriousness of his character is strikingly exhibited in the following letter to a nephew, who had gained one of the highest positions in the university examination.

Earlham, 6th mo., 7th, 1827.

My dear Nephew,

I received thy laconic epistle, the "*veni, vidi, vici*" of our family Cæsar, with true pleasure. As right I have—

"I swell the triumph, and partake the gale."

At the same time, to be sincere and serious, I may just tell

thee in addition, that the intelligence conveyed to my mind a little touch of anxiety; first, lest thou shouldst overwork thyself, and spoil a good constitution both of body and mind, by a vast surplusage (not usable in after life) of logic and algebra: and secondly, or rather principally, lest the glitter of this gilded chaplet should, by any means, divert a dear, innocent lad from "the simplicity which is in Christ."

For the first point; endeavour to bear in mind the "*modus in rebus*," the "*certi denique fines.*" Unloose the bowstring: take a few weeks of perfect pastime. Come and grace the green solitudes of Earlham, or swim over the sea to France. Be any thing, for the next month, but a mathematician and a scholar. Forget that thou art "*celeberrimus*," one of the "οἱ πάνυ"—be a child.

As to the second point, it is a serious one, and I must now look grave. Truly it would be an ill exchange, if academic honours, and the love of thy own doings, and the flattery of this fair world, were to deprive thee of that old-fashioned apostolic ground of joy:—"This is my rejoicing, that with simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God, I have had my conversation in the world." So said a man of learning and genius, under the powerful influence of pure Christianity. So mayest thou say, my learned nephew, under the same influence, in every stage of thy career, and especially at the near approach of that hour when thy honours must sleep in the dust, and thy soul awake in eternity! As I can rise no higher in my wishes for thee, I had better conclude, and with warm congratulations to a fond father and mother,

I remain, thy affectionate uncle,

J. J. GURNEY.

TO A YOUNG FRIEND ON HIS MARRIAGE.

Norwich, 11th mo., 13th, 1827.

MY DEAR ——,

I have ordered Barclay & Co. to pay Denison & Co. £100 on thy account. I quite disapprove of thy borrowing money, either of me or any body else, either now

or henceforward. Let me as an old and, I trust, dear friend, advise thee never to do it; but, whatsoever sacrifice it may involve, to cut thy coat to thy cloth, and to pay for everything at once. I am satisfied that if thou and thy dear friend are willing, with all simplicity and humility, to meet your real situation, you may make two ends meet without difficulty, and save a little into the bargain, which I consider indispensable. Make it a Christian duty to be a rigid and perfect economist, and let thy partner do the same, and you will, I believe, find this the road to ease and comfort, if not to wealth.

Having bestowed this advice upon thee, I need scarcely add that the £100 is a gift and not a loan. * * *

"Wilt thou execute a little commission for me at Arch's? said Joseph John Gurney, addressing another of his young friends, whom he had kindly taken one day to dine at his lodgings, during the interval between the sittings of the Yearly Meeting. His young friend, of course, readily assented. Joseph John Gurney wrote a few lines on a slip of paper, which he handed to his young friend, enclosed to his booksellers, but without giving to his young companion any intimation of its contents. The note was duly delivered, and the circumstance was forgotten until, after the lapse of a few weeks, the young friend, no less to his surprise than to his delight, received a large parcel sent to him, as he was informed, at Joseph John Gurney's request, consisting of upwards of thirty volumes, comprising the Lexicons of Simonis and Schleusner, and the Scholia of the Rosenmüllers (the father and son) on the Old and New Testaments: a great prize indeed to a youthful student. Many were the instances in which he thus encouraged, amongst his young friends, a taste for reading, more especially in

connexion with those pursuits in which he himself delighted.

His gifts were made additionally acceptable, by the "simplicity" and "cheerfulness" with which they were bestowed. He gave as one who remembered that he was but a steward, having nothing that he had not received.

"Rest assured," he writes on one occasion to a Friend whom he had assisted, "that I have no feeling of the kind alluded to in thy letter. I believe that the assistance I gave thee was, on my part, a matter of duty, and, on thine, a providential help. How precious is that love which overflows the boundary line of giving and receiving, and levels us all in one feeling of our unworthiness of God's unspeakable gift."

His watchfulness to seize and to take advantage of openings for usefulness, was another striking point in his character. He might be deceived again and again by false appearances, (and perhaps his charitable view of others, contrasted as it was with his severe judgment upon himself, might be considered by some to amount almost to an infirmity,) yet still he went on, sowing his seed "by all waters," humbly confiding the result to Him, who could alone cause it to be "found after many days." But it is worthy of remark that this Christian liberality was rarely, if ever, allowed to interfere with his great habitual caution and discrimination in matters of business. "Constantly," says his son, "was he found helping, as an individual, parties to whom he refused accommodation as a banker."

His intercourse with the poor failed not to afford him many illustrations of the practical power of the Gospel, when received in living faith; — a theme on

which he loved to dwell. One day, at Earlham, a poor man in the servants' hall attracted his attention. He was old and blind. Joseph John Gurney addressed him with the voice of sympathy, but he seemed to be more alive to his blessings than his privations. "It is true," he said, "I have not much of this world's goods, and my sight has almost failed me; but I have food and clothing, and every thing I need during my earthly pilgrimage, and then I am *heir to a kingdom—think of* THAT." Joseph John Gurney was greatly affected by the cheerful and contented spirit of the good old man, and much impressed by his childlike confidence; and turning away, he observed to one of his sisters, with tears in his eyes, "Who would not exchange the wealth and honours of this world for the simple faith of this poor old man, that it is his Father's good pleasure to give him the kingdom?"

When engaged in travelling with others, it appeared to be Joseph John Gurney's habitual aim to make such opportunities occasions of interesting and profitable communication. A day passed with him upon a stage coach is thus described by one of his fellow passengers:—

It was on a lovely day, in spring, that I had the pleasure of travelling from Norwich to London with Mr. Gurney. We met unexpectedly at the coach office; and, with our respective companions, had taken outside places. Mr. Gurney's companion was a lady whom he was escorting back to London after a visit to Earlham; and, besides the friend who was accompanying me to the "May meetings," two excellent dissenting ministers, known to us all, had taken their places by our side. We were a party of six, just filling up the space behind, and happily leaving no room for intruders. It was not very long after Mr. Gurney's

return from Ireland, and the subject of Ireland being introduced, he gave us a very animating account of his visit to that country in company with Mrs. Fry. Although some questions were asked as he proceeded, we were listeners rather than talkers; and when he had finished, there was, very naturally, a pause. After a short interval of silence, Mr. Gurney, addressing us, said, "I always make it a rule to read a portion of Scripture every morning;" and, having proposed to read a chapter aloud, inquired whether any one had a Testament. There was no lack, as it happened, of Greek Testaments, but, singularly enough, no one had an English one. He accordingly took out his pocket Greek Testament, and, translating as he went on, read us a chapter in very literal English, adding a few remarks, explanatory and practical, and pausing at its close, as was his wont, for inward devotion and prayer. I very much regret that I made no memoranda of the conversation of the day; for though the general impression of it is left deeply engraven on my mind, the incidents and remarks that contributed, in so large a degree, to make it what it was, have faded from the memory. A little before noon we arrived at Bury, and were quite prepared, by a ride of two-and-forty miles, for breakfast. Mr. Gurney seemed to enjoy his wash and his breakfast as much as any of us, and when he took his seat again on the coach, called for the bag of books I had in charge, and handing a book to each of us said, "I have been giving out all the morning, I must now be taking in." We had left one of our party at Bury, and had taken up in his stead a young man, who proved to be a student at the University of Glasgow;- and having lent him the Edinburgh Review, which I had been reading, and called his attention to certain paragraphs, he and I fell into conversation. Mr. Gurney, seeing this, said to me quietly aside, "I see thou art interested in that young man; if thou wouldst like to give him a copy of my Essays, thou mayst call at Arch's and get one." This was but one instance among a thousand, of his being "instant in season and out of season," ever looking out for opportunities of usefulness. The commission was not forgotten; the young man received the book, and if he still lives, remembers, I doubt

not, as we all do, "the day upon the stage coach." Towards evening there was a shifting of places, and the seats vacated by one and another were filled by drovers. Mr. Gurney adapted himself equally to his less refined companions, and, after a time addressing them said, "We commenced the day by reading a chapter of the Bible, perhaps you will not object to our closing it in the same manner." There was a hearty consent, and he read a chapter from one of Paul's Epistles, making a few explanatory remarks as he went on. He had not long concluded, and relapsed into silence, when we arrived at the inn, where, finding his brother's carriage in attendance, he took his leave, bidding us all farewell.

But it was at Earlham that he was emphatically at home. To this beloved retreat, he again and again returned with new delight. Here he was to be seen at his ease, and it was here that the peculiar brightness of his character was displayed. Love was the ruling principle that reigned in his household; a love not degenerating into a weak indulgence, but strong in its combination with Christian discipline. Upon his servants, upon his children, upon all that came within the range of his influence, he inculcated by precept, and more than all, by his own example, the inestimable value of order, method, and true economy of time. It was a grief to him when moments were squandered away to no purpose. Even when walking for health or recreation, he would often employ himself in storing his memory with some new hymn or passage of Scripture. And he was especially careful, that the time spent with his family, or with a more extended social circle, should be improved by intelligent conversation, or useful reading. In later years he practised the art of sketching from nature, in which he attained

considerable facility and skill, and which he often pursued, as an agreeable recreation, whilst listening to reading or conversation.

Amidst the widely extended claims upon his interest and sympathies, the villagers of the little hamlet of Earlham were not forgotten. Besides the liberal attention to their varied wants afforded them from the hall, they were accustomed for nearly thirty years to assemble with the family on the evening of the first day of each week; when a portion of Scripture, a religious tract, or a selection of Christian Biography was read; the opportunity concluding in deep religious silence, broken, at times, under the constraining influence of divine love, with affectionate Christian counsel and fervent prayer. They were occasions long to be remembered by those present.

His beloved daughter, in a little sketch which will find a more appropriate place at the conclusion of this memoir, has beautifully illustrated his character as a father. It may not, however, be improper here to introduce the following letter written to his son, soon after his first settlement at school, which may serve as a specimen of the style in which he was accustomed to communicate with his children :—

Earlham, 2nd mo., 28th, 1830.

My dearest J. H——,

Since thou hast been at school nearly two months, I begin to be impatient to receive a nice, long, intimate letter from thee, and I hope thou wilt send me such a one without delay. I think thou ought to write a few lines to some one of us every week, or at least every fortnight. We all love thee dearly, and none so much so, perhaps, as papa

and mamma. My own heart has been much with thee, and I cannot tell thee with how much earnestness I desire thy welfare. Not merely temporal prosperity and good bodily health, though I trust thou mayst be mercifully favoured with a good share of even these blessings, but I mean chiefly, the welfare of that part in thee which will endure for ever and ever. O, my precious child! how greatly does thy father desire that thy soul may be happy through all eternity! Remember, my dear boy, that thou art born for eternity, and that the great object of the present uncertain state of being, is to prepare for a state which will never have an end. In order to be perfectly good and happy in the world to come, we must repent of all our sins, humble ourselves before God, come to Christ as our only Saviour and Redeemer, and in all things endeavour to obey and follow his blessed Spirit, which visits and enlightens our dark hearts. This Spirit will lead thee to live in the fear of God, and to serve him with a perfect heart and a willing mind.

I shall now repeat some of the advice which I have often given thee.

First. Never begin or end the day without prayer. Wait on the Lord more often than the day, and call upon his holy name, for without his help we can do nothing truly well. Secondly. Read a small portion of Scripture every day, by thyself, in thy own private chamber, besides attending the family reading. The Scriptures are the best of books. Learn to love them dearly, to prize them highly, and to use them diligently. Thirdly. Keep carefully to the plain language, and never be ashamed of being a consistent Friend. Rest assured that to be half a Christian and half not, and half a Friend and half not, will never answer any good purpose. Fourthly. Be a whole man to everything. At Latin, be a whole man to Latin. At geometry or history, be a whole man to geometry or history. At play, be a whole man to play. At washing and dressing, be a whole man to washing and dressing. Above all, at Meeting, be a whole man to worship. Fifthly. Never speak or think highly of thyself. Thou art a poor unworthy creature; a mere worm of earth. Thou

hast not a single talent or faculty which thou hast not received from God. Dwell in humility before him. Sixthly. Avoid all vain and evil thoughts. Remember dearest aunt Rachel's saying, "Evil thoughts are sin." Seventhly. Mind thy manners as well as thy morals. Do not be clumsy and awkward. Be always ready to serve and please all around thee. Be swift to give up thy own will to the will of others in little things: this is the way to be a true gentleman. Finally, "whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might, for there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in the grave whither thou art going."

So farewell, my dearest boy. We are all well and happy.

I am thy loving father,

J. J. GURNEY.

The following graphic reminiscences of youthful days spent at Earlham, may form an appropriate conclusion to the present chapter.

"Activity of benevolence, *practical* kindness, seemed to me to be the ruling spirit of Earlham. I did not hear much of great schemes, but I saw much of real acts of charity; and these recollections, on that account, are both pleasant and profitable. The whole household seemed imbued with the same happy feeling. As I sat pondering on how little I had ever done, and making in my inmost heart, first excuses, and then resolutions, I caught sight of some lady's maid, or upper servant of the family cheerfully crossing the scarcely tracked path, amidst the drifting snow, on some errand of mercy to a poor neighbour. I have forgotten many and many a sermon and lecture on the duty of benevolence: that one little act of self-denial has remained in my memory for a long course of years. * * * *

"One night—I remember it well—I received a severe lesson on the sin of evil-speaking. Severe I thought it then, and my heart rose in childish indignation against him who gave it; but I had not lived long enough in the world to know how much mischief a child's inconsiderate talk may do, and how

frequently it happens, that great talkers run off the straight line of truth. I was talking very fast about some female relative, who did not stand particularly high in my estimation; and was proceeding to give particulars of her delinquencies, failings of temper, &c., to the amusement, I suppose, of one or two of my hearers. In a few moments my eye caught an expression, in that of one of my auditors, of such calm and steady disapprobation, that I stopped suddenly short. There was no mistaking the meaning conveyed by that dark, speaking eye; it brought the colour to my temples, and confusion and shame to my heart. I was silent for a few moments, when Joseph John Gurney asked very gravely,

"'Dost thou not know of any *good* thing to tell us of——?' I did not answer, and the question was more seriously repeated. 'Think, is there nothing good thou canst tell us of her?' 'Oh, yes I know of some good things certainly, but——' 'Would it not have been better then to relate those good things, than to have told us that which must lower her in our estimation? Since there is good to relate, would it not be kinder to be silent on the *evil?*' 'Charity rejoiceth not in iniquity,' thou knowest.' * * *

"It was our custom every morning,—that of Miss Gurney and any little visitor she might have with her,—to go before breakfast into the room adjoining her father's dressing room, and recite certain portions of Scripture, either of our own choice or his selection. There was a particular appropriateness in the 13th chapter of 1st Corinthians, which, on the following morning, I was desired to read, and afterwards to commit to memory. There was no comment made on what I read. It was unnecessary; the reproof was felt even to the shedding of tears; but the kind voice and silent caress soon spoke love and peace, and I was comforted. 'A word spoken in season how good it is!' * * *

"Children are so observant of inconsistency in those who reprove, that had I ever found my mentor guilty of the sin of uncharitableness, I should not have failed to put it down in the note-book of my heart; but I can truly say that the force

of that beautiful precept was never weakened by a contradictory example. I never heard a censorious word pass those calm lips, nor knew a cloud of unworthy suspicion to darken his bright trusting hope of the best of every one. Most eminently was that grace his, which 'hopeth all things.' Every one who has visited Earlham, must have been impressed with the superior tone of conversation there; with the absence of scandal and small talk; and when persons, rather than things, were a little too prominent in the discourse of the juniors, how ingeniously and yet how kindly has the subject been put aside, and some other matter of innocent interest introduced in its stead.

"Such was the home of Joseph John Gurney as it appeared to a child. Clouds there were, doubtless; from human frailty and infirmity it was not entirely exempt; but few Christian households display a happier scene of concord, consistency, and holiness, than that which we have just visited."*

* From Reminiscences of a Good Man's Life, by H. R. Geldart, whose father, the late Simon Martin, was one of Joseph John Gurney's partners in the Norwich Bank. It was originally printed in the Monthly Christian Spectator for the third month. 1852, and has since been published in a separate form.

CHAPTER XXI.

1830. ÆT. 42—43.

VISIT TO FRIENDS IN SUFFOLK; LETTER TO SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH ON CAPITAL PUNISHMENT FOR FORGERY; YEARLY MEETING; CHALMERS AND WILBERFORCE; JOURNEY IN SCOTLAND AND CUMBERLAND; DETENTION AT EDINBURGH; CHALMERIANA; SOUTHEY; CARLISLE; PENRITH; KENDAL; MANCHESTER; RETURN HOME; DEATH OF HIS UNCLE JOSEPH GURNEY.

JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY commenced the year 1830, with two weeks of close religious labour in the county of Suffolk. "I traversed the snows in my gig," he writes to Jonathan Hutchinson,* "in order to visit the scattered meetings. I do not know that I ever "roughed it" so much before, nor do I remember many occasions in which a little sacrifice in the cause of truth was more rewarded."

TO HIS SISTER ELIZABETH FRY.

Norwich, 1st mo., 19th, 1830.

My heart and mind have been much and closely with thee for some time past, and I trust I have been enabled to remember thee, when access has been permitted to the throne of grace. Thou mayest rest assured of my constant unity and faithful sympathy with thee, in every tribulation, and under every wave of conflict. * * I often think of —— with great interest. I plead not for forms; but a thorough, unqualified submission to the internal power of the cross of Christ in the heart, is that

* Under date 3rd mo. 17th, 1830.

which I fully believe will alone satisfy and give true rest. * * We had a very uncomfortable alarm last evening at Earlham, in consequence of some beams, near the flue in the hall, igniting. What a mercy that it did not happen in the night! As it was, we were apparently in imminent danger of an overwhelming conflagration; but happily, the fire was surmounted before it burst forth. We have felt humbled under a sense of gratitude for this merciful deliverance.

2nd mo., 1*st.* The continuance of this very wintry weather is affecting, as it relates to the poor. Indeed, the chastising hand seems rather remarkably put forth on this nation; and who can wonder, when we consider the vast multitude of those who are living in sin, and in open rebellion against the Most High? Neither ought our faith to be shaken, if those who are not partakers of the pollutions, are "partakers in the plagues." The time is coming, when all apparent inequalities will be made even; when He shall "return, and discern between the righteous and the wicked, between him that serveth God and him that serveth him not."

2nd mo., 19*th.* Much enjoyment of the quietness and loveliness of this dear place, and of the domestic happiness which it is still permitted to contain. Should it be right for me to quit business altogether, it would follow, I think, that Earlham must be given up. If the Lord condescends to require the sacrifice, I trust a willingness to offer it will be wrought in me. I think I desire no more than clearly to see his will.

Reference has been more than once made to Joseph John Gurney's strong feeling upon the subject of capital punishment. For any crime short of murder, he was, in fact, altogether opposed to it.*

* "I cannot say," he writes in his Journal, under date 8th mo., 17th, 1829, "that my spirit greatly revolts against life for *life;* though capital punishment for any thing short of this, appears to me to be execrable." In later life he became opposed to capital punishment even for murder.

This view of the question had been for some years gradually gaining ground. Among the many salutary practical reforms for which this country is indebted to the late Sir Robert Peel, not the least was the complete revision and consolidation of the criminal law; by which many barbarous enactments were swept from the statute book, and a milder and more efficacious system of punishment was introduced. This distinguished statesman, who was at this time Home Secretary, was now turning his attention to the amendment of the laws relating to forgery. On this subject, however, he was not prepared to go so far as the advocates of the abolition of capital punishment desired. His bill retained the punishment of death in several cases of forgery. The opportunity was felt to be an important one, and the advocates of a more lenient system lost no time in availing themselves of it. Joseph John Gurney exerted himself in Norwich, in procuring a petition to Parliament for the entire abolition of the punishment of death in these cases; and, availing himself of his practical experience as a banker, he subsequently addressed the following letter to Sir James Mackintosh, with the view of strengthening his hands in his noble advocacy of the cause of humanity.

Norwich, 4th mo., 20th, 1830.

ESTEEMED FRIEND,

Although I have not the pleasure of more than a very slight personal acquaintance with thee, the useful and honourable public part thou hast taken in the cause of the abolition of capital punishments, will, I trust, afford a sufficient apology for my addressing thee on the subject.

It has been a matter of deep regret to me to observe, that

the alterations and amendments proposed by the Home Secretary, in regard to the penal acts respecting forgery, are almost exclusively in matter of form, and not of practice. It seems that the pristine ferocity of the law is to continue without alleviation, as it relates to all instruments representing money, such as bills of exchange, drafts, and notes, — all instruments, in short, with which a banker has any concern.

I have long been engaged extensively in the business of a banker, and have always considered it a heavy grievance that the law, as it now stands, leaves me wholly unprotected from the attacks of the forger. I cannot in conscience take any steps towards destroying the life of a fellow creature, whose crime against me affects my property only; being deeply convinced that, should I do so, I should thereby sacrifice as plain a principle of equity as was ever proposed to the attention of mankind. Besides I am in possession, like other men, of the feelings of common humanity; and to aid and abet in procuring the destruction of any man living, would be to me extremely distressing and horrible. And yet I consider forgery a shameful and heinous crime. I well know the cruel losses and inconveniences to which it subjects the money-changing world; and if the law would but help me to put such an offender on the tread-wheel for a couple of years, I should feel the highest satisfaction in availing myself of its provisions. * * Mine is no insulated or uncommon case: multitudes in the commercial world are placed, by the severity of the law, in the same uncomfortable and unprotected situation.

Being thoroughly persuaded that all penal enactments with which the public cannot heartily co-operate, are bad in principle, and injurious in operation, I have only to express, in conclusion, my earnest wish, that thy great powers may continue to be steadily directed against a system at once so unjust and so ineffective.

I am, with much respect,
Thy sincere friend,
J. J. GURNEY.

It is satisfactory to know that, although the efforts made at this time did not then result in any modification of the proposed measure on this point, the abolition of capital punishment, in these cases, has been since conceded by the legislature, and that no person has suffered death for forgery, in this country, since that period.*

To return to the Journal :—

5th mo., 3rd. How entirely do I feel that all my hope of a happy futurity depends on my casting myself, or, rather, on my being cast by a divine hand, on the mercies, merits, and righteousness of Jesus Christ; that I may be seen in him; judged in him; justified in him; glorified in him. Be thou for ever abased, O my soul! polluted and degraded as thou art in thyself, in the contemplation of his glorious attributes, his perfect sufficiency for thy eternal salvation.

5th mo., 14th. Our beloved friends William and Anna Forster left us this morning for London. Their company and ministry amongst us have been very acceptable. Yesterday especially, at our Monthly Meeting, the former was largely and nobly engaged in preaching. It was a time of much sweetness and comfortable ingathering, for which we cannot be too thankful. The same precious feeling continued here in the evening. Some banking exigencies have been more trying to my sensitiveness, this week, than they ought

* The punishment of death is now abolished in all cases of forgery, except where the act amounts to High Treason, as in the case of counterfeiting the Royal sign manual, or the Great or Privy Seal. This desirable change did not, however, take place until the commencement of the present reign, in 1837. Even in the last reign, several new forgeries were made capital felonies. The gradual progress of humane legislation, on this subject, may be seen by reference to the statutes 11 Geo. iv, & 1 Will. iv, c. 66, (Sir Robert Peel's Act, to which Joseph John Gurney's letter refers,) 2 & 3 Will. iv, c. 123, and c. 125; 5 & 6 Will. iv, c. 45; 1 Vict., c. 14; and 4 & 5 Vict., c. 66: and as to counterfeiting the coin, see statute 2 Will. iv, c. 34.

to have been. Unworthy as I know myself to be, I venture to crave divine protection even in these affairs; and I think I feel a degree of confidence in the dealings of that gentle and paternal hand, which has hitherto led me along. O that I may be blessed with quietness, diligence, faith, and fortitude; that I may be arrayed, earth-worm as I am, in the whole armour of my God!

Second day morning. I have many things to attend to; but am favoured with a precious degree of calmness. How delightful, and I hope edifying, has been my intercourse with my beloved Mary during the past spring! Such happiness I feel to be quite a store; a privilege to have enjoyed it, let the future produce what it may.

6*th mo.*, 13*th*. I continued alone at home till sixth day, 5th mo., 19th, when I went by mail to London, exchanging the delightful summer solitude of Earlham, for a busy and exercising scene, into which I made my plunge on seventh day. The Yearly Meeting was a time of remarkable interest. On the men's part well attended, sometimes much *gathered;* at other times too much of what was superficial, and of ourselves. We seem to want a greater depth, and O that it may be graciously bestowed upon us! Yet we had cause for thankfulness on account of the general harmony and abounding sense of brotherly love. Of the sittings I should distinguish, as the most remarkable, that in which the claims of the heathen were considered, which resulted in the recognition of the concern as worthy of the deliberate consideration of the meeting next year; and the last sitting but one, in which a Friend spoke most powerfully on the doctrine of the atonement.

It was about this period, whilst on a visit at Hampstead, at the house of his brother-in-law, Samuel Hoare, that Joseph John Gurney was first introduced to the late Dr. Chalmers, who was then in London. In the interesting memoranda of their intercourse, which has since been printed, Joseph John Gurney writes:—

"We walked together for an hour before dinner in the garden; and soon found that we were led, by a feeling of congeniality, into familiar intercourse. He had just been presented by a friend with a copy of my Essays, which led to much interesting conversation on the Evidences of Christianity, on which we had both written — their cumulative and harmonious character, and the enlargements which had been made in this branch of theological knowledge of late years. It was a noble encouragement to a good cause to find that these evidences were better understood, and more fully appreciated, eighteen hundred years after the introduction of our religion, than at any period of Church history, since the days when men were brought into actual contact with miracles.

"We talked over the subject of a moral law, universally written by the Moral Governor of the universe on the hearts of mankind. He allowed the existence of this principle, and its universality, although we were both aware that the light, though pure, is often faint. The darkness of fallen human nature comprehendeth it not. I remarked the distinction which exists between this law and the natural faculty of conscience; the law being the light, the conscience the eye; the law the guide, the conscience the presiding judge. He admitted this distinction; but when, after the example of Butler, I misnamed this law the moral sense, he corrected me, and said, 'No, the moral sense is identical with the conscience: the law you speak of is that which the moral sense perceives.' I argued, that the law thus written on the hearts of all men, although faint, and perpetually misread by an obscured and perverted conscience, is in itself perfectly pure and holy, an efflux of the divine character. When therefore I reflected on the utter corruption of human nature, and on the apostolic doctrine, 'In me, that is, in my flesh, there dwelleth no good thing,' I could not but conclude that this universal law is a work of the Spirit.

"CHALMERS. 'I have no objection to admit that it is a work of the Spirit.'

"This was a conclusion, worthy of the breadth and liberality

of Dr. C's mind, and of the simplicity which he displays in admitting truth, from whatever quarter it may come. It reminded me of the broad assertion twice made to me, in private conversation, by William Wilberforce, that, according to his full belief, an effective offer of salvation was made to every man born into the world. I will just add, that since Christ is expressly declared to have died for all men, and since the law of God—a principle, when obeyed, in its nature, *saving*—is, as we believe, universally communicated to men, it is only reasonable to believe that our fallen race has obtained this blessing through the redemption which is by Christ Jesus our Lord.

"At dinner, we had an interesting party—Dr. Bird Sumner, Bishop of Chester;* Dr. Lushington; Buxton; and a family party, including our sister Elizabeth Fry. The conversation during dinner turned to the subject of capital punishments. Lushington, in the warmest terms, expressed his abhorrence of the system; and declared his opinion, that the poor criminal was thus hurried out of life, and into eternity, by means of the perpetration of another crime, far greater, for the most part, than any which the sufferer himself had committed. He even indicated a feeling, that the worse the criminal, the more improper such a punishment.

"On this Buxton rallied him, and re-stated his argument with great pleasantry; 'The doctor assures us that if your Lordship were condemned to the gallows, or that you, Dr. Chalmers, were about to suffer the *ultimum supplicium*, he would be the last man to interfere with the execution of the law, or prevent the translation of the virtuous to a happier state. But to terminate the probationary existence of the most degraded of our race, of the worst of robbers or the most outrageous of murderers, was opposed at once to all the feelings of humanity, and to all the principles of religion.' After all, there is a great deal of truth in Dr. Lushington's statement, and substantially we were all agreed.

"After dinner a brisk discussion arose respecting the

* Now Archbishop of Canterbury.

comparative religious condition of the long parliament, and of our representatives, in the present day of latitudinarianism and laxity. Lushington contended that the advantage lay on the side of our modern senate; and that the looseness of the present was a less crying evil than the hypocrisy of past times. The bishop and Chalmers took the other side; and not only demonstrated the religious superiority of the Puritans, but strongly insisted on the great principle, that it is godliness which exalteth a nation, and which can alone impart true strength and stability to human governments. Chalmers stated the points of the argument with great strength and clearness, and the bishop confirmed what he said.

"In the evening Joanna Baillie joined our party; and, after the bishop and others were gone, we formed a social circle, of which Chalmers was the centre. The evidences of Christianity became again the topic of conversation. The harmony of Scripture, and the accordance and correspondence of one part with another were, I think, adverted to. This evidence of accordance is one to which Dr. C.'s mind is obviously much alive. He knows how to trace, in the adaptation between one branch of truth and another, and especially between God's religion and man's experience, the master-hand of perfect wisdom and goodness.

"CHALMERS. 'The historical evidences of Christianity are abundantly sufficient to satisfy the scrutinizing researches of the learned; and are within the reach of all well-educated persons. But the internal evidence of the truth lies within the grasp of *every* sincere inquirer. Every man who reads his Bible, and compares what it says of mankind with the records of his own experience; every man who marks the adaptation of its mighty system of doctrine to his own spiritual need as a sinner in the sight of God; is furnished with practical proof of the divine origin of our religion. I love this evidence. It is what I call the *portable evidence of Christianity*.'

"On the following morning Dr. Chalmers read the Scriptures to the family circle, and selected the latter half of John xiv. The verse which peculiarly attracted his attention

was the twenty-first; 'He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me; and he that loveth me shall be loved of my Father; and I will love him, and will manifest myself to him.' The observations which he made on this verse, and on the whole bearing of what he had read, were excellent; and completely accordant with the views which Friends have so long been accustomed to take of the true method of obtaining religious knowledge. 'While we are bound,' he observed in substance, 'to make a diligent use of the Scriptures, that appointed depository of all religious information, we are ever to remember, that *obedience to the law of Christ* is the means of bringing us into a capacity of rightly understanding and appreciating their contents; as our Lord has himself declared, that those who do his Father's will shall know of his doctrine, and of its divine authority. Every act of childlike obedience to the dictates of the Spirit of God prepares the way for an increase of light; and where Christ manifests '*himself*,' there will be a true and saving apprehension of religion.' In setting forth these views, Dr. Chalmers was, I believe, speaking from his own experience; for it seems to have been by the gradual following up of his convictions of duty, and through the operation of a remarkable *moral* energy, that, under the grace of God, he found his way out of the dark regions of barren speculation, into the green pastures of the fold of Christ.

"When comparatively ignorant and worldly he was called upon by his learned friend, Dr. Brewster, to write the article on Christianity for the Edinburgh Encyclopedia. He obeyed the summons, though himself scarcely a believer; and his researches in order to this end, especially the study of Scripture itself, were the means first of convincing his understanding of the truth of religion, and next of impressing his heart with a sense of its unspeakable importance and excellence. In the whole of this process he was doubtless marvellously assisted by that childlike *simplicity* of mind which he recommended to us so beautifully; and which is so marked a feature in his own character. 'The meek will he guide in judgment, the meek will he teach his way.'

"Before he concluded his familiar yet impressive discourse, he powerfully contrasted two methods of religious education. The former — no stranger in Scotland — that of imparting to the minds of children a complete system of doctrinal orthodoxy; and, without moral culture, leaving that system to produce its own fruits as it might. The latter, that of training children in such a course of virtuous obedience to the divine law, as would prepare them for the reception of greater and greater light respecting the doctrines of religion. He pointed out the vast superiority of the latter system. He would neglect neither moral nor religious culture; but he would make the former the pathway to the latter. * * *

"When our conversation was concluded, my brother, Samuel Hoare, took me with him on the box of his chariot, and drove Dr. Chalmers and his pleasing wife to Wilberforce's, at Highwood Hall, beyond Hendon. Dr. Chalmers and his lady were engaged to stay some days there; and we were glad of the opportunity of enjoying the company of the *senator emeritus*, together with that of Dr. C., for a few hours. Our morning passed delightfully. Chalmers was, indeed, comparatively silent, as he often is when many persons are collected, and the stream of conversation flowed between ourselves and the ever lively Wilberforce. I have seldom observed a more amusing and pleasing contrast between two great men, than between Wilberforce and Chalmers. Chalmers is stout and erect, with a broad countenance; Wilberforce minute, and singularly twisted; Chalmers, both in body and mind, moves with a deliberate step; Wilberforce, infirm as he is in his advanced years, flies about with astonishing activity: and while, with nimble finger, he seizes on every thing that adorns or diversifies his path, his mind flits from object to object with unceasing versatility. Chalmers can say a pleasant thing now and then, and laugh when he has said it, and he has a strong touch of humour in his countenance; but in general he is grave — his thoughts grow to a great size before they are uttered: Wilberforce sparkles with life and wit, and the characteristic of his mind is 'rapid productiveness.' A man might be in Chalmers' company for an hour, especially in a party, without knowing

who or what he was — though in the end he would be sure to be detected by some unexpected display of powerful originality; Wilberforce, except when fairly asleep, is never latent: Chalmers knows how to veil himself in a decent cloud; Wilberforce is always in sunshine. Seldom, I believe, has any mind been more strung to a perpetual tune of love and praise. Yet these persons, distinguished as they are from the world at large, and from each other, present some admirable points of resemblance. Both of them are broad thinkers and liberal feelers: both of them are arrayed in humility, meekness, and charity: both appear to hold self in little reputation: above all, both love the Lord Jesus Christ, and reverently acknowledge him to be their only Saviour.

"Wilberforce was the son of a wealthy merchant at Hull, and was scarcely more than of age when he was elected member of Parliament for that town. But he was not long to occupy this station, for a higher one awaited him. Immediately after the Hull election, he attended the county election at York; where, to the vast assembly collected in the castle yard, he made a speech on the popular question of the day — Fox's India bill. His eloquence, especially in the earlier stages of his course, was, as I understand, of a most animated and diversified character; and his voice sonorous and mellifluous. The speech produced an almost magical effect on the assembled multitude; and under a strong, and apparently unanimous impulse, they cried out, 'We will have the little man for our member.' In short, though without pretensions from family or fortune to the honour of representing that vast county, he was elected its member by acclamation.

"Wilberforce was now one of the most popular of men. His fine talents, his amiability, his wit, his gaiety, adapted him for the highest worldly circles in the county. Happily, however, that heavenly Father, whom his pious parents had taught him to love in early life, was preparing for him 'better things' than the blandishments of the world, even 'things which accompany salvation.' Not long after his election he was travelling through France, in order to visit a sick relation at Nice, in company with his friend, Isaac Milner, afterwards Dean of

Carlisle, a person somewhat older and more serious than himself. In the course of their journey they happened to converse about a clergyman in Yorkshire, who, having been impressed with evangelical views, was remarkably devoted to his parochial duties.

"WILBERFORCE. 'That man carries things a great deal too far, *in my opinion*.'

"MILNER. 'Do you think so? I conceive that if you tried him by the standard presented to us in the New Testament, you would change that opinion.'

"WILBERFORCE. 'Indeed, Milner—well, I have no objection to try the experiment. I will read the New Testament with you, if you like, with pleasure.'

"Important, indeed, were the results of this casual and unexpected conversation. The two friends read the whole of the New Testament together as they journeyed on towards Nice: and this single perusal of the records of inspiration was so blessed to Wilberforce, that he became a new man. His opinions and feelings underwent a rapid revolution. He found himself to be a sinner, and rejoiced in the discovery of his Saviour. He renounced the world, and devoted himself to the fear and service of Almighty God. When he arrived at Nice, he found, in the chamber of his sick relative, a copy of Dr. Doddridge's Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul. This useful manual of religious experience he read with extreme eagerness, and it appears to have been the means of confirming and completing his change.

"The news now swiftly flew into Yorkshire that their popular young member was gone mad. Wilberforce followed the report, *in propriâ personâ;* threw himself, with noble boldness, amongst his friends and supporters; plainly told them of his change of sentiment; and with good reason adopted (as it may be presumed) the words of a yet more eminent convert, 'I am *not* mad, most noble Festus—I speak the words of truth and soberness.' From that time his influence in the county was constantly extending itself; and when, many years afterwards, a contested election took place between Colonel Lascelles and Lord Milton, he polled almost double the number of the votes

of either of the other candidates; and a voluntary subscription flowed in of about £40,000, to defray his expenses. A great part of this subscription was returned. Wilberforce afterwards voluntarily retired from the representation of the county, being unable, from want of health, to cope with the weight of business which it threw on his shoulders.

"It is impossible to reflect on this story without much pleasure. What a mercy to Wilberforce was the petty and apparently fortuitous circumstance, which led him to an attentive perusal of the New Testament! And how divine the book which, through the blessing of its almighty Author, could bear with so irresistible a moral and spiritual force on the intellect, the genius, and the dispositions of Wilberforce! In like manner, what a mercy to Dr. Chalmers was the unexpected, and at that time unlikely, application made to him by Dr. Brewster! It was in the order of Providence that two chance circumstances, as the world would call them, should be the means of translating two mighty minds from the region of spiritual darkness, into the kingdom of light; converting the sceptical philosopher into the profound theologian, and the witty songster into the abolisher of the slave trade, the faithful and ardent Christian labourer in the cause of justice and humanity.*

"The author of that extraordinary book, the Natural History of Enthusiasm, proposes a beautiful analysis of the order and harmony of providence. He says, that events may be divided into two classes—those which arise in the ordinary course of experience; and which, being regulated by certain known laws, natural or moral, may, to a certain and often a great extent, be calculated beforehand; and thus bring into exercise the quality of prudence, or the useful faculty of long-sightedness. Indeed, a careful observation and right estimate of such causes and effects, may be said to constitute the best

* The foregoing incidents are related by Joseph John Gurney from information received in conversation with Wilberforce himself. For Wilberforce's own reflections on the circumstances of his life here referred to, see the first vol. of his Life, Appendix pp. 379—384.

kind of worldly *wisdom*. Another and more limited class of events may be described as incidental or fortuitous. These intersect the common course—the straight onward line of our experience—from a multitude of different points. They bear laterally upon us, and arise out of an endless and ever varied train of causes; connected, very probably, with the life and conduct of others—originating, it may be, in some idle word, or some thoughtless action, of some unknown person, whose mortal existence has been closed for centuries. And yet these apparently stray circumstances often intersect our path, just at such a time and in such a manner, as enable them to serve the most important purposes for our temporal and spiritual good. How perfect must be the skill and wisdom of that omniscient Being, who wields this infinitely intricate machinery; often inclines its forces in answer to *prayer*, and never fails to apply them to the highest advantage of his believing and obedient children!"

TO JONATHAN HUTCHINSON.

(On the decease of one of his daughters within a year after her marriage.)

London, 6th mo., 3rd, 1830.

My dearly beloved Friend,

Thou well knowest that the affecting intelligence from Leiston must come closely home to me and my wife; for we feel so nearly united with thee and thine, that whatsoever you suffer becomes our suffering by reflection. I can truly say, that we have grieved and mourned with you over the loss of your beloved Lydia. I am aware that she was peculiarly precious—that she was one of those who imparted a charm to life in the circle in which she moved. And of such as these it often pleases a wise Providence to deprive us, that we may be the better prepared to say, "Whom have I in heaven but thee? and there is none upon earth that I desire beside thee." Thus the Lord claims an undivided sovereignty over our affections, as well as over our actions.

Amidst your deep sorrowing, you will not, we feel fully assured, be disposed to murmur. We trust that the Christian's

faith, by which he sees things invisible to mortal eye, will gild the dark cloud, and lead you ever to rejoice for her emancipated spirit with "a joy unspeakable and full of glory." Such is the nature of the Christian's joy, that the tongue of human wisdom cannot utter it; and there is a fullness of glory in it, even here, which the eye unanointed cannot perceive. Nevertheless we know it is progressive, admitting of almost infinite enlargement and elevation. We will not therefore mourn for those who have happily exchanged its fainter irradiations for its meridian fulness. What a solidity, as well as brightness, my beloved friend, characterizes the Christian's life! It is like the paving of that holy city of apostolic vision, transparent glass, and yet pure, weighty gold.

In reference to your dear departed one, I have been led to dwell with much satisfaction, on the security which attaches to the absence of self-righteousness; and to a quiet, steadfast dependence on the mercy of God, through the appointed Mediator. Comparatively blameless as she was in the eye of man, I feel a persuasion that her hope rested, not on the rewarding of her virtue, but on the pardoning of her sins. She was not (I fully believe) a stranger, either in heart or understanding, to the efficacy of that blood, by which all sin is obliterated for the humble believer.

A large Committee had been appointed at the late Yearly Meeting for the purpose of making a general visit to the various meetings of Friends in Great Britain and Ireland. As a member of this committee, Joseph John Gurney, in company with several other Friends, attended the meetings in Scotland and Cumberland, and was also engaged in other services as a minister of the gospel. He was absent from home nearly four months.

"On seventh day, the 24th of the 7th month," he writes in his Journal, "I left home for Upton, in order to attend the

interment of our beloved friend and cousin, Lucy Sheppard. I found the Upton party in deep sorrow; and truly rejoiced in being present to sympathize with them, and help them a little, during the scenes of that touching and sorrowful day. I joined my wife at Stamford, on second day evening, and proceeded with her to Ackworth, where the general meeting passed off much to our satisfaction.

On seventh day, a delightful journey by Fountain's Abbey and Richmond, brought us to Darlington; where, in the absence of all our nearer connexions, we were most hospitably received by our dear cousins E. and R. Pease, and remained until fourth day morning. Public meetings there, and at Staindrop, and Stockton. The public meeting at Staindrop much favoured, as was also one at Sunderland on fourth day evening. The meeting with Sunderland Friends on fifth day morning, was much to my satisfaction and relief; and there was a public one at Newcastle that evening, in a Dissenting Meeting House. Pleasant visit to our dear cousin Margaret Bragg. The meeting of Friends on sixth day morning largely attended by young people, and very hopeful.

TO SAMUEL GURNEY.

Darlington, 8th mo., 1st, 1830.

I believe that as Christians, and as Friends, we must adhere closely to our religious principles, and learn to bring everything more and more to that test; looking quietly forwards to the day when "the stone cut without hands" will become "a great mountain" and fill the whole earth. * *

The commotions in France are somewhat awful, but I trust they will end in a bloodless revolution. The worst feature in the case appears to me to be the *infidelity* with which the support of freedom is connected. Would that mankind knew more of that "perfect law of liberty" which is proclaimed to us in the Gospel of our Redeemer!

After attending the General Meeting for Friends

in Scotland, held at Aberdeen, he returned to Glasgow; and after various religious services there, and in the neighbourhood, proceeded to Edinburgh. Here he was detained nearly five weeks from the consequences of a severe bruise on the leg, received in the course of the journey. He did not, however, allow this interval of comparative repose to pass away unimproved. Under the hospitable roof of his valued friend Alexander Cruickshank, he had opportunities of religious intercourse with the individuals composing the small body of Friends resident at Edinburgh, and three meetings with the young people. He was also enabled to be present, one first day, at a public meeting, held at his request, which was attended by many in the upper circles. Besides these engagements, his sojourn at Edinburgh was agreeably relieved by much highly interesting social intercourse. Dr. Chalmers, amongst others, was a frequent visitor, "coming," writes Joseph John Gurney, "from a considerable distance about every other day to sit with me. We enjoyed much intimate and lively conversation, which I was accustomed to record from day to day, after he had left me, as I lay upon my sofa." A brief selection from these memoranda will give the reader some idea of the general character of their intercourse; and few will object to listen whilst they converse together.*

The conversation one day turning upon the

*The Chalmeriana have been published since this chapter was compiled; but I have not thought this a sufficient reason for omitting the extracts.

wonderful order and harmony of Divine Providence,

"I observed," says Joseph John Gurney, "that the great object of Bishop Butler's Analogy was to parry objections: and we agreed that in this respect that noble work had served a most important purpose in promoting the cause of truth. Chalmers expressed his admiration of Butler's unsophisticated mind and absence of affectation. But Butler possessed a mind of singular depth and originality, and such minds are beyond the limits of affectation.

"CHALMERS. 'I strongly recommend your reading Leibnitz, 'Essais sur la Theodicée.' He combines the mind of a philosopher, and a profound knowledge of metaphysics, with an unqualified regard for Christianity and its whole system of essential doctrine. I was telling Mrs. Gurney, at the Museum, of the hypothesis by which he accounts for the origin of evil. Take any complete part of creation—an animal for example. How perfect is the machine, how beautiful its proportions, how absolute the harmony of its constituent parts, how admirably it works! But look at some *fragment* of the creature; a piece of a nail, a broken bit of bone or a claw. How unsightly it is, how unmeaning! how little worthy, as far as appears, of the master hand of infinite skill and wisdom! Now all the evil which we perceive around us, afflicting as it is to our feelings, and trying to our faith, may be nothing more than a small unsightly fragment; and yet, in its connexion with the moral universe of God, it may form a part of a perfectly harmonious and glorious whole.'

"I mentioned a work, popular among the Unitarians, which resolves all the attributes of God into pure benevolence; denominates sin 'moral evil;' ascribes it to the direct appointment of God; and presumes to infer that it not only promotes the general good, but, taken in connexion with its corrective consequences, in the end enhances the happiness of the sinner.

"CHALMERS. 'It is a dangerous error to reduce the divine attributes to the single quality of goodness. Our best metaphysicians, (especially Brown) teach us that the ethical virtues

are in their nature unalterably independent. Justice is an ethical virtue; distinct in its origin, character, and end, and must not be confounded with any other. These principles apply to the moral attributes of God.'

"Yes, I said, they are blended but not confused.

"CHALMERS. 'There is union in them but not unity. The harmony, yet distinctness, of the divine moral attributes, is most instructively inscribed on the atonement of Christ.'

"Truly, I replied, that is a point where justice and benevolence meet; where God has displayed at once his abhorrence of sin, and his mercy to the sinner.

"CHALMERS. 'Brown had very low and inadequate views of the character of God. The same may be said of Paley—witness his founding his system of morals on expediency. This was indeed a degradation in a Christian moral philosopher; and the more so, as even a Cicero could declaim against '*utilitas*' as the basis of morals.'

"I mentioned an anecdote which I had heard of Paley in his last illness, that is said to have had the authority of Wm. Hey, the late noted surgeon of Leeds; and which, if true, is remarkably consoling. When not far from his end, Paley, in conversing with some of his family or friends, took a calm review of his several works. He expressed the deep regret and dissatisfaction which, at that awful time, he felt in the recollection of his 'Moral Philosophy.' He was happy to believe that his 'Natural Theology' and 'Evidences of Christianity' were sound and useful works; but the book on which his mind then dwelt with the greatest pleasure was his 'Horæ Paulinæ.'

"CHALMERS. 'I am not surprised at this. It is an admirable statement of evidence, and displays a more masterly hand than any of his other works.'

* * * * * *

Dr. Chalmers' conversations with us have been much more frequently about *things* than *persons;* and indeed he has too much intelligence and power of mind to descend to a species of conversation commonly called gossip, which is the frequent refuge of many whose understandings are meagrely stored with information.

"It is evident that he is deeply impressed with the opinion, that an overwhelming tide is but too likely, ere long, to sweep down many of our civil, literary, and religious institutions. The spirit which prevails abroad, he apprehends to be in somewhat active operation at home, and he ascribes its existence and increase to the wide dissemination of *superficial* knowledge.

"The new revolution in France, and the commotions which have since taken place in other parts of Europe, have all occurred since our lot has been cast in Scotland. They have, of course, been the subject of daily thought, meditation, and converse. Although there is much in these changes, especially as regards France, with which every liberal mind must sympathize, it is easy to perceive that the spirit of insubordination is increasingly prevalent in the world. I fear it runs through many both of our private and public relations; parent and child, master and servant, magistrate and citizen, king and subject. It is probable also that even the Christian church is affected by this change of feeling; and that in every denomination there is less of wholesome restraint, and a greater impatience of discipline, than was the case fifty or a hundred years ago. If this be one of the consequences of 'the march of intellect,' it is assuredly a fearful one; and I know of no remedy but the diffusion of the gospel. The Scriptures will never cease to teach us to fulfil all our relative duties aright, 'and to be subject one to another in love.' I believe the spirit of rebellion against man to be intimately associated with that of rebellion against God. That which can alone counteract both is GENUINE CHRISTIANITY.

"We were favoured one day with a call from a man of very superior parts, John Brown, the pious and able minister here of one of the largest seceding congregations. When we asked him, 'What dost thou think will be the end of all these national commotions?' he answered emphatically, 'the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of the Lord and of his Christ.' To this scriptural declaration we can all set the seal of a willing belief; but, in the meantime, tribulations and trials of faith may perhaps be ordained for the

further purification of the followers of the Lamb; preparatory, it may be, to their final victory.

"CHALMERS. 'I think the Scriptures afford us good reason to believe, that the ultimate diffusion of pure Christianity in the world, must be preceded by commotion and confusion, and distress of nations. Look at the new French revolution. There is much that one approves at present, both in its tendency and in its results. But you see it has been effected by the growth of merely human intelligence; by the working of the unregenerate mind, without a particle of Christian principle. It is just the striving of the natural wisdom and pride of man, after that which we are apt to conceive to be the consummation of our happiness, a condition of independence. I am not one of those who underrate the value of civil and political liberty; but I am well assured that it is only the principles of Christianity, which can impart true security, prosperity, and happiness, either to individuals or to nations. I am prepared to expect, that on the efforts which are now making in the world to regenerate our species, *without religion*, *God will impress the stamp of a solemn and expressive mockery*.'

"We parted from our dear friend Dr. Chalmers, his wife, and daughters," writes Joseph John Gurney at the conclusion of the memoranda from which the above extracts are taken, "as well as from some other persons who have been endeared to us in Edinburgh, after a solemn and refreshing time of silence, ministry and prayer, on the 25th of the 9th month, 1830."

From Edinburgh, Joseph John Gurney's course was directed to Cumberland. Though not yet equal to his usual amount of continued exertion, he attended the Quarterly Meeting at Cockermouth, on the 30th, in company with the rest of the Yearly Meeting's Committee for that county; and after a meeting with the Friends there on the following morning, he, with his wife, proceeded, by way of Keswick, to Whitehaven.

"At Keswick," he writes in his Journal, "we spent an agreeable and interesting evening with Robert Southey and family. He read us some of his unpublished poetry, and we had much conversation, ending with some religious communication. Southey's religious feelings are sincere and warm, but his prejudices more than a few. On the whole he is a man whom one cannot help liking, and I have no doubt, that he engages the love of those who know him well.

"On seventh day, 10th mo., 2nd, we drove through a country of delightful scenery, the weather being fine, first round Derwentwater and into Borrowdale, and afterwards over the mountains to Scale Hill, and thence by Crummock and Lowes-water to Whitehaven; which place we reached in the evening, weary, yet delighted with our journey, and were hospitably received by our dear friends, John and Mary Spencer.

"We continued at Whitehaven until fifth day morning, during which time the families were visited, much to my comfort; for there are many hopeful Friends there, especially young married persons. O that the enemy of souls may not be permitted to mar the work! There was a good public meeting on first day evening, and a very solemn young people's meeting at John Spencer's. We parted from all our dear Friends in true love."

After various religious engagements at Pardshaw and Cockermouth, and the neighbouring district, they went forward to Wigton.

"Our visit to the school,"* says Joseph John Gurney, "was interesting and satisfactory. We were much pleased with the young master of the boys; and the examination of the children on both sides of the house was encouraging. That of the boys was delightful, and the tenderness of their minds was very remarkable. There appeared to be prevailing in this institution a really religious influence. May it more and

* An Institution similar in its object to the Friends' school at Ackworth, but on a much smaller scale.

more abound among them! On the whole, I think this school has served, and is still serving, an admirable purpose. We had a large and solemn public meeting in the evening. I was very poorly in the night, so as to be ready to conclude that it would be impossible for us to attend Beckfoot meeting, as fixed, the next morning; twelve miles off, and a desolate place on the sea coast. However in the morning our difficulties disappeared; and, after an early breakfast, we were on the road for Beckfoot. On our arrival, we found the meeting-house filled with a considerable number of country Friends, and the whole of Joseph Saul's school, more than one hundred boys, ushers, &c. I had to plead earnestly for Christianity, and for evangelical doctrine, combating with an infidel spirit. I hope it might not be in vain, as power was to be felt in the meeting. That night we reached Carlisle, and took up our abode, very comfortably to ourselves, with Thomas and Elizabeth Stordy. The week-day meeting there the next morning was largely attended, and a searching time. Afterwards we went to Scotby; dined with our dear Friends, Lydia Sutton and Tabitha Irwin, and held a meeting there in the afternoon; which to me was painfully exercising, but ended in peace.

Sixth day was spent in a long excursion to Solport and Kirklington meetings. It proved one of our most interesting days. Both these meetings were once large, but are now mere relics, especially Solport, on the borders of Scotland. There is, however, a valuable little body of Friends; and we had particular pleasure in visiting John and Peggy Story, at Moss-side; Friends in a very humble line of life, true originals, and alive to that which is good. On our way to Kirklington we drank tea at four o'clock with some other friends, not much above them in worldly dignity, Richard Graham and his worthy wife, little shopkeepers by the road-side; and, after an exercising meeting, walked across the country to old William Dodson's, where we met, in their neat little kitchen, an agreeable company of simple hearted Friends. After a solemn little meeting, we parted from them in much love, and returned to Carlisle, where seventh day was passed in writing, rest, and family visits. * * * *

On fifth day morning we left Carlisle and proceeded to Gillfoot meeting, about sixteen miles, over a fine country; the weather being inclement. We met a poor little scattered flock, the rain pouring, and the large old meeting house being now the picture of desolation. We dined at Joseph Priestman's; and in the afternoon proceeded, under the guidance of his son, to Penrith; where we took up our abode in the peaceful dwelling of our dear aged friends Elizabeth Ritson and Hannah Walker, who, with their niece Hannah Hayton, received us most hospitably. We much enjoyed the company of this interesting and truly peculiar trio; especially that of E. Ritson, who, in her ninety-third year, is all alive, intellectually and spiritually, and a cheerful, well informed companion. Meetings at Penrith, with Friends in the morning, and the public in the evening, brought close exercise of mind. I also visited most of their little flock (a comfortable body of Friends) in their own houses. Thomas Wilkinson met us at E. Ritson's in the morning, and although almost entirely blind and very infirm, he is very cheerful; doing credit to the cause of truth, which is so near to his heart. On seventh day, after a visit to the Beacon, and also to the workhouse, two stages, through a wild mountainous country, brought us to Kendal; where we met a cordial reception from our dear cousins, W. D. and Sarah Crewdson. At their house we lodged seven nights; and six days were passed amongst Friends of that place, in very close exercise and labour. There was a true baptism on the young; especially, perhaps, on many of the young men. The meetings with Friends were, I trust, good ones; particularly one on fifth day morning, in which the wondrous machinery of Christian motives was set in order before me, and through me, before others. In three successive evening meetings with the young, I had to consider the questions, "Why am I a Christian," and "Why am I a Quaker?" — the external evidences of Christianity; the internal evidences; (including a statement of essential doctrine;) and the principles of Friends. They were times of arduous exercise of mind to me, but I trust were of some use in the way of teaching. A large public

meeting on first day evening also passed off well. My subject was "As in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive." We greatly prized the society of our friends and numerous relatives.

On seventh day, 10th mo., 30th, Sarah W. Crewdson accompanied us to Manchester. We were somewhat cheered on our way, by a visit to the Female Penitentiary in Lancaster Castle, where we had a heart-melting, though short meeting, with about fifty poor criminals. We arrived safely at night at the peaceful dwelling of our dear friends the Dockrays, at Ardwick.

The next day, first day the 31st, was to me an arduous one. Upwards of 500 at the morning meeting; a large mixed flock, with very few shepherds. The loss of Isaac Stephenson greatly to be felt and deplored. We dined and spent the afternoon with our dear friends, I. and E. Crewdson; and in the evening there was a vast public meeting, about 2000 people, respectable and quiet. I felt very calm on taking my seat; and voice as well as inward power were graciously given to me, to plead for "baptism, the *true and living* baptism, into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." There was afterwards much solemnity to be felt in prayer.

They returned to Earlham by way of Melksham, and London, arriving at home on the 16th of the 11th month.

FROM JONATHAN HUTCHINSON.

12th mo., 6th, 1830.

I was pleased with thy sketch of the grand scenery of some of our northern counties; and thy connecting it with a line from a beautiful and devout passage of my favourite Cowper, made it not the less acceptable. There, too, it seems, thou hast found a poet's corner, surrounded by mountain, lake, and river. In many respects, I think such a situation must be very favourable to literary pursuits, if, by thus abstracting the mind from practical subjects, it does not too much favour dreaming.

It might be well that thou wast there, and that thou hadst an opportunity of endeavouring to rouse a certain celebrated author from some of his reveries; into which, whilst I acknowledge his talents, I think he has proved himself liable to fall, perhaps both in prose and in verse. To some such cause may probably be attributed his classing Friends, as I think he has done, in his Book of the Church, among the "crazier" sects. If neither to slumber nor to absence of mind, to what must we ascribe this strange expression? I can find only one other solution—that the discipline of our Society, which, by way of distinction, we may call its morality, and for which he gives us high credit, was intelligible to his understanding, whilst the more spiritual parts of our profession, or its divinity, may have been as little comprehended by him as was the worship of the early Christians by those who called it heresy; or the reasoning of the apostle before Agrippa, when Festus thought him mad.

The close of the year was marked by the decease of his uncle Joseph Gurney; which took place, very suddenly, on the morning of the 25th of the 12th month. Joseph John Gurney afterwards writes:—

12*th mo.*, 27*th*. I saw my dear uncle last on fifth day. He was silent at our meeting; which was, however, a solemn one: Lucy Aggs was well engaged in ministry on the sufferings of our Redeemer. My uncle expressed to me afterwards his satisfaction in her testimony. He was uncommonly glowing and tender. I met him at the Magdalen Committee, and walked with him thence to the bank. How little did I imagine that I should next see him stretched on the floor, a corpse!

Mild, cheerful, universally benevolent, strong in sense, in principle, and in manly fortitude; he was, above all, the tender, broken, and humble Christian. His humility was the most conspicuous feature of his character; and his lovely

temper threw a gleam of sunshine over every person and thing around him. To associate with him has long been one of my greatest delights and privileges; and there was no one to whom I was so much accustomed to look for protection, advice, and help. I have sometimes been ready to conclude that I could not do without him; but I desire to bow submissively under the stroke; and the cutting of a string, at once so strong and so tender, will, I hope, be the means of compelling a yet nearer approach to the Fountain of all Good.

My dear uncle's ministry has increased in brightness as he advanced in age and experience. It was to me a source of lively pleasure, as well as edification. On the whole, nothing is so cheering, among many cheering things in the retrospect, as the clear views which he has of later times evinced, of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity; and especially of the exceeding great preciousness of that blood "which cleanseth from all sin." This was the subject of a short but memorable address which he delivered to our young men at the close of our last Preparative Meeting. May it have sunk deeply into many hearts!

CHAPTER XXII.

1830—1831. ÆT. 43.

PUBLICATION OF THE BIBLICAL NOTES AND DISSERTATIONS; LETTERS RESPECTING THEM; WORK UPON THE SABBATH; RELIGIOUS ENGAGEMENTS AT BRISTOL; "TEACHING" MEETINGS; LETTER TO HIS SON, DESCRIBING AN EVENING AT CAMBRIDGE AND A MORNING AT OXFORD.

1*st mo.*, 1*st*, 1831. The commencement of the new year is marked indeed. I hope I do not enter upon it heedlessly. Forgiveness for the past, and help for the future, are what I have to crave at the hands of a most merciful God and Father. When rejoicing predominates, let us not forget to tremble. When trembling more especially is our lot, let us still endeavour to rejoice!

First day night. 1*st mo.*, 30*th*. This afternoon —— has been our agreeable guest at Earlham; having been brought to Norwich by the death of a sister-in-law. We called for her at the Roman Catholic chapel, out of which a large crowd was issuing; and from her account it appears they are making many converts. What a strange tendency there is in man to believe too much or too little; or, in other words, to Popery or Infidelity! Yet these extremes are often found to meet. I do believe there is much amongst this people of an honest seriousness and pursuit of eternal things; but they appear to lose sight of the distinction between things *contrary* to reason, and things *beyond* reason. The doctrine of the Atonement is beyond reason. May I be preserved from ever doubting it!

Transubstantiation is contrary to reason. Therefore, as reason is a divine gift, I consider that I have divine authority for rejecting it.

The composition of the Biblical Notes and Dissertations, chiefly intended to confirm and illustrate the Doctrine of the Deity of Christ, had been occupying Joseph John Gurney's leisure for several years. This work was at length published in the year 1830. Though designed principally for learned readers, the first edition sold rapidly; and a second, with a few corrections and additions, was published in 1833. In the twenty-one chapters or dissertations of which the volume is composed, the author has carefully collected and arranged a large amount of evidence, historical and critical, on some of the most interesting and important topics of biblical research. The canonical authority of the Epistle to the Hebrews; the eternal pre-existence of "the Word;" the illustrations which this doctrine receives from the Chaldee Targums, and from the theological literature of the later Jews; the glorious character and attributes of Christ, as the Creator of the world, as the "image of the invisible God," as the "angel of the covenant," as our "great God and Saviour," and as he is "over all, God blessed for ever," together with the various testimonies of Scripture relating to these momentous questions, are severally treated with great depth and clearness; nor are the dissertations on the important and difficult prophecies in Isaiah vii, viii, ix; on the prophecy of Jeremiah xxiii, 5, 6; and on the correct reading of the original text of the memorable declaration of the apostle Paul, 1 Tim. iii, 16, less interesting and

instructive.* The whole is concluded by a chapter in which the practical importance of faith in the Deity of Christ is powerfully stated and enforced. The spirit which pervades the work is admirably expressed in the motto from Athanasius, selected for the title-page. In the preface it is translated as follows:—

"I know that he (the Lord Jesus Christ) is truly God, from heaven, impassible. I know that he was of the seed of David, according to the flesh, man, and passible. I do not inquire *how* the same person is both passible and impassible; *how* he is both God and man; lest whilst I busy myself about the HOW, and am investigating the MODE, I should miss of THAT GOOD THING which is set before us."

* The more recent researches of the learned do not appear to support the conclusion at which Joseph John Gurney arrives in his elaborate defence, (pp. 372—410,) of the common reading, Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη, in 1 Tim. iii, 16, against the criticisms of Griesbach. It seems now clearly ascertained that the original reading of the codices A and C, is ΟC, not $\overline{\text{ΘC}}$; and several other of the authorities on which Joseph John Gurney relied, in support of the received text, are now discovered to be favourable to the other reading. The evidence will be found briefly but clearly summed up in a valuable communication with which Dr. Tregelles has kindly favoured me, printed in the Appendix to the present volume. (See Appendix A.)† Those who desire a more complete discussion may consult the recent work of Dr. Davidson on Biblical Criticism, vol. ii, pp. 382—403. Without venturing to differ from such authorities, they whose opportunities do not admit of such investigations, may take comfort in remembering that the doctrine of the Deity of Christ is so firmly grounded upon other evidence, altogether conclusive in its character, that, to use Joseph John Gurney's language, "it is wholly unnecessary to insist on any passage of Scripture," in support of it, "of which the reading is justly liable to dispute." (Biblical Notes, p. 373.) Dr. Tregelles adds his strong testimony to the general excellence of Joseph John Gurney's work. "Thoroughly," he observes, "as the field of criticism has since changed, the value of that book remains."

† English edition.

"My own attainments in Biblical criticism," observes Joseph John Gurney, "are by no means great. Yet I know enough of that pursuit to be thoroughly convinced that, when conducted on just principles, it will never support those novel explanations of Holy Writ which have been seized upon with eagerness by modern writers of a speculative turn. If I am not greatly mistaken, it condemns all the floating fancies of the sceptic, and ranges itself on the side of that sound and simple interpretation of Scripture, which has been familiar, in all ages of the Church, to the humble followers of a crucified Redeemer."

It is not needful to dwell upon the commendation of a work which cannot fail to be highly valued by the sound Biblical scholar. The present notice of it might, however, appear imperfect if, from amongst the numerous letters received upon its publication, a few were not here presented to the reader.

FROM DANIEL WILSON,
(now Bishop of Calcutta.)

October 27th, (1830.)

* * * I may tell you how very much I have been gratified by the entire perusal. I wish you could go on to some other line of scriptural passages, on the same or some other kindred subject. The bishops of London and Salisbury * have expressed their warmest approbation.

FROM CHARLES SIMEON.

K. C., February 4th, 1831.

My beloved Friend,

Not I only, but the whole Christian world are greatly indebted to you. How you ever found time for such research I cannot imagine. But God has given you industry,

* This was the late Bishop Burgess, from whom, as well as from the Bishop of London, and several others of the English bishops, Joseph John Gurney himself received testimonials of their high value of the work.

and what in such labours is of no less value, method; and by these you have accomplished what puts us ministers all to shame. I am quite delighted with the clearness of your statements, and with the temperance and candour with which you treat those from whom you differ. I think no one will henceforth hesitate to ascribe to its true author, the epistle to the Hebrews. For all your criticisms I thank you from my inmost soul, but most especially for that on Blayney's interpretation of Jer. xxiii, 6. I had exceedingly grudged him that text, and lamented that I was not able to rescue it from his grasp. And all who love our most adorable Saviour will bless you for the service you have in this instance rendered to the Church. Had I conceived that your powers were such as I now see them to be, I should never have dared to advise, as I did about nine years ago, that your productions should wait for the *nonum annum*. But I do not repent of my rashness, for time has not only matured, but greatly increased your researches, and enabled you to bring them forth to far greater advantage. May God of his infinite mercy long protract your life, that you may render yet greater and greater services to his cause. I am most thankful to have such books as that and your last, to recommend to the young students of the University.

And now, my beloved friend, let me say, that, whilst I admire, and honour, and love the talents with which God in his mercy has endowed you, I feel anxious that you should carefully bear in mind what line of labour that is. It is of immense use to the Church of God; but it may be followed too exclusively as it respects your own soul. Do not mistake me. I do not intend to intimate, in the slightest degree, that such pursuits *must* operate to the disadvantage of your soul in its devotional feelings, but only to suggest, with truly brotherly affection, that they *may*. *Vitam perdidi operosè nihil agendo*, was the dying complaint of a great critic; and therefore it will be well to bear in mind, that the species of research, which God has so wonderfully enabled you to prosecute, may, by *possibility*, become a snare, and rob the soul whilst it is furnishing the mind. It may doubtless be united, as I am

well assured it is in you, with much devotional feeling, and be as great a blessing to yourself as it is to the world; but as there is a possibility of giving it too exclusive a place in your heart, I venture, with all humility and in tender love, to suggest the idea to your mind: and I the rather do this because, whilst others may be afraid of offering such a hint, I am no more afraid of your imputing it to me for evil, or feeling offended at it, than I am afraid of such a reception of it at the hands of my heavenly Father.* If you needed any proof, you would find in it a proof with what truly Christian regard I am

Your much edified disciple,
and your most affectionate brother in the Lord,
C. SIMEON.

FROM ABRAHAM RAWLINSON BARCLAY.

Leytonstone, 28th 1st mo., 1831.

* * * I have been reading at my ease thy last work, and have been much interested with some of the Essays, especially the critical parts, which form a very valuable addition, I think, to our Biblical criticisms. Number sixteen I have noted,† particularly the latter half, parts of which are beautifully striking. * * * With thy motto from Athanasius I have often finished off my reading; and again and again with deep profit.

FROM HENRY HUNTINGFORD.

Winchester, June 27th, 1832.

Though I have not the pleasure of your acquaintance, yet the perusal of your works on Christianity has made me feel for you something much more than respect, — a very great esteem. But my object in troubling you with this letter, is

* How much alive Joseph John Gurney was to these considerations his Journal bears ample testimony. But the faithfulness and love which this letter breathes, may surely be classed among the fruits of that "one Spirit" which circulates through the various members of the "one body" of Christ.

† On the Prophecies of Isaiah, in chap. vii, viii, and ix.

to mention to you that, had my beloved and revered relative, the late Bishop of Hereford, lived longer, you would have received a letter from him expressing the very great satisfaction he had derived from reading your two volumes;* the sentiments of which I have heard him often say, exactly corresponded with his own. He delighted in your strenuous support of Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη, and of the epistle to the Hebrews; and in the exalted notions you entertain of the divine nature and supreme and uncreated dignity of that blessed Saviour, in whose merits alone man can find refuge or hope. It was my dear relative's habit, not to thank any author for sending a work till he had read it through; which he had not had sufficient leisure to do with yours, till lately. He had half finished a letter to you, containing some remarks on various passages, when it pleased a merciful Providence to call him from this state of trial, into the presence of that Being, in whom, though he had not seen him, he so firmly believed, and so affectionately confided.

To return to the Journal: —

2nd mo., 6th. Some praises bestowed upon me in the Quarterly Review are mixed with abuse of the sect to which I belong. There is often to be observed a tendency in the world, to exalt individual Quakers, and utterly to trample on the principles which give birth to what little good may be found in them. May we be content to be accounted fools for our Redeemer's sake! And may we be increasingly delivered from everything in religion, which is not pure and simple Christianity!

2nd mo., 20th. A fortnight since I wrote. I find it difficult to catch time in its rapid flight. What a ceaseless stream is bearing me onwards to eternity! On sixth day the 11th, I went with my dear sister Fry, (who had been staying with us,) to Upton, reading the Chalmeriana as we journeyed. It was a privilege to enjoy her society quietly. In London

*The Essays on Christianity, and the Biblical Notes.

and its neighbourhood, many duties, some pain, and more pleasure, awaited me. An anti-slavery party at Buxton's, with a view of arranging his parliamentary proceedings, was a lively and interesting occasion. Present, Mackintosh, Lushington, Lord Calthorpe, Lord Nugent, Macaulay, (father and son,) Evans, Briscoe, Wood, Sykes, Weyland, (all M.P's..) Daniel Wilson, Richard Watson, Burnet from Ireland, James Cropper, Samuel Hoare, my brother Samuel, and myself. I was glad to be enabled to give the discussion a turn in a way that helped Fowell, our leader and chief labourer.

2nd mo., 28*th.* My studies have been in some degree prospered; and the subject of the Sabbath, on which I am now writing, has become deeply interesting to me. Yesterday was a solemn sabbath indeed, especially at the morning meeting, in which the apostolic declaration that "whether we live or die, we are the Lord's," was treated of as a "two-edged sword," (Heb. iv.) for the alarm of the ungodly, and for the consolation of the afflicted. In our evening reading, also, the glories of the heavenly state were much before us. I earnestly pray, that the truth of these things may be brought home to my own spirit.

3rd mo., 20*th. First day morning.* What an amazing privilege for so poor and vile a creature as I am, to be permitted to hold intercourse with a being of perfect purity, and infinite power and glory. How could it be so, were it not for him who is the way? "Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me, bless his holy name!" * * Age is beginning to make perceptible inroads upon us all. May we be prepared for every change that can befall these short-lived bodies! It is cheering to believe, and certainly to *know* (on the sure evidence of God's promise) that if we live and die in Christ, we shall be made partakers of a glorious resurrection, and shall inhabit spiritual bodies, like unto the body of our Lord, glorious and incorruptible. Christ has abolished the whole law of death. "Thy dead men shall live," &c., Isa. xxvi, 19.

Afternoon. The morning meeting was to me unusually solemn, and I humbly hope the language of invitation and

exhortation was not held out in vain. Yet I have feared lest in the flow of the gift, I should in any degree lose sight of *simplicity* and *humility*. How needful to abide in them, even as *the little child!*

Third day morning, (*3d mo.*, *22nd.*) Having felt a lively interest in the parliamentary reform question, I wrote a long letter on the subject to Lord Calthorpe, but have been this morning called home to my centre, and reminded that much of these matters is not my business. Rather let me leave all with prayer to the gracious care of my God and Saviour.

In the early part of this year he was closely engaged in preparing for the press his work upon the Sabbath.

"When the Biblical Notes were completed," he writes in his Autobiography, "I believed it right to direct my studies to a subordinate point of no small practical importance, the History, Authority, and Use of the Sabbath day. The investigation occupied the leisure of a full winter, and my little work on this subject was the result.*

"The Original Sabbath, the Sabbath under the Mosaic Law, and the Sabbath under the Gospel, are there severally examined with a good deal of pains and attention. The general conclusion in which the pursuit of this study fully confirmed me was, that the practice of setting apart one-seventh part of time, for the special purposes of rest and worship, belongs to that law of the Lord which changes not; that it is no affair of expediency, but clearly a duty which has received the divine sanction from the beginning. Yet, I think, there is abundant authority, under the Gospel, both for

* The title of the work is, Brief Remarks on the History, Authority, and Use of the Sabbath. The first edition was published in the spring of 1831, and numerous editions have been subsequently issued. It has been reprinted and largely circulated in the United States, with a preface and notes by the late Moses Stuart.

the relaxation of legal strictness in this matter, and for the change of day from the seventh, a day of death to the Saviour, to the first of the week; when he afresh displayed his glorious power by his resurrection from the dead. Of that most important event, the Christian Sabbath, held on the first day of each week, has been a living and effective, though silent witness, in each succeeding age of the church; and will, I doubt not, continue to be so, until she is finally glorified where the Sabbath never ceases."

"I wish it to be distinctly understood," he remarks on another occasion, "that in sometimes applying the term Sabbath to the first day of the week, as it is observed among Christians, I have had a view to the simple meaning of the Hebrew word, viz: 'cessation from labour.' And, while I am of the judgment that the setting apart of one day, after every recurring period of six days of labour, for the blessed purposes of rest and worship, is not to be regarded as a matter of mere expediency, but as a moral and religious duty, truly belonging to the law of our God; I fully unite in the sentiment expressed by Robert Barclay, and others of our early Friends, that no one portion of time ought to be regarded by Christians as in itself holier than another; that all our time is the Lord's, and that, ceasing from our own wicked works, and all the willing and running of the carnal mind, we must press forward after that glorious rest, (typified by the sabbath of the Jews,) of which a precious foretaste is bestowed even here; and which is perfected, for the people of God, in the world to come." *

FROM SIR FRANCIS PALGRAVE.

July 30th, 1831.

I cannot deny myself the pleasure of addressing you on the subject of your late little work. It is perhaps one of the most thoroughly argumentative and conclusive of any of the productions of a similar kind; and, under Providence, we may

* Letter to Stephen A. Chase, dated 7th mo., 26th, 1846.

hope that its utility will equal its merits. The seventh day cycle must have been adopted *simultaneously* (if such a term can be used) by all the different nations who adopt it, because they all seem to have had the same starting point. The first day of the Hindoos is the same actual first day as that of the Jews, or of the Teutonic nations. Had it been merely arbitrary, nations might have agreed in employing the same cycle, but their starting points would not necessarily have been uniform. * * In London the evil arising from Sunday papers is incalculable, though it is hopeless to attempt any legislative remedy.

In the Spring of this year he believed himself called into religious service in the West of England, particularly at Bristol and its neighbourhood. After alluding to the "deep conflict" into which his mind had been plunged in reference to this engagement, he says:—

O that I may be for ever delivered from my own willings and runnings, and have faith to follow the *clue* which is leading me, I trust, through the mazes of life to a joyful eternity.

Whilst absorbed in his labours at Bristol, one of his nephews, resident in the neighbourhood of London, was seized with a violent attack of illness.

"Were my engagements of a different kind," he writes to his sister Catherine, then in London, "it would be the greatest happiness that I could have, under the circumstances, to be with my dearest brother and sister; whose concerns you all know to be as near to me as almost anything in life, and I believe as life itself. But I dare not quit my work at present.* I never before, that I remember, set my hand to so weighty an engagement."

* This sentence is slightly transposed.

In his Autobiography he writes, in allusion to this period: —

About 270 visits were paid to the families of Friends; many public and other meetings were held; and the conclusion was marked by great peace, and the general love and unity of my friends. I met with some interesting persons at Bristol besides Friends; among others, Conybeare, the geologist; and Dr. Prichard, the author of the Physical History of Man, &c.: persons in whose hands science, of prime order, comes in as the handmaid and supporter of religion. Among the meetings held at my request at Bristol, four were for the express purpose of instructing the younger part of the Society, in the evidences of the Christian religion, historical, prophetical, and internal; also the scriptural ground of the views which distinguish our own body. They were appointed under a direct apprehension of duty, then and there impressed; and, I may truly say, in as much of dependence on divine help as meetings of a higher character. Friends entered into the concern with cordiality, and it is not to be denied that the seal of solemnity was graciously permitted to rest upon these meetings, and to crown their termination. I had previously held meetings of this kind at Kendal; and have since held many of the same description in Manchester, Liverpool, Newcastle, London, &c.; always with the sanction of the Friends among whom my lot was cast. My view of the subject is, that there is to be known and used in the Church, the gift of teaching, as well as that of preaching; that both these gifts are from the Spirit of the Redeemer; but that the former allows of freer exercise of our natural powers than the latter. It ought, in my opinion, to have no place in our meetings for worship; but on other occasions, both public and private, may be rightly exercised in the fear of the Lord. We shall never thrive upon ignorance. Our Creator would have us cultivate our understandings in matters of a religious as well as civil nature. The great rule is, that all should be subordinate to the highest object, all "in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ," all "for the glory of God." While this

rule is observed, there is no danger. When I speak of *teaching* as having no place in our meetings for worship, I refer to that lower gift, the exercise of which does not rise to the scale of gospel ministry; but in a wider sense of the term there will often be much of teaching in the public services of rightly qualified ministers. Like the apostles of old, they will "not cease to *teach* and to preach Jesus Christ." *

A letter to one of his children has already been introduced. His mode of communicating with them may be further illustrated by the following extracts from a letter to his son at school, written whilst at Melksham, on his way to Bristol.

Elm Grove, 4th mo., 8th, 1831.

Τῷ καιρῷ δουλεύοντες.

Rom. xii, 11. Griesbach's Text.

My Dear J—— H——,

I suppose thou hast observed the motto on my title-page, and I trust thou hast found no difficulty in translating it. "Serving the time." The more commonly

* Some idea of the general character of the addresses delivered at the meetings here referred to may be obtained from a little volume published in 1835, by Hamilton, Adams, and Co., under the title of Four Lectures on the Evidences of Christianity, delivered in Southwark, 1834, to the Junior Members of the Society of Friends, by J. J. Gurney, Esq. This volume, printed from short-hand notes, never received Joseph John Gurney's sanction, and abounds with inaccuracies obvious to every intelligent reader. With all these disadvantages, however, the excellent spirit that pervades the addresses, as here given, is very conspicuous; and many of the observations, especially in the third lecture, "On the Divinity of Christ;" and in the fourth, "On the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit," and its development in the principles and practices of Friends, are striking and appropriate, and throughout highly practical. Far indeed was it from his desire, to cherish the acquisition of knowledge, rather than that deep-searching heart-work which he knew, from his own experience, to be all-important.

received text is rendered, "Serving the Lord;" but there is a preponderating authority of ancient manuscripts and versions in favour of the words of my motto; and, whilst the whole Scripture is calculated to impress upon us the primary duty of serving the Lord, we may be content to derive from this particular passage a very useful though subordinate lesson. What is that lesson? It is, that we should be *always on the watch to make a good use of our time.* As the servant who waits well on his master is ever on the *qui vive* to know what will next be wanted, so are we to wait on the hours, and even on the moments, of each passing day, to know what duties they point out to us, or what employment they suggest for the improvement of our minds. There is nothing more astonishing, or more calculated to impress us with the glorious, incomprehensible nature of God, than the infinite magnitude and minuteness of nature. The wonders developed to us by the telescope are matched by those which the microscope reveals — and powerful as these instruments are become, through the devices of modern science, they each leave unperceived an infinity of marvels into which man cannot dive. Something after the same sort may be observed as it relates to time. Philosophers are sometimes heard to speak, not only of the eternal courses of ages and centuries, but of the endless divisibility of moments; and the best of all philosophy teaches us that with God "a thousand years are as one day;" and also, that "one day" is "as a thousand years." How watchful and diligent then ought we to be in applying even the shortest spaces of time to their right use! I do not mean to infer that we are always to be on the strain; far from it. We do not serve a hard Master. I mean only, that while we tread the course of life with a step at once steady and easy, we should never degenerate into indolence; but be quick to seize every passing opportunity, both for doing good to others and for the cultivation of our own minds. We should, in this respect, endeavour to form the habit of vigilance, and such a habit will be sure to yield us an abundant return both of pleasure and profit.

I have sometimes endeavoured to apply these principles to

travelling, in which a considerable portion of the time of many persons is almost unavoidably occupied. A call of duty or business may often carry us to places at a distance from our own homes. Is the time taken up by the *journey* to be one of mere indolence? Is the convenience of being conveyed from one place to another to be the only profit which it shall yield? Ought we not rather to make a point, on such occasions, of adding to our stock of knowledge, and of useful ideas, by reading, conversation, and reflection? Is there no object of interest which may be examined by the way? Is there no person of piety or talent with whom we may find a passing opportunity of communicating? Are the motions of the coach or the chariot so rapid that we cannot leave behind us, as we pass from place to place, important instruction, in the form of Bibles, Testaments, or Tracts? *Much* may not be required of us, but it is well, if on our arrival at the place of our destination, we can acknowledge that we have both received and communicated a *little* good in the course of our journey.

I propose to illustrate these remarks by some account of the incidents of the journey which thy dear mother and I have just been taking from Earlham to Elm Grove: not because we consider ourselves by any means so watchful over our time in travelling, as we ought to be; but because it so happened that this transit from Norfolk to Wiltshire, required as it was by the calls of affection and duty, has afforded us some unexpected opportunities both of pleasure and mental improvement. Had we not been in some degree on the watch for them, they might have passed by us, unnoticed and unimproved. Since, however, our route, for the most part, lay through an uninteresting country, I shall confine myself to some notice of an afternoon at Cambridge, and a morning at Oxford, for both these places were on our nearest road.

We left home last third day morning before breakfast, with dear little Anna for our companion, and arrived at Cambridge—sixty-three miles—by three o'clock in the afternoon. How grateful ought we to be for well trained horses, and well made roads, which of late years have been the means of so curiously compressing distances; so that, for example, the

citizen of Norwich becomes the near neighbour of the citizen of Cambridge. Ere long, *steam* may probably bring us into yet closer proximity!

As we drove up to the Eagle Inn, we met our dear nephew, E— B—, a student of Trinity college, who was our faithful companion during the remainder of the day; and G— H— afterwards joined us. After ordering dinner we sallied forth for a walk: but first sent a note to our dear friend, Charles Simeon, the well-known fellow of King's College, to propose spending part of the evening with him. While we were absent from the inn, there arrived a small, characteristic note, hastily written by him in pencil—"Yes, yes, yes, come immediately and dine with me!" Simeon has the warm and eager manners of a foreigner, with an English heart beneath them. He is full of love towards all who love his Master, and a faithful, sympathizing friend to those who have the privilege of sharing his more intimate affections. To all around him, whether religious or worldly, he is kind and courteous: and by this means, as well as by the weight of his character, he has gradually won a popularity at Cambridge, which now seems to triumph over all prejudice and persecution. He is upwards of seventy years of age, but his eye is not dim, his joints not stiffened, his intellect not obscured. His mind, lips, eyes, and hands move along together in unison. And singularly pliable and rapid is he both in his mental and bodily movements: quick to utter what he feels, and to act what he utters. His conversation abounds in illustrations; and, while all his thoughts and words run in the channel of religion, he clothes them with brightness and entertainment; and men, women, and even children, are constrained to listen. * * *

We declined his invitation to dinner, and had no intention of intruding upon him before the evening; but as we were walking near King's College, we heard a loud halloo behind us, and presently saw our aged friend, forgetful of the gout, dancing over the lawn to meet us. Although the said lawn is forbidden ground, except to the fellows of the college, we had little hesitation in transgressing the law on such an occasion; and our hands were soon clasped in his with all the warmth of

mutual friendship. He then became our guide, and led us through several of the colleges. * * *

Our venerable friend seemed to take great delight in showing us the beauties of his favourite Cambridge; and as we walked along, we conversed pleasantly together.

I was observing that age was not sufficiently reverenced in the present day.

SIMEON. "It is worthy of reverence when found in the way of *righteousness*."

We were soon afterwards talking of the crude zeal of many persons, who lose their balance in religion, and seem inclined to drive up the church of Christ into a narrow corner. This led us to think of the wisdom which is without partiality.

SIMEON. "I have long pursued the study of Scripture with a desire to be *impartial*. I call myself neither a predestinarian nor an anti-predestinarian; but I commit myself to the teaching of the inspired writers, whatever complexion it may assume. In the beginning of my inquiries, I said to myself, one thing I know assuredly—that in religion, of myself, *I know nothing*. I do not therefore sit down to the perusal of Scripture in order to *impose* a sense on the inspired writers, but to *receive* one, as they give it me. I pretend not to *teach* them; I wish, like a child, to be taught *by* them. When I come to a text which speaks of election, I delight myself in the doctrine of election. When the apostles exhort me to repentance and obedience, and indicate the freedom of my will, I give myself up to that side of the question, and behold I am an Arminian! Don't you know, my dear brother, that the wheels of your watch move in opposite directions? Yet they are all tending to *one result*. Let two balls be projected from equal angles—I care not what angle it may be—against a third ball lying before them; and if the forces are even, it will move forward in a line perfectly straight. But if the ball on the right hand be alone projected against the central ball, the latter will fly off to the left. If the left hand ball is the only one which strikes it, away it rolls to the right. So it is in religion. Hope and fear are the strongest motives which actuate the mind of man. Here comes the doctrine of election, fraught with hope and

consolation, and strikes the mind of the believer from one quarter. From the opposite quarter comes the doctrine of free-will and man's responsibility, calculated to excite our *fear*. They operate in true harmony, and the believer moves straight *forward*. Let him embrace the doctrine of election only, and off he goes to the left hand; or of free-will only, and away he flies to the right. Nothing will preserve him in a straight line, but the joint action of both motives, or, in other words, undivided Christianity. Why in Scotland, Sir, they will tell you that heaven itself is not large enough to hold John Wesley." We now reached the new hall of King's just as the college dinner was awaiting him. "You see I have taken leave of the gout," said he merrily, as he leaped up the steps.

In the evening we walked to Simeon's rooms, and met with the usual warm and courteous reception. Over the chimney piece, in his drawing room, hangs an interesting picture of Henry Martyn; once the *élève* of Simeon at Cambridge, and senior wrangler in his year; afterwards the devoted missionary of high talent and love unfeigned, who counted not his life dear unto himself, "that he might finish his course with joy, and the ministry which he had received of the Lord Jesus to testify the *gospel of the grace of God*."

SIMEON. "The picture was painted in India. When I went to the India House, in London, and saw the box opened, I started back with mixed emotions of sorrow and delight, when I beheld the countenance of my beloved Henry. As I retreated to the other end of the room, I heard the people saying—'That is his FATHER.'"

Whilst we were enjoying our cup of tea, our dear friend continued to converse in his own peculiar manner. * * *

SIMEON. "Perfect religion is to the soul what the soul is to the body. The soul animates the whole person. It sees through the eye—hears through the ear—tastes through the mouth—handles through the hands—talks through the tongue—reflects through the brain. The whole body is moved and regulated by an impulse from within. Let religion take full possession of the soul, and it will be found to actuate all its movements, and direct all its powers. There

will be no violent efforts, no stiffness, no awkwardness. All will be natural and easy. An unseen and gentle influence will pervade the *whole mind*, and regulate the *whole conduct;* and thus the creature will gradually become conformed to the image of his Creator. This, my brother, is perfect religion."

We talked of spiritual *discernment.* I mentioned the declaration of Paul, that "the spiritual man judgeth all things (πάντα ανακρίνει) and is judged himself of no man."

SIMEON. "Yes, my brother, the spiritual man has a sense of his own; or rather, his natural vision is corrected, and rendered applicable to divine things, by an influence from above. I am told to look at the planets. I can see Jupiter and Venus; but there is the Georgium Sidus. I look again —I strain my eyes — I cannot see it. Here, take the telescope. O! yes, now I see it. How beautiful the star! how perspicuous the vision! You tell me to read that almanack. I am young and short sighted. The ball of my eye is too convex; the rays meet before they arrive at the *retina.* My brother, it is all confusion. I am old, my lens is flattened; the rays meet even *behind my head:* the retina is left untouched by them. Give the young man those spectacles with a concave glass. Now he sees! now he can read the book! now the rays meet precisely on his retina. Here, my *old* friend, take these convex glasses; they will rectify your fading vision. He sees! he reads! again the retina is touched and pencilled with nice precision. So it is with the Spirit. In whatever manner or degree the vision of the soul is disordered, the Spirit is always applicable—always a rectifier! The wordling is like the mariner of ancient times, who had nothing to guide him through the trackless deep but the sun, the moon, and the stars: when these were veiled, all was obscurity, guess work, and peril. But the religious man, however simple, is like the *modern* mariner, who has a compass on board, which will always guide him aright, however cloudy the atmosphere, however dark the night. The Christian has a compass WITHIN him — a faithful monitor — a clear director. If he consult his compass diligently, he will be sure to form a right decision on every moral question;

while the proud philosopher, who knows no such teacher, is tossed on the waves of doubt and confusion. And how is this? Why, my dear brother, 'he is renewed in the *spirit* of his mind.' It is because his *dispositions* are rectified, that his vision is restored."

The hour of the evening was advancing, and these beautiful remarks formed a happy conclusion to familiar conversation. His respectable elderly female servants were now called in, and I was requested to read the Scriptures. I chose the first half of the third of Lamentations, and the passage, as I read it, seemed to me to be full of marrow. A very precious solemnity ensued, during which the language of prayer and praise arose; I humbly hope with acceptance. I believe both my dear wife and myself were ready to acknowledge that we had seldom felt with any one more of the "*unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.*" Under this feeling we took our leave.

We arrived at Oxford the following evening soon after dark. The next morning we rose early, and sallied forth, the weather being fine, for a stroll before breakfast. Anna accompanied us, and our walk was very agreeable.

Adorned as Cambridge is with new buildings, we were constrained to confess that in point of scale, and grandeur, and classic beauty, Oxford is far the superior. It is indeed a delightful city; rendered peculiarly pleasant, by the intermixture of broad streets, noble buildings, and extensive gardens. We returned after breakfast to the Radcliffe Library, from the roof of which very handsome edifice there is quite an enchanting *coup d'œil*, which fully justifies this description. The inside of the Radcliffe Library furnishes some objects of great interest. It is a library of medicine and natural history; with the exception of a few theological books. Amongst these are two Bibles, well worthy of particular notice. The first is a highly finished and delicate manuscript of the Hebrew Scripture, exquisitely illuminated. The second is Dr. Kennicott's own manuscript, from which was published his Hebrew Bible, with collations. He is said to have collated upwards of 600 Hebrew MSS.; and this copy, from which his

great work was printed, affords an evidence that order came to the assistance of his industry. A slip, containing a single verse of printed Hebrew, is pasted on the top of every blank space, and below those slips the Dr. has notified all the various readings with a neatness and beauty of penmanship which are quite uncommon. He is said to have been taught writing by his father, who was a merchant's clerk. From this work of elaborate assiduity, we turned to some of the ever varied, ever easy sports of nature,—a thousand admirable specimens, collected and arranged in beautiful order, of marbles, alabasters, gypsums, lavas, porphyries, agates, &c. The collection was made and presented to the University by Corsi, the Italian naturalist. The various beauty of these stones, which are all finely polished, almost overwhelms the mind with a sense of the profusion with which the Creator has scattered his ornaments even where they lie deeply hidden from the eye of man.

> "Full many a gem of purest ray serene
> The dark unfathomed caves of ocean bear;
> Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,
> And waste its sweetness on the desert air."

I now proposed to make a call on Dr. Macbride, the master of Magdalen Hall. He is a man who bears the character of much literary acquirement, as well as talent, and what is better, of decided piety. He has supported the Bible Society at Oxford with a noble spirit of independence. We found him at home, and, with his lady, he received us very courteously. I had sent him a copy of my Biblical Notes, which I was pleased to find had met his approbation, and we soon fell into conversation. He told me that the number of religious young men in the University was increasing, and that many of them bore the stamp of sober piety. One preacher at Oxford, known to both of us, flies high in doctrine, and holds out glowing expectations of the outward reign of the Messiah, even venturing to declare in *what year* he may be expected to appear.

MACBRIDE. "These new fancies are much to be regretted. Persons who occupy their speculative powers with calculations of the year of Christ's coming, may easily forget to *prepare themselves* for the event (whenever he may be pleased to come) by watchfulness and prayer. Such persons, instead of preaching the home truths of practical Christianity, convert religion into a sort of romance."

As we walked along to the New Press, we enjoyed some agreeable intercourse, and I soon found him to be an acute and well-informed, yet unaffected person. He told us that the Bodleian Library had now increased to a great extent, but that it was of no great use to the resident members of the University. Persons engaged in authorship often come from a distance, and obtain a free access to its almost innumerable treasures. The New Press, situated near the Observatory, and on the borders of the town, is an extensive and superb structure. The centre of the front is an imitation of the triumphal arch of Antoninus, and the Corinthian pillars are remarkably fine. Dr. Macbride pointed out to us a singular ornament which crowns each of their chapiters. It is the figure in stone of a small open Bible, with the University motto, (adopted at the time of the Reformation,) "DOMINUS ILLUMINATIO MEA." A truly appropriate device! On our entrance we found my old friend, Samuel Collingwood, conductor of the press; who first introduced us to the spacious apartment in which is carried on the miscellaneous printing. It is a curious and animating scene; very new to Anna, who seemed eager to take a lesson from one of the compositors, who was picking out his types with peculiarly rapid fingers. I was interested in observing the operation of the *roller*, which effects a far more even distribution of the ink than the old ball or puff; and we were delighted with the rapidity with which the pressmen were converting blank sheets of paper into the well printed pages of Dr. Burton's new edition of the Greek Testament with English notes. * *

Samuel Collingwood now led us to the other side of the house into the vast room where the Bibles are printed. A more interesting sight can hardly be imagined. To behold

the mighty powers of the press directed exclusively and perpetually to one object, and that object the diffusion of the truths of Christianity, could not fail to excite many sensations of a very satisfactory as well as interesting kind. Nor does it appear that the business of this part of the University Press will be diminished even if the printing of Bibles (now restricted by law to the King's printer and the two Universities) should be thrown open; since the many advantages which they possess will enable them, according to their own account, to defy all competitors. Collingwood is, however, of opinion, that the measure would be a dangerous one, as giving an almost unlimited opportunity for the falsification of the sacred text. He says this has already taken place, to a dangerous extent, in Bibles printed with notes; such Bibles not being included in the restriction. Thus are we often driven in this world of variety and change, to a choice of evils; for the present restriction is certainly in some respects an *evil.*

MACBRIDE. "It is a singular circumstance, that the exclusive right of the Universities to print Bibles is grounded on no royal grant or charter given to us. It is merely implied in a few words of exception, contained in the charter of the King's Printer."

The Doctor now began to time the printers, and to calculate in what space of time all of them together could produce a whole Bible.

COLLINGWOOD. "I will save you the trouble of that calculation, as I have gone over the ground before you. Supposing all our presses to be in action, (as they often are,) and supposing the work to be distributed for the purpose, we should produce a complete Old Testament, New Testament, and Prayer Book every minute. This is the rate at which we pour forth religious knowledge into Great Britain."

While we walked up and down the apartment, we enjoyed some interesting converse. I was comparing the immense rapidity of production thus obtained, through the art of printing, with the life-long manual labour of the scribe who produced that exquisite manuscript of the Hebrew Scriptures which we had just been examining in the Radcliffe Library.

MACBRIDE. "Yet I sometimes think that the art of printing came before its time, was discovered before it was *wanted*. Many years elapsed before printed books were much circulated. Caxton's productions, for example, were kept in closets, and shown as curiosities."

Collingwood, who now joined us, recalled our attention to his own subjects. "The invention of stereotyping is so far good that it will enable us, with the same plates, to strike off about one hundred thousand copies of a book, but this is the extent. After this number the book becomes very shabby and indistinct. But standing types, composed in the usual way, and not forming one plate, are vastly more efficacious. With these we can print more than a million copies of a book with scarcely any perceptible deterioration. Not only can we rid ourselves, when we please, of a defective letter, but the manufacture of individual letters is far more successful than of stereotype plates. The article produced is very much stronger."

He now showed us the hydraulic presses, used in compressing the sheets after they are printed. The pressure is that of water, rising in a tube from below; and although the machine is not large, yet with a very small amount of manual labour it exerts a force equal to that of the weight of 250 tons of water. How admirable, how unquestionably useful is such an application of natural philosophy! And what a shame, my dear boy, that any of us should be ignorant of these things!

We were now led through the wetting room, where the quires of paper are dipped and sprinkled, and the moisture diffused by pressure through the whole mass; also through the drying room, where innumerable printed sheets are hung like linen on horizontal poles; and lastly we visited a sort of warehouse, where stacks of unbound printed Bibles and Prayer Books are seen rising on every side to various elevations.

Our time of leisure was now fully spent, we took a cordial leave of our benevolent and agreeable friends, and returned to our inn. As the clock struck twelve, our carriage came

round to the door, and we soon found ourselves on the road to Melksham.

Of our diligence in general, or of the use which we make of our journeys, we freely confess that we have nothing to boast. But I wish thee to observe, that on the present occasion, a very little vigilance and activity enabled us to see much that was worth seeing, and to hear much that was worth hearing in a SHORT SPACE OF TIME.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1831—1832. ÆT. 43—45.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS AND JOURNALS; ESSAY ON THE MORAL CHARACTER OF CHRIST; CONTROVERSY IN THE BIBLE SOCIETY ON THE ADMISSION OF UNITARIANS; TERMS OF UNION; THE PORTABLE EVIDENCE OF CHRISTIANITY; RELIGIOUS VISITS TO BIRMINGHAM AND LANCASHIRE; MEETINGS IN THE OPEN AIR; ADDRESS TO THE MECHANICS OF MANCHESTER; DEATH OF JOSEPH KINGHORN; CONFERENCE IN LONDON ON THE REVISION OF THE "BOOK OF EXTRACTS."

TO JONATHAN HUTCHINSON.

Earlham, 6th mo., 26th, 1831.

* * I do love and hail that blessed principle of the Lord's own "anointing" which fits the weakest and poorest for his service, and "out of the mouths of babes and sucklings perfects praise." If our religious Society be preserved amidst the shakings of the day, it must be by our adhering firmly to this principle, not forgetting the foundation on which it stands, even "Christ crucified," our "resurrection and our life," our only "hope of glory."

Referring to the illness of one of his children, he writes in his journal:—

Third day morning, [*7th mo.*, 12*th.*] Yesterday was one of great anxiety respecting our dear boy. I have had a short time of religious communication with him this morning. I explained to him that as his medical attendants were physicians to his body, so Christ is the physician to his soul; that he made an atonement on the cross for our sins, and that when we are made to suffer we ought to remember him who

suffered unutterably for us. I read to him some verses of evangelical consolation from 1 Peter ii, and, after a little silence, poured forth with him a few words of thanksgiving and prayer.

Sixth day morning. Since the last entry there has been gradual amendment, and to-day an evident appearance of convalescence. It is to me like a second edition of this precious gift of my Heavenly Father.

FROM JONATHAN HUTCHINSON.

Gedney, 7th mo., 16th, 1831.

I would that we always approached the writings of our early predecessors with caution and tenderness; treading lightly on the remains of the honourable dead. With the controversies of these ancient worthies, or their manner of conducting them according to the spirit of their age, we have now, I apprehend, little or nothing to do. Neither are we called upon to imitate or defend the occasional obscurity and tautology of their style. One thing it may be well for us to remember, that from these voluminous works may be extracted an essence of as pure and sublime truth as (if we except the Holy Scriptures,) ever, perhaps, fell from the lips or flowed from the pen of man; so that, on the whole, I am inclined to believe the best apology for the writings in question, if indeed they need one, would be an attentive and unprejudiced perusal of them, when they would themselves be found to be their best and, perhaps, altogether sufficient expositors.

7th mo., 31*st.* This morning we committed to the earth the mortal remains of poor ——, whom I have several times visited on his death-bed, and to whom I endeavoured to speak faithfully. He was one for whom I felt a regard, though the world spoke against him, and I have reason to believe that his illness was blessed to him, as the means of bringing him home to Christ as his only hope.

In the 8th and 9th months of this year Joseph John Gurney was engaged in the holding of various

religious Meetings in his own county, and afterwards, as a member of the Yearly Meeting's Committee, in a visit to Friends in Suffolk.

TO JONATHAN HUTCHINSON.

Earlham, 8th mo., 17th, 1831.

* * * I sometimes think that the ministry of the gospel is the only thing I know which practice *never makes easy.* I believe I may say with truth that much engagement of this kind was never preceded in me, by a greater degree of conflict, than it has been during the present year. I doubt not that this very thing, though a source of suffering, is to be numbered among the tender mercies of our Lord. * * * How beautiful is the idea of "living, ever springing water!" An old Greek commentator remarks on John iv, that Paul had drunk of this water, when he said, "forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press towards the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus." May this heavenly spring continue to refresh and nourish thee, my beloved friend, and may it yet make glad the whole heritage of the Lord!

9th mo., 25th. My dearest wife and I left home on sixth day afternoon, after a busy, clearing morning, the 9th of the 9th month. I held a good public meeting in the Methodist Meeting House, at Attleborough, that evening; and went up the next day to Upton, where we spent an interesting Sabbath. The death of our dear friend Eliza Masterman cast a deep and affecting solemnity over the day. I went down to Chelmsford on third day morning. There I met my brethren on the Suffolk committee, Peter Bedford, Joseph Marriage, and Richard Burlingham. The Essex Quarterly Meeting on third day was large; and, to my apprehension, a time of remarkable and dignified solemnity.

It is a confirming circumstance to me that, looking at the multitude of hours I have spent at Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, I have never found reason to believe that time so occupied is lost, or that it could be better spent. The Master

often condescends to smile upon us at such times. I do believe he still graciously protects our little scattered Society; and sanctions our principles, as flowing from himself.

10*th mo.*, 8*th.*, *Seventh day.* The visit of the [Yearly Meeting's] committee in this county has been very acceptable. They have all been staying at Earlham, much to our pleasure and comfort, and we desire to be thankful for such society and intercourse.

First day. We have our friend Richard Cockin still with us. His bright and tender old age is very animating, and I hope his example and Christian deportment will long live in our recollection.

Second day. The Reform Bill, it seems, is thrown out by a large majority (41) of the Lords. I do not feel either grieved or anxious; yet it is to be feared that the event will cause considerable agitation. May the protecting hand of Divine Providence be over the nation, and with its head!

10*th mo.*, 24*th.* Visits last week to Tivetshall and Harling, connected with the subject of tithe paying; in which some few in different parts of the county continue to be unfaithful. The importance of the testimony which Friends bear against the ecclesiastical system has been confirmed to me in the course of this little service.

After feelingly alluding to "the awful riots, conflagrations, and loss of life at Bristol," he continues his Journal a few days later:—

11*th mo.*, 14*th.* The accounts of the cholera at Sunderland affecting and alarming; the whole prospect calculated to bring the mind into much seriousness. But I have felt the inexpressible privilege of having a "Rock" to flee to; and have been permitted, at times, the enjoyment of much precious quietness of mind.

First day morning, [11*th mo.*, 20*th.*] A fire at one of our neighbour's farms; supposed to be the work of an incendiary; the frequently repeated acts of this description, and the apparently unsettled and ungodly state of the population are deeply

affecting. The cholera at Sunderland appears to increase. It has been my prayer this morning, for all near and dear to me, that we may find our refuge in the Ark of God. May the great Head of the Church graciously condescend to bless this Sabbath day, to the quieting and comforting of many weak and sorrowful minds, to the calming of many fierce passions, and to the gathering in of many souls from the reign of darkness and sin, to the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ!

12*th mo.*, 9*th*. We were favoured with a comforting meeting yesterday. I felt the oil flow in a way to which I have been of late much a stranger; and two of our women Friends were lively in the use of their gifts. How different from the confusion which appears to mark the wild notions of some worthy people in the present day! If there be gifts in the church, of which the exercise is spontaneous, and under the immediate influence of the Spirit, (in however low a degree,) silence is the only medium in which they can be exercised in order; and how abundantly good in itself is silence—the silence of the soul. May we increasingly know it to be in the *life!*

12*th mo.*, 11*th*. The accounts of the more rapid increase of the cholera at Sunderland, &c., are affecting and alarming. But let us remember that the scourge is sent in perfect wisdom and righteousness; I trust also in mercy, to call a wandering, sinful nation home to God. The unemployed and half-starving state of the poor has also been deeply trying to my feelings; and business has been fraught with considerable cares. O that I may have strength given to me, both to trust and to rejoice in the Lord my God!

12*th mo.*, 16*th*. My wife and I went to Tivetshall Monthly Meeting yesterday, being much interested about an appointment of overseers there. The meeting was a good one, and the appointment satisfactorily made; so that we returned home with a peaceful and satisfied feeling. I find that such a feeling peculiarly rests on any little service tending to build up or maintain our religious Society: which, I trust, amidst all discouragements, we may humbly receive as a token for good.

First day night, 12*th mo.*, 26*th*. This has been a peaceful and edifying day. I rose in good time, and wrote before

breakfast, read Isaiah xxvi in Hebrew, and walked to Meeting. The working of truth in the mind of John Fothergill, as represented in his Journal, has been a source of instruction to me this afternoon. May the same "anointing" be in me and upon me; and may the Lord still graciously make a way for me, that I may be devoted to his service. This evening we have enjoyed the first two chapters of Luke. It is a blessed, delightful, soul-satisfying thing, to think of the unutterable gift of a Saviour. O that all men knew and loved him!

The year 1832 was one of much exertion. In the early part of it, Joseph John Gurney's intervals of leisure were closely occupied by several important literary undertakings, whilst other labours of various kinds continued rapidly to succeed one another. In the course of the preceding summer, he had written a brief Essay on the Moral Character of our Lord Jesus Christ; which was soon afterwards published. The following characteristic extract may properly find a place here:—

"In these days of much polemical discussion of various clashing opinions, and, I fear, of no little bitterness of spirit among the professed followers of Jesus, it is well for us all to remember that, in Scripture, his example is presented to us with an especial reference to love and union; humility and condescension; patience and forbearance. 'If I then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet; ye ought also to wash one another's feet. For I have given you an example that ye should do as I have done to you.' * 'This is my commandment, that ye love one another as I have loved you.' † * * It is of the highest importance to the cause of true religion, that all who love the Lord Jesus Christ should keep the watch over their own spirits, and pray for

* John xiii, 14, 15 † John xv, 12.

ability to fulfil these injunctions. In order to this, let us cultivate a sense of our ignorance and weakness, and dwell in deep humility before God. Let us be more ready to cast the beam out of our own eye than to attempt to extract the mote out of the eye of a brother. And while we adhere with unalterable firmness to 'the truth as it is in Jesus,' let our religion be the religion of principle rather than of opinion, of the heart rather than of the head." *

With such views and feelings, it can excite no surprise that he looked with anxiety and sorrow upon the controversy that was now agitating the Bible Society, whether Unitarians should be allowed to continue in membership with it; whether some test should not be imposed which would insure their exclusion; and whether prayer should not be publicly offered at the various meetings of the institution. The object of the Bible Society having been, from the first, the circulation of the Holy Scriptures "*without note or comment*," nothing sectarian had hitherto marked its character; and no other test of membership was required than the desire to co-operate in the circulation of the inspired volume.

"Like other old-fashioned friends of the cause," says Joseph John Gurney, "I was anxious to maintain the original principles of the Society; and in support of them I published a pamphlet entitled Terms of Union, of which many thousands were circulated. I trust it was beneficial as showing that the security of the Society lay not in the ineffectual bondage of a test; but in the purity and evangelical bearing of its object, and in that gracious protection of the great Head of the Church with which it had hitherto been

* From the Amethyst for 1832; reprinted in Joseph John Gurney's Minor Works, Vol. ii, 132—133.

favoured. In short, the strength and glory of the Bible Society consists in two things, the godliness of its design, and the simplicity of its constitution. Many there were of various denominations, who then rallied round the old standard; the Society weathered the storm and continues to flourish. Most wisely have its managers hitherto abstained from those public vocal offerings of prayer, which would have changed the true character of the meetings, and would almost certainly have become a source of difficulty and contention among the different denominations. Yet what true friend of this noble institution does not feel the importance of conducting all its concerns in the spirit of prayer; and in reverent dependence upon Him, without whose blessing all our exertions in his cause are less than nothing and vanity?"

The following extract from the Terms of Union, will illustrate his views upon a question of much practical importance.

"I have often thought that the grounds on which a serious Christian stands in connexion with other men, while he prosecutes his various objects in life, may be compared to the successive stories of a *pyramid*. When he is transacting the common business of the day, with men of all characters and conditions, he is surrounded by vast numbers of people, and stands on the broad basement story. Here, while he abstains from evil things, he is compelled to communicate with many evil persons; and he calls to mind the words of the Lord Jesus, 'I pray not that thou shouldest take them out of the world, but that thou shouldest keep them from the evil.' But now an hospital is to be built; he mounts to the second story, his ground is narrowed and his company lessens. The utterly selfish and dissolute disappear from his view; but he still finds himself in communication with the worldly as well as the religious; with the infidel as well as with the believer. Christian benevolence however has new services in store for him. A society is formed for distributing the Scriptures without note or comment. The object is one of undoubted

excellence, and he heartily engages in the cause. Here he stands on the third section of the pyramid. Again the company is diminished; again the circumference is contracted. Yet it is large enough to comprehend all reflecting persons of every class who value the Bible and approve of its dissemination. Our philanthropist knows that the work is pure and good, and though he by no means agrees in sentiment with all who co-operate in it, the last thing he dreams of is to narrow the circle either of its friends or of its efficacy.

"But while in distributing the Bible he stands on a common level with all who approve that object, he well knows the importance of a sound interpretation of its contents; and on the next story of the pyramid he finds himself engaged with rather fewer companions, and within somewhat narrower boundaries in a Missionary Society, or in a sabbath-day school, formed for the express purpose of affording, to those who need it, *evangelical* instruction. The merely nominal Christian, and the Socinian subscriber to the Bible Society have now parted from him; yet he is still encompassed by many persons whose religious views, on secondary points, differ from his own. He ascends, therefore, when occasion requires it, to an area of still smaller dimensions, and there he joins the members of his own church, in distributing tracts written in defence of the sentiments or practices peculiar to themselves. Finally he has some solitary duty to perform, or some opinion, all his own, to maintain or develope; and behold, he stands alone on the top of the pyramid."

The Terms of Union had engaged his leisure in the early part of the year. Another work, of greater magnitude and importance, completed about the same time, had been in hand for a much longer period.

"Dr. Chalmers had much impressed me," he writes in the Autobiography, "with a sense of the value of the Portable Evidence of Christianity, as he called it, meaning that which every Christian carries about with him in his own mind

and experience.* I subsequently gave up no inconsiderable portion both of mind and time to the thinking out of this subject; the result of which, after some delays, was the little volume published by me under that name. I am inclined to consider it the most useful of my works; and I hope it is calculated to lay hold of the heart, as well as to convince the head. This, at least, was my intention. It has sold largely in England; has been translated into French; and has been republished in America by Dr. Wayland, president of one of the colleges. The Searcher of hearts knows that I boast not of the performance. If there be any good in it, it is all of him; and as for myself, I can only wonder that such an one should be employed in any such service. Praised and for ever adored be his holy name! May it be glorified by me whether in life or in death."†

The Terms of Union and the Portable Evidence, were both of them published early in the Spring. They were hardly completed before he was called into another extensive field of labour. He left home in the beginning of the third month; and, after visiting the families of Friends at Birmingham and its neighbourhood, proceeded into Lancashire, where, especially at Liverpool and Manchester, and the adjacent manufacturing districts, he was largely engaged in preaching the gospel. From Liverpool he writes

TO JONATHAN HUTCHINSON.

5th mo., 7th, 1832.

My dear Friend,

The constant flow of religious engagements (like wave after wave,) has prevented my earlier notice of thy

* See *supra*, p. 419.

† Besides being largely circulated through other channels, it has been published in a cheap form by the Religious Tract Society in London. It is reprinted in the first volume of Joseph John Gurney's Minor Works.

very acceptable and timely letter. The train of thought which it contains is just in correspondence with my own; for I have had to plead for immediate revelation, and for that ancient principle of our religious profession, the Lord's "anointing," or the Spirit of Christ in us, and upon us, without which we can do nothing well for his precious cause, or for our own soul's salvation. There are many dangers abroad in the present day. Some are for justifying themselves by their own works; and others, while they delight in the evangelical foundation, are too apt to disregard that superstructure which has been long precious to some of us, as to our forefathers in the truth. I cannot describe to thee the exercise of mind through which I have passed, especially in Manchester and at this place.

His labours in Lancashire were interrupted by the Yearly Meeting and an interval of rest at home.

Earlham, 6th mo., 17th. The Yearly Meeting was on the whole well attended, and appeared to me to be an improvement upon that of last year. Something like conflict of opinion was apparent; some being rather prone to clip the gospel, and others full enough inclined to omit a sufficient reference to the spiritual work, and the testimonies of Friends. For my own part, I felt deeply concerned on the one hand, that the glorious gospel should have free course, and Christ be set forth in all his gracious offices; and, on the other, that Friends might be called home to their ancient spiritual principles, and that we might be encouraged not to forsake any of our testimonies. I found it my duty to pay a visit to the women Friends, when the comparison of the word of God to a two-edged sword was deeply before me. The minister of Christ must cut down self-righteousness by the right hand stroke of his sword, and with the left hand stroke, self-indulgence. It was a deep and difficult exercise.

In allusion to various communications in the ministry, he remarks:—

I felt a desire to open my ear to what the Spirit might say to the churches through whatever instrument, under whatever complexion. We must still have our watchmen and watchwomen at different and even opposite doors: but O that it may please the Head of the Church to inspire more and more of unanimity as well as love, and preserve us in the unity of the Spirit and the bond of peace!

The epistle is weighty, Christian, and comprehensive. A large committee sat on the subject of the heathen, and some important principles were discussed, and I hope settled. It was an interesting circumstance, that we had at this Yearly Meeting the company of four American brethren. Jonathan Taylor, who, had he lived, would have been a fifth, died in Ireland last autumn; and left behind him a character of unusual purity, loveliness, and brightness.

First day night, 6*th mo.*, 17*th.* I have to record a delightful Sabbath, rendered peculiarly instructive by the company of our dear friend Stephen Grellet. This evening, in a well-filled public meeting at Goat Lane, he preached on the new birth, in the fulness and clearness of the gospel. It was indeed a refreshing and satisfying occasion. May it sink deeply into many hearts, and lead to the production of much good fruit!

Second day morning. In my quiet sitting with my wife this morning, a view was opened to me of several distinct evil tendencies in my own mind. That view has been rather appalling, and reminds me of the absolute necessity of our endeavouring, through prayer and watchfulness, to have the work of sanctification applied to our particular failings,—to the sinfulness which actually besets us. In all this there is a large scope for the active and diligent co-operation of the believer with the grace of God.

7*th mo.*, 2*nd.* The Quarterly Meeting last week was well attended, and was a time of renewed gracious visitation, chiefly through the instrumentality of our dear friend Charles Osborne, from Indiana. He passed two days under our roof. His simplicity, humility, and Christian piety, are very exemplary. Yesterday evening he held a large public meeting in

the Gildencroft, in which the gospel was proclaimed with power, and which has left behind it a sweet savour on my mind.

7th mo., *22nd.* We intend leaving home early to-morrow morning. Tidings of cholera from various quarters; but we desire to go forth trusting in the Lord. How sweet to know that we belong to our Lord Jesus Christ, who bought us with his blood, and who is supreme over all things, natural and spiritual, to his church. May he condescend to be our guide; to be with us every moment!

The young people's meeting last sixth day evening was very relieving. I again found much peace in explaining the principles of Friends.

The completion of his labours in Lancashire was his principal object in again leaving home. Referring to this visit, which occupied about five weeks, he writes:—

I believed it to be my duty to hold several meetings in the open air in some large places; particularly at Oldham and Middleton, where the population is at once very large and uncultivated. A waggon was prepared for me at both places; and, besides my dear wife, our friend Abigail Dockray and others were my companions. At Middleton, where about two thousand persons were present, I was exposed to peculiar difficulty in consequence of having nearly lost my voice; but we were favoured to get through pretty well. At Oldham, the assembly was also very large, and I have seldom attended a more solemn and satisfactory meeting. I wish we had more of that faith which dwelt so largely in our forefathers, and led them to proclaim the truth in the highways and market places. It is obvious to me, that more of this kind of aggressive warfare is wanted; it is almost impossible, by any other means, to have communication with a large, rough, irreligious population; such as still exists in Lancashire, notwithstanding the increasing diffusion of the truth.

But another service in which I was at this time engaged, was, if possible, still more exercising to my mind. Feeling a lively interest in the mechanics of Manchester, a hard-headed, ingenious set of men, and having in vain attempted to obtain the company of any large number of them at the public meetings for worship, I believed it right to give a lecture, at the Mechanics' Institution, "on the right use and application of knowledge." The advertisement of my intention, which met the approbation of the committee, was published a fortnight beforehand. In the meantime, I was daily and hourly occupied in ministerial labours, and utterly unable did I feel to direct my thoughts to the subject. Only, I believed, I had that blessed sanction, for proposing both the lecture and the subject, which I have ever found to be the seed of a happy result. So I went on with each day's work, in the humble hope that the Lord would be with me in the hour of need. When the day came I was very poorly, my voice almost entirely gone. As I lay resting on my bed during the morning, and reading a little of Beattie and some other writers, a very few thoughts only was I able to collect that bore on the subject, so that in the evening, I went to the appointed place with a weak body and unfurnished mind, yet with some degree of humble confidence in the Lord. When I entered, I took my station on the floor, and could not but enjoy the spectacle of more than 1200 mechanics, occupying the raised seats of the amphitheatre to a very considerable elevation. O how merciful was the Lord to his poor servant on that occasion! Many were, I believe, secretly praying for me; and their prayers were answered. After speaking for about ten minutes, I entirely recovered my voice. This might have been owing in part to the arrangement now alluded to, which constrained me to lift up the head and throw out the chest; but I, nevertheless, gratefully acknowledge it to have been a special favour from the hand of my Divine Master. Clearness of ideas and fluency of speech were also graciously bestowed; matter in abundance both presented and developed itself as I proceeded; the audience was extremely attentive; and I spoke for an hour and three quarters without difficulty, taking them by guile,

and gently leading them from one point to another, until we ended with CHRIST.*

At once brief and comprehensive, popular and argumentative, the address is one eminently adapted for the class to whom it was delivered. None, perhaps, of Joseph John Gurney's published writings contain so many thoughts in so small a compass. The littleness of man; his ignorance and dependence contrasted with his exhaustless longings as an immortal being; the effect of all true knowledge in producing still deeper and deeper humility; the necessity of faith even in the ordinary transactions of life, and much more in our relation to the infinite Creator; the matchless wisdom, harmony, and love displayed in all the works of God, and, above all, in the great and glorious facts revealed in the Christian religion; the overwhelming amount of evidence in support of those facts; and the wondrous adaptation of the doctrines founded upon them to the wants, the capacities, and the otherwise unsatisfied desires of fallen man, are among the important topics which are here successively touched upon and enforced. One of his favourite illustrations may serve as a specimen of the whole.

"When a lock and key," he says, addressing his audience of mechanics, "are well fitted, a fair presumption arises, even though they be of a simple character, that they were made for each other. If they are complex in their form, that presumption is considerably strengthened. But if the lock is composed

* This address was soon afterwards published upon a penny sheet; and has been since widely circulated. It is reprinted in Joseph John Gurney's Minor Works, Vol. ii, pp. 169 to 199.

of such strange and curious parts as to baffle the skill even of a Manchester mechanic—if it is absolutely novel and peculiar, differing from everything which was ever before seen in the world—if no key in the universe will enter it, *except one*, and by that one it is so easily and exactly fitted, that a child may open it, then indeed are we absolutely certain, that the lock and the key were made by the same master-hand, and truly belong to each other. No less curiously diversified, no less hidden from the wisdom of man, no less novel and peculiar, are the prophecies contained in the Old Testament respecting Jesus Christ. No less easy, no less exact, is the manner in which they are fitted by the gospel history. Who then can doubt that God was the author of these predictions — of the events by which they were fulfilled — and of the religion with which they are both inseparably connected?"

FROM THE LATE BISHOP BURGESS.

Palace, Salisbury, October 23rd, 1832.

RESPECTED FRIEND,

I return you many thanks for the very interesting and valuable Address which you have had the kindness to send me. I should have thought it very improbable that a lecture to a meeting of mechanics could have given any one an opportunity of pressing upon their attention such a variety of intellectual, moral, and spiritual views. I cannot omit this occasion of saying how much I have been lately pleased with your beautiful compendium of Christian Evidences.

I am, with very sincere respect,

Your faithful servant,

T. SARUM.

FROM JONATHAN HUTCHINSON.

Gedney, 11th mo., 14th, 1832.

* * * Amidst the much that pleases me in this Address, there is one sentiment which I can most fully and cordially receive; it is that which supposes our humility to bear a considerable proportion to, if not to be dependent on, the *depth* of our knowledge, whether this knowledge be derived from

self-examination, philosophical research, religious inquiry, or the united influence of all these; a sentiment in support of which thou hast very appropriately introduced the name of one who, on account of his eminence both in science and lowliness of mind, has been justly denominated the child-like sage. As the true Christian would not desire a higher title, so perhaps he can scarcely propose to himself a brighter example than that of the pious philosopher, Isaac Newton.

First day, 9*th mo.*, 12*th.* On our arrival at Norwich this morning, we were met by the affecting news of Joseph Kinghorn's death, which took place last night about nine o'clock, I have no doubt in peace. "Surely," have I said in my heart, "our brother rests with God." He was a man for whom I have long entertained a settled and deep esteem, and a true affection. Although not without his prejudices, he was distinguished by unbending integrity and true piety, great learning, and a very happy, cheerful disposition. His conversation has been often delightful to me. Very few minds are better stored than his was; and very few persons knew better how to bring forth from their treasury "things new and old." May the event quicken our footsteps towards that celestial city, of which I reverently believe he is now an inhabitant! His death has reminded me of that of my beloved uncle. I think they were two of the most thoroughly respectable and estimable men in Norwich; and neither of them has left his like behind.

9*th mo.*, 17*th.* Catherine and I attended Joseph Kinghorn's funeral yesterday morning. After the service was over, I addressed a few sentences to the congregation, under a feeling of great solemnity, and bore testimony to my friend; but more especially to the grace and goodness of the Master whom he desired to serve.

9*th mo.*, 21*st.*, The day of the Bible Society meeting. We have abundant cause to be thankful for the aiding and preserving mercies of a most gracious God. I invited our Bible party to our Meeting at Goat Lane. It was a very solemn and interesting time.

In the eleventh month he attended a Conference of Friends in London, appointed to assist in a general review of the volume (then known as The Book of Extracts) containing the rules and advices of the Yearly Meeting, which more particularly relate to the internal government and discipline of the Society of Friends.

TO JONATHAN HUTCHINSON.

Earlham, 11th mo., 18th, 1832.

The revisal of The Book of Extracts brought before us, in succession, every subject of interest and importance to our Society; and some of the discussions were at once lively and weighty. We worked very hard: beginning at ten o'clock in the morning, and going on till half-past seven in the evening, allowing little more than an hour for dinner and about twenty minutes for tea, which was comfortably provided on the premises. This daily tea drinking appeared to me to be a sort of *love feast.* We were about eighty in number, and I think every sitting was begun and ended in a feeling of solemnity. The whole was concluded by a meeting for worship last fourth day morning at Gracechurch Street.*

Thus, my dear friend, it is evident that we are not forsaken of our great and glorious Head. May we trust him and serve him with all good fidelity, and we shall yet do well. I suppose thou hast heard of our friend Daniel Wheeler's prospect of visiting the Islands of the Pacific, Van Diemen's Land, and New South Wales. It was brought before the "Morning

* The results of the deliberations of the "Conference" here alluded to, after having been submitted to the approval of the Yearly Meeting of 1833, were, with a valuable explanatory preface, embodied in the volume, published in 1834, under the title of The Rules of Discipline and Advices of the Yearly Meeting; a volume which, as containing an authentic account of the discipline and usages of Friends, as well as for the Christian wisdom breathed throughout its pages, is well worthy the serious attention of members of other bodies of professing Christians.

Meeting" on second day; most of the "Conference Friends" being present; and, after serious deliberation, met with the full unity of the meeting. John and Martha Yeardley have a view to visiting Greece and the Islands of the Archipelago. Thus our "Missions" are going on apace!

First day afternoon, [11*th mo.*, 25*th.*] It is an unspeakable blessing to have our faith in the vast realities of the gospel enlivened and strengthened. The thought of many beloved ones now centred, I trust, with their Lord, is often very sweet to me. How joyful will be our re-union, where trouble, sorrow, and death will be no more! O Christianity, how great are thy treasures, and what rays of sunshine art thou the means of casting over a darkly clouded world!

Fourth day, [12*th mo.*, 11*th.*] Public affairs; the strife of party; the victories of the hot Tory partizans on the one side, and the brawlings of Radicals on the other; the absence of religious and even decently moral restraint, are subjects of deep lamentation to me, and I tremble lest the righteous cause of the Abolition of Slavery should still be frustrated. But I know there is One who surmounts the storm and rides on the wings of the wind.

[12*th mo.*, 26*th.*] I found it best to take the mail for Ipswich, on second day afternoon, with a view to the Quarterly Meeting held there yesterday. I returned this morning. The meeting in the morning was large and solemn, and in the evening the young people met me at the house of our dear friend Dykes Alexander; the party amounting to nearly ninety. The scriptural grounds of our various testimonies were unfolded. I trust the whole day was a time of favoured visitation to many, and I feel refreshed and comforted by the retrospect. What a mercy that one so weak and unworthy should be helped in time of need!

12*th mo.*, 31*st.* I feel the present a period of some critical importance in my life, and my soul has been brought into deep exercise and conflict, in the fear lest I should, in any respect, become a prey to the enemy. But I will not, I dare not, doubt the faithfulness of my God and Saviour.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1833. ÆT. 45.

ANTI-SLAVERY PROCEEDINGS; MEETING OF DELEGATES; PASSING OF EMANCIPATION ACT; ELECTION AT NORWICH; PETITION AGAINST BRIBERY; PROSPECT OF ENTERING PARLIAMENT; DOUBTS RESPECTING IT; ULTIMATE DECISION; COMMENCEMENT OF VISIT TO FRIENDS IN LONDON AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD; LETTER TO A YOUNG FRIEND; LETTER TO HIS CHILDREN; RACHEL FOWLER; GEORGE WITHY; WILLIAM WILBERFORCE.

THE important subject of Slavery, which had of late years given place to other questions of a more directly domestic and absorbing interest, was now again beginning to claim a large share of public attention. The efforts of the Abolitionists in 1823 and 1824, to which reference has been already made,* had spurred on the Government to some exertion; and for several of the following years no way had appeared open for more decided steps. But the opportunity afforded by the interval was not lost. The leading Abolitionists were diligently occupied in watching the progress and working of the remedial measures of the Government, and the disposition and conduct of both the planters and the slaves; and they failed not to take advantage of the openings that were presented for keeping alive

* See *supra*, pp. 253—255.

the attention of parliament and the public to the enormities and ruinous consequences attendant upon the system. A large mass of important evidence was accumulated. From tables, furnished by the Colonial authorities themselves, it was proved, in the most decisive manner, that the slave population was on the decline. The alarming fact was disclosed, that within the short space of twenty-three years, the number of slaves had diminished to the extent of 100,000. And yet, while ruin was thus following in the train of oppression, the planters had turned a deaf ear to the voice of warning. The golden opportunity had been frittered away unimproved. Not a step had been taken by any of the Colonial legislatures with a view to the extinction of slavery. The remedial propositions of the Government had been either wholly rejected or coldly received and studiously evaded. Meanwhile, public attention in England was more and more turned to the subject. And now that the great question of parliamentary reform was considered for the present settled, the abolition of Slavery became a leading topic of discussion; and soon ranked amongst the most popular questions of the day. The details of the movement are stated with so much clearness in the Memoirs of the late Sir Thos. Fowell Buxton,* that it is equally unnecessary as it would be out of place to repeat them here. The part taken by Joseph John Gurney in these efforts was necessarily subordinate, but his unabated interest in the cause requires that they should be briefly noticed. Whether the call was to cheer by encouragement, to aid by counsel, or to

* See particularly, chapters xvi to xx.

co-operate in a more active way, he was ever on the watch to assist his brother-in-law in the arduous struggle. In his Journal, towards the close of 1830, he describes himself as "closely engaged" with him "in arranging his parliamentary plan for the Abolition of Slavery." A few months later, offering to share his expenses in the contested election at Weymouth, he writes*:—

> I am sure that whatsoever thou mayest find it necessary to spend will be spent virtuously. Thy return to parliament was never more important than it is now that thou hast, so satisfactorily to everybody, taken the lead in the Slavery question.

And when, in the beginning of the year 1833, he saw the near approach of what he felt persuaded would prove the final conflict, he was induced at the election for the county of Norfolk to make an exception to his general practice of non-interference; and his speech to the electors against Slavery, with that of another gentleman upon the same subject, being immediately published and widely circulated, had considerable influence in promoting the return of the Anti-Slavery candidate.

Early in the first session of the new parliament, the Government were prevailed upon to undertake the final settlement of this great question. They were anxious, however, that the Anti-Slavery party should accede to some arrangement which would include a plan for compensation to the slaveholder. This occasioned fresh difficulties. In 1824, the

*Under date 4th mo., 30th, 1831. See also Memoirs of Sir T. F. Buxton, pp. 188—189.

question of gradual emancipation had been connected in the minds of many of its advocates, (and Joseph John Gurney was one of this number,) with the idea, in a form more or less defined, of compensation to the planter. It was thought (whether rightly or wrongly this is not the place to inquire) that the state, which had vested in the master the *legal* right of property in the slave, could not, without sharing in the loss, honourably undo the wrong which it had itself occasioned. But *gradual* emancipation, as it had been before understood, was now abandoned as hopeless. Nothing, it was now felt, was practicable but the total and immediate extinction of Slavery. And with an increased acquaintance with the horrors of the system, and a growing detestation of its inherent evils, many of the warm friends of the cause, carried away by their anxiety to do justice to the Negro, deemed all concession to his owner a dereliction of principle; nor could they endure the idea of striking a bargain with the oppressor."

Notwithstanding these difficulties, "it was determined," to use the words of the Memoir already referred to, "that the idea of acquiescing in some system of compensation should be broached to the Anti-slavery Society at its approaching annual meeting. This meeting was held on the 2nd of April, Lord Suffield taking the chair; and Mr. Buxton undertook the delicate task of introducing the proposal. * * * He was ably followed by Dr. Lushington, Mr. Joseph John Gurney, and others; and their exertions appeared to be crowned with unexpected success. * * * But while the leaders of the Anti-slavery party made this concession to Government, they still deemed it necessary to rally all their forces, and render their victory complete. * * * A circular was addressed by

the Committee to the friends of the cause in every considerable town, requesting them to appoint delegates, who were to meet in London on the 18th of the month, to represent in person the wishes of the nation. * * * The call was answered to an unexpected extent; and now the question arose, how, most prudently and effectually, to wield the force about to join them. Nor was the moment unattended with anxiety. It was very doubtful whether so many earnest advocates could be brought to act in concert. * * * They were not unlikely to mistake matters of expedience for matters of principle; and, in particular, to think that it would be a crime to give the planter compensation, however much the interests of the Negro might require concession. It was an occasion which called forth all Mr. Buxton's tact and powers of argument: but the delegates, strong and independent as their views were, placed a generous confidence in their leaders, and a sufficient degree of unanimity was at length obtained.

"It was necessary to frame an address to the Premier which should embody their sentiments. This difficult task fell to the lot of Mr. J. J. Gurney, and the paper which he prepared received a cordial assent. On the ensuing day they met again in Exeter Hall, and proceeded in a body to Downing Street." *

The result of these efforts is well known. The passing of the Act for the Abolition of Slavery before the close of the session, clogged though it was with the apprenticeship arrangement, could not but be hailed with satisfaction and gratitude: and, whatever diversity of opinion might exist as to compensation, there were few indeed who could not join in the thankful acknowledgment of William Wilberforce, that he had "lived to witness a day in which England was willing to give twenty millions sterling for the abolition of Slavery." Scarcely could

* Memoirs of Sir T. F. Buxton, pp. 313—317.

Joseph John Gurney have ventured to look for such a consummation of his wishes, when, in the early part of the year 1824, in a letter to his brother-in-law, an extract from which has been already given, after cheering him with the prospect of ultimate success, he had concluded with the inquiry, "Why should we expect to get the extinction of the monster into full train in less than *ten years?*"*

To return once more to his own more immediate course of labour. At the late election for the City of Norwich, — the first since the passing of the Reform Act — the Whig candidates, one of whom was his near relative, were defeated chiefly, as was generally believed, through the influence of bribery.

"As usual," writes Joseph John Gurney, "I took little or no part in the election; but when a petition was presented to Parliament against the returned members on the score of bribery, I imagined it to be my place to subscribe to the object; and wrote a letter in the Norwich newspapers stating the grounds of my so doing. Those grounds were in no degree personal, but simply moral and Christian.† But the

* See *supra*, p. 260.

† The following is a transcript of the letter in question: —

To the Editor of the Norfolk Chronicle.

While it is my earnest wish to promote good order and virtuous habits among the working classes of the community, and to assist in cutting off some of those temptations to evil by which they are surrounded, I have an utter abhorrence of party spirit; I know it is ever interfering with the quietness and welfare of our city, and am fully sensible how desirable it is, as a general rule, to avoid every measure calculated to excite its virulence or to prolong its reign. Under these feelings, it has been to me a subject of anxious consideration whether I ought, or ought not, to subscribe to the

"appearance" of evil was not avoided. The measure was misconstrued into an act of political partizanship; and I evidently lost ground by it in my own true calling,—that of

expenses of the Petition, which is about to be presented to Parliament, against the election of our present members. The result has been a determination to support the object; and I hope thou wilt kindly allow me, through the medium of thy journal, a public opportunity of stating my reasons.

I have been long convinced that the whole system of Norwich electioneering is fraught with moral mischief; and I have carefully abstained, for many years past, from mixing myself up with the proceedings of either party, and especially from subscribing a single shilling to any of our elections, whether local or general. I am desirous of having this system fairly brought before Parliament, and, after much reflection on the subject, I think there are good grounds for hoping that it will receive an effectual remedy.

Our Ward Elections, and other contests of a merely local nature, have long been a scene of shameless bribery, licentiousness, and corruption. Thousands of pounds have been spent on both sides in the horrid work of depriving the poor voters of their best treasures: integrity and temperance. The colours of an idle ribbon have been substituted for principle; and without the smallest reserve has the motto been adopted, "Let us do evil that good may come."

In the meantime, the General Elections have been subject to some considerable degree of decency and restraint. Pure indeed they have never been in the view of the Christian moralist, nor by any means inoffensive in the eye of the law. For my own part, I consider the old practice of treating the voters in public-houses as a preparation for the election, and that of afterwards remunerating them with guineas or half-guineas, to be in a very high degree objectionable and improper. It is very probable that corruption may have gone somewhat farther on these occasions than I am aware of; but the full introduction of Ward Election iniquity into the election of members has unquestionably been reserved for our last contest. Entertainments were given at the public-houses on the day of the election itself, and direct bribery was practised to a very large extent. So many cases have, without my seeking them, come under my personal notice, that I am sure of the fact: it is indeed notorious and indisputable.

Now, although the opposite party appear to have met this

promoting simple Christianity among all classes. A more watchful endeavour to follow the only true guide in the application of the great principles of Christian truth to the common affairs of life,—I mean the immediate teaching of the Holy Spirit,—would, as I now believe, have preserved me from this course."

vigorous warfare with a comparatively dumb battery, I am perfectly aware that the violent partizans on either side are, in a moral point of view, equally blameable. The legal danger of bribery and corruption may indeed be different in the two cases, but the moral guilt is precisely the same, whether they be practised in an election for a senator or in one for a sheriff. But certainly it does appear to me, and I think it must be obvious to every one, that the notorious corruptions of our late General Election afford us an opportunity of bringing the whole subject before Parliament such as we have never had before. Had our local follies and miseries stood alone, we might in vain have solicited the aid of the legislature; but the wider and more important range which they have now taken, at once insures the attention of a committee of the House of Commons.

Whatever may be the result of the inquiry as it relates to the present members, the guilt and sorrow of our city will unquestionably be brought to light; and it is surely very reasonable to expect, as a consequence, such a re-arrangement of our municipal and elective system as will deliver us from all such evils for the future.

For these plain reasons, and without the smallest degree of ill will to any one, I am willing to subscribe to the object; and I certainly consider it worthy of general support. I cannot conclude without remarking, that among the various animosities which arise from the weakness and folly of mankind, there are two which appear to me to be pre-eminently absurd and vicious.

The first is, a cry for Reform going hand-in-hand with a lust for corruption.

The second is, a Conservative attempt to maintain the institutions of the country by undermining that foundation of religion and morals on which alone they can stand with safety.

Apologizing for the length of my letter, I remain thy sincere friend,

J. J. GURNEY.

Earlham, 1st mo., 1st, 1833.

Another subject of great importance to himself was at this time occupying his mind. He thus alludes to it in a letter

TO JONATHAN HUTCHINSON.

Norwich, 2nd mo., 28th, 1833.

* * * The question which has pressed upon me day and night is this; whether I have a testimony to bear, I mean a quiet, patient, persevering testimony, to the cause of Christianity in the British Parliament? If this be indeed the Master's will, I fully believe it would not hinder or mar "the anointing" in ministry. I may confess that I have been utterly unable to escape from the consideration of the case. Of course thou wilt understand that it would be on a system of entire purity, and wholly independent of party.

The progress and final result of his deliberations will be seen in the following extracts from his Journal and Autobiography:—

1*st mo.*, 6*th*, 1833. I cannot express the serious thought into which I have been introduced, in regard to a certain prospect of a public nature. Deep has been my conflict, for some time past, in the fear of the enemy's snares. I desire to be preserved in patience and simple dependence, resting assured that the Lord will not leave me without a light to follow: that he will make an opening in his providence for whatsoever is truly his own will concerning me; or, on the other hand, that he will graciously condescend to close every door through which his Spirit forbids an entrance. With him I leave it, and feel more than usually able to repose on his bosom.

"So strongly was my mind impressed with the subject," he writes in his Autobiography, "that in the prospect of an opening that was likely to occur, I communicated freely with a friend of mine, a gentleman of independent principles, and of the highest character, who fully agreed to unite with me as a candidate. Yet we fixed nothing, and in the meantime I

went up to London to consult a few Friends on the subject Solemn and interesting was the conference, and very close was our joint deliberation on the question whether a minister of the gospel could, consistently with our principles, occupy a seat in the British Parliament."

In his Journal, alluding to this conference, he says:—

1*st mo.*, 19*th.* The subject of the incompatibility of such a prospect with the duties of the ministry was closely searched; and the dangers on all hands felt and examined. Three of the speakers were almost exclusively on the cautionary side, still committing it to the only safe test — Divine guidance. The remaining four seemed pretty fully prepared to close in with the prospect. ——'s testimony to his earnest wish to discourage it, but his entire inability so to do, was especially striking. Another Friend reminded us of the legislative functions of Friends, ministers as well as others, in Pennsylvania; and spoke on the diversity of gifts, even in one person, and the propriety of giving to each its proper scope. *All* acknowledged the preciousness of that liberty of the Spirit under which Friends have been accustomed to act, in reference to the pursuit of worldly duties, notwithstanding a call to the ministry; and I had to testify, that in my own experience, this simple principle of trusting all to "the anointing," has worked well. The result is, that I am fairly left at liberty. May I be rightly guided and governed in this most important and critical question!

Earlham; first day night, [1*st mo.*, 27*th.*] To-day has been one of some real solemnity; Daniel Wheeler's ministry lively and delightful. In the afternoon meeting he took his leave of us; and it was laid on me to commend him to our heavenly Father in prayer. He has just been addressing our large circle after our Scripture reading. Long shall we remember his influence and Christian example!

I have had many anxious thoughts as to my future lot and proceedings, and some conflict between opposite views of duty;

but I humbly believe that the Lord is graciously disposed to deal gently with me; to permit me time to try the fleece wet and dry; to go before me and to be my rearward. To him I commit my cause, but surely I am not worthy of the least of his regards.

Fourth day morning. I feel some capacity to say with an honest heart, "thy will be done:" and to recur to Christ as the ground of repose, and as the centre of action, is, amidst all, delightful to me. Life is flowing rapidly away; death, judgment, and eternity are approaching. The Lord grant that I may stand complete in all his will, by an abiding faith in his beloved Son.

3rd mo., 3rd. We are on the wing this morning for Bayswater; trusting that a time of quietness of mind, and, if it may be, some engagements in the Lord's service await me. In the meantime, I leave public interests to work in that way which a good Providence may see fit to direct, being clear that my own course must, at present, be one purely passive; and humbly trusting, that my divine and holy Master will not leave his unworthy servant without help and guidance.

3rd mo., 14th. I deeply feel that no mortal power either in myself or others, could have delivered my soul from these bonds. I went up to Bayswater, desiring in quietness and retirement, both outward and inward, to throw myself on the faithful love and guidance of my adorable Saviour. Up to the middle of last sixth day night, I could find no peace, except in resignation to the parliamentary prospect, *should the Lord clearly open the way for it;* but in that memorable midnight hour my mind became relieved; the prospect gradually disappeared, and, after the intense conflict which I have so long gone through on the subject, I am now, through the infinite condescension of my Divine Master, left without the shadow of a doubt. The whole of my experience in reference to this important question, and especially the concluding stage of it, has, as it were, brought me into contact with an unseen world. The dealings of God with me, and the direct impressions made upon my mind by his holy hand, have been as palpable and indubitable to me as things visible and material.

Upon learning his decision his intended colleague thus wrote to him:—

March 13th, 1833.

My dear Friend,

Many thanks for your kind letter. So far from being grieved or hurt at the conclusion to which you have come, I cannot but entirely approve of it, and my wife begs to add, from her, that she congratulates you upon it. I always thought the *pros* and *cons*, humanly speaking, nicely balanced; and as you have taken counsel from One who never fails those who seek him, and the balance is cast into the negative scales, I am quite sure all is right. This also is quite clear to me; you never can repent the course you have now taken, inasmuch as it preserves you in your present obvious course of useful exertion; whereas, had you determined the other way, and found that your time was comparatively wasted in unavailing or abortive attempts to serve your country and mankind, you could scarcely have avoided feeling much regret and doubt as to the propriety of the course you had taken. I cannot, however, avoid feeling a little secret regret, that the impression which your appearance, language, and sentiments, would, as I believe, make upon a reformed House of Commons, is not likely to be realized.

"My present reflections on the whole matter," says Joseph John Gurney, a few years later in his Autobiography, "are, first, that the interference with the Norwich petition would have been better avoided; secondly, that the consideration of the Parliamentary question was permitted for some good purpose; and thirdly, that the conclusion was safe and sound, affording abundant cause for thankfulness: though I cannot fully agree to the position, that the entrance of a gospel minister on such a service would necessarily interfere with his higher calling. Such a position does not seem to me to consist with that glorious liberty of the Lord's Spirit for which we plead. Rare and peculiar, however, are the cases which would justify such a course."

TO JONATHAN HUTCHINSON.

Norwich, 3rd mo., 16th, 1833.

During my quiet sojourn at Bayswater, the prospect which has been long before my mind of paying a religious visit to Friends of London and Middlesex assumed a clear shape, and so obviously included an early visit to the families as entirely to supersede, and in the end to remove all prospect of an inferior nature. The Lord graciously heard my fervent prayers, stayed the restless efforts of the tempter, and broke all my bonds asunder. My soul is filled with praise and thanksgiving for his unmerited goodness towards one of the most unworthy of his children; and under such circumstances, it is no less than a delight to me to go forth again in the work of the ministry of the gospel. I am sure thou wilt rejoice with me, and offer up the *melody of the heart* on behalf of thy unworthy friend, thus graciously and mercifully dealt with.

After spending several months in London he writes in his Journal: —

Earlham, 7th mo., 18th. Four months have passed since my last entry in this journal, in various respects very differently from my anticipations.

In the first place I must remark, that even had I not been so graciously emancipated from the prospect of supposed public duties of a civil nature, the opening would have closed in Providence more painfully to me. It afterwards turned out, that no opportunity for such supposed duties was to occur. Under these circumstances, I am peculiarly thankful that the negative decision was arrived at so satisfactorily, independently of events.

From 3rd mo., 19th, for three weeks and upwards I was closely engaged in visiting the families of Devonshire House Monthly Meeting, and in holding various public meetings, with the young people, &c. I resided, during this work, with my beloved friend Peter Bedford; in much peace, and sweet harmony and unity, with him and his nephews. My ministry was often very close, yet I had to acknowledge that the Lord's gracious anointing was not withheld from me. When going from house to house in Spitalfields, I felt with

gratitude, the safety of my allotment, compared with what it might have been in a far more secular, and at the same time, a more arduous employment. Peculiar strength, was, I believe, given to me in unfolding the principles of Friends to young people.

These engagements were followed, with some interruptions from illness, by others of a similar character, among Friends in the Monthly Meeting of Gracechurch Street.

TO A YOUNG FRIEND.

(On the contrast between *legal* and *gospel* obedience.)

Upton, 6th mo., 8th, 1833.

My Dear Young Friend,

* * * * When we call to mind that we are by nature corrupt and sinful, and have actually sinned, (alas! how much and how often!) in thought, word, and deed, our hearts ought to overflow with gratitude to Him, who hath redeemed us with his precious blood. Under this feeling of gratitude to our Lord Jesus Christ, and of ardent love for God, we shall be constrained, by the most heart-cheering of motives, to take up our daily cross, to walk in the paths of Christian self-denial and to "follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth."

Our motive then is *love* and the effect is *obedience*. Obedience to the pure law of God; as it is written in the page of Scripture, and as it is engraved with the finger of light on the tablets of the heart. This writing of the law on the heart is the work of the Holy Spirit, the Comforter, whom Jesus promised to his disciples; and who still illuminates their consciences, and guides them into all truth.

Now it requires great care that we distinguish between a cheerful obedience to this pure and heavenly guide, and that self-mortification, or "voluntary humility" as the apostle calls it, into which the Spirit does not truly lead; and by which, nevertheless, it is very natural for the anxious and troubled soul to seek to recommend itself to God. When we have long been walking in darkness, when desertion and secret

sorrow have been our lot, we are prone to exchange the *gospel* for the *law;* and to seek out some peculiarly trying service or sacrifice, by which we may obtain the favour of the Lord. This is precisely the principle on which the Monks of La Trappe, and other Roman Catholics, have so long acted. Did they know the fulness of the love of Christ, were they more sensible that it is his blood alone which can cleanse from all sin, and his righteousness alone which can open for us the gates of heaven, they would be delivered from these bonds; and would no longer seek to obtain the favour of God by sacrifices which the *law of God* does not require.

That law is emphatically called the "Law of Liberty;" for while it binds down every unruly passion, and leads into true "simplicity and godly sincerity in all things," it encourages a noble freedom of action in the service of our Lord. The Spirit of Christ within us, is a Spirit of "love, and power, and of a sound mind."

Although these general observations are, I believe, worthy of thy attention, I by no means wish to apply them hastily to thy particular case. I would rather invite thee to ponder them before the Lord, that thou mayst know whether thou hast or hast not any part in them. With regard to plainness of dress, I heartily approve it; and, as thou art well aware, do not fail to recommend it. I think we cannot adopt a sounder view of the subject than that of Robert Barclay; who, after the example and on the authority of Paul and Peter, recommended a modest and decent attire, distinguished by true simplicity; and worn for use alone, not for *ornament.* At the same time he remarks, that, while we avoid all splendour and costliness, the materials of which our dress are composed, ought to be regulated by our circumstances in life.* If I mistake not, he mentions silk as proper for persons in a certain line of life; and since his day it has become a much cheaper and more common article.

Well, thou wilt perhaps answer, all these things are very

*See Barclay's Apology, Prop. xv., s. 2, p. 352—53, 1st English edition.

true and good, but must I not follow my own impressions of duty? Assuredly thou must, my dear young friend; but the Lord is no hard master. He would have us move on very gently and cautiously, especially when the impression on our minds does not appear to accord with a comprehensive and scriptural view of the law of our God. Give thyself a little time; be very patient; dwell near to Christ; pour forth thy heart in prayer; and he will in due season make his way clear before thee.

I well remember one occasion in which, during several months, I felt much bound in spirit to a particular sacrifice. It was in vain that some of my most intimate and judicious friends assured me that it was unreasonable, and would rather *mar* than *mend*. I could find no peace but in giving way to it, so far as to be entirely willing to leave myself respecting it in the Lord's hand. But in due season, the permitted temptation, for such I believe it was, was withdrawn; and I was left in sweet, peaceful liberty. Under such trials we cannot deliver ourselves, or put a force upon our consciences; but we can *leave ourselves to the Lord*, and in due season he will not fail to make a way for our help.

Commending thee in faith to the best and kindest of Friends and Masters, I am,

Thy affectionate friend and well-wisher,

J. J. GURNEY.

The increasing illness of his mother-in-law, Rachel Fowler, called Joseph John Gurney into the West of England in the course of the summer. Whilst there, he enjoyed the satisfaction of a parting interview with William Wilberforce, at Bath, about three weeks before his decease. Two days after the interview, he wrote from the house of his mother-in-law,

TO HIS CHILDREN.

Melksham, 7th mo., 13th, 1833.

MY DEAR J. H. AND A.

The longer we live the more we know, or ought to know, of the goodness of God; and the more the treasury

of our heart and understanding may become stored with the good things of the kingdom of our Redeemer. It is the privilege of Christians, (O that it may always be yours!) to serve a prince of tender compassion; one who never fails to render his yoke easy, and even delightsome to his obedient children. And what shall we say of the wondrous *alchemy* with which Christianity converts all she touches into gold? Bright are the beams with which the religion of Jesus is sometimes known to gild the darkest gloom of the valley of tears. Behold, darkness becomes light; pain is changed into pleasure; sickness is the means of health; and life triumphs over death!

I have been led to these reflections, partly by watching the condition of your beloved grandmother. You know that she is suffering from a malignant disease, which in all human probability, must soon terminate in death. There was a time when the prospect of this particular visitation of the divine hand was the object of her terror, and occasioned her inexpressible conflict of spirit; but now *peace reigns;* and not only is she resigned, without a struggle or a murmur, to the will of her heavenly Father; but she seems to care but little by what means it may please him to close her mortal career. Rather does she rejoice in the hope graciously bestowed upon her, that she will so soon wing her way from all things temporal into regions of perfect felicity.

> There shall she bathe her weary soul
> In seas of endless rest;
> And not a wave of trouble roll
> Across her peaceful breast.

In this happy condition she has nothing to mar her cheerfulness and comfort, but mere bodily pain, which she endures with humble patience; and in the quietness of her spirit, finds alleviation for body as well as soul. Her Divine Master, whom it has been her delight to follow, and under whose gracious influence she has abounded in kindness to the poor and needy, is now accomplishing, in her experience, his gracious promise, "Blessed is he that considereth the poor; the Lord will deliver him in time of trouble. The Lord will preserve

him and keep him alive. The Lord will strengthen him upon the bed of languishing: *thou wilt make all his bed in his sickness.*" Fully is this beloved sufferer aware, that to be translated into the more immediate presence of a perfectly holy God, and to stand, unclothed of mortality, before the judgment seat of the Searcher of hearts, is, of all things, the most solemn to all men; the most *terrible* to the impenitent sinner. But with this prospect before her, she is at *rest;* because she entertains a humble confidence, that through infinite mercy she is accepted in "the Beloved."

A few evenings ago, when a little company of intimate friends was surrounding her, she addressed them nearly as follows: "Although I am suffering from indisposition, and feel great weakness of mind as well as body, I think it right to acknowledge my feelings of fervent thankfulness to God, who has graciously supported me under all my sufferings and has permitted me to feel his holy arm to be underneath. I have known desertion, temptation, and trial; but when the enemy of souls has come in like a flood, the Lord has lifted up a standard against him. In the prospect of that awful change which awaits me, I am fully convinced that there is nothing for me to trust in but the atoning blood of a merciful Saviour. Having more experience from length of years, than any one present, I would exhort you all to be steadfast in the faith, and never to harbour a doubt in your minds respecting these great truths. We must know him to be our *Mediator*, our *Advocate*, our *Intercessor* with the Father during the present life; thus it is that our mortality will, in the end, be gloriously exchanged for immortality." On a subsequent occasion she exclaimed, "We can do nothing for ourselves to merit salvation; we must look for the MERCY of God in Christ Jesus. This, I may say, I believe I have unlimitedly obtained."

How can I witness such a scene, without feeling an earnest desire for you, my beloved children, that your views of Christian doctrine may, like hers, be clear as the noon day, and stable as the rock. Decided and settled Christianity may be said to make room for pure pleasure even of a temporal kind, while it is the means of qualifying

us for the right performance of every duty. Who does not perceive that in its working on the human mind, and especially in its abounding consolations in sickness and in sorrow, we have a practical proof that God is the author of the religion of Jesus; and that this religion, imbibed in the heart by faith, is the pearl of great price! Let us each be willing to "sell all that we have;" or, in other words, to surrender our whole hearts to the Lord, that we may possess this pearl!

"There lives in this village another highly interesting person, a gifted minister of the Society of Friends, who has just completed the age of man. You have both heard of George Withy, a person remarkable for strong talent and native humour; but one who, during the last fifty years, has been grounded in the conviction that Christ is *all in all.* He was telling me this morning that during the whole of this period, his views of Christian truth have never varied. Like the veteran oak, which spreads its firm roots in every direction, and defies the blast, this experienced Christian is steadfast and immovable. No infidel cavils, no wind of false doctrine can shake him from the centre of his strength, and from the source of all his hope and comfort. He is a man of warm affections, and is fondly attached to his large family. Most of them were collected in his peaceful habitation to celebrate his seventieth anniversary. It was the Sabbath day —a day of delightful repose and solemnity—during which we felt the great privilege of the public worship of God. The silence which reigned in our little meeting, both morning and evening, was remarkable; and though broken, was not, I trust, marred by the ministry of the gospel. All seemed to be bound together in love; and all (I trust) were united in an ardent desire to be found *in Christ;* ready for health, or for sickness, for joy or for sorrow, for life or for death.

Our dear friend George Withy had risen early in the morning, and had occupied a few quiet hours in writing an address to his children. It was a very touching one, earnestly calling on them to press after the salvation of their immortal souls, and recommending to them their various social and

religious duties. One thing, however, above all others struck me in this address. It was the clear and oft-repeated declaration of this servant of Christ, that he had no trust whatsoever in his own righteousness; but that all his confidence was in the Lord; all his hopes of future happiness in the availing mediation and perfect righteousness of the Redeemer of men. His address, like the letters of Paul, was full of "Jesus Christ and him crucified." All boasting was excluded. Deep humiliation was the distinguishing mark of each passing sentence. Mercy, mercy was the theme; and God in Christ was exalted over all. Thus, out of the mouth of two experienced witnesses, has the gospel of life and salvation been confessed and confirmed in our hearing. And in both cases has the eye as well as the ear perceived its delightful efficacy, its gladdening, quickening influence. What indeed can be more lovely than the spectacle of advancing age softened, and ripened, and mellowed into sweetness, under the sunshine of genuine Christianity!

Both my mother-in-law and George Withy are persons of a marked natural character, and are rendered the more interesting by their peculiar traits. I never knew in any woman more of a quick feminine sensibility than in Rachel Fowler; nor in any man more of the spirit of bold and determined independence than in George Withy. But the former has become fearless as a lion, and the latter gentle as a lamb. The peculiar dispositions of each are sanctified without being annulled; and the besetting weaknesses of the two characters are counteracted by sovereign and all-sufficient grace. Such is the unvarying effect of the influence of God's Holy Spirit on the hearts and conduct of the believing and obedient. "Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be brought low; and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain; and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together." Both these cherished individuals are, as you know, attached and faithful members of our own society. They care not, indeed, for sect or party, but they have long been deliberately convinced, that the views and testimonies which distinguish

Friends, are built on Christ as their foundation, and truly belong to primitive Christianity. Nor are these views shaken by the nearer approach of death and judgment. They are still consistent advocates of what they conceive to be the entire spirituality of the gospel dispensation; still deeply solicitous that the young amongst us may adhere to that restricted course which they have themselves found to be a path of remarkable peace and safety.

I have, however, another witness to produce, who, though accustomed to a somewhat different administration, is descending towards the grave in the same essential and saving faith. This witness is the well known and long-beloved William Wilberforce. Long-beloved I may well call him, as regards myself; for I have now enjoyed a near friendship with him for nearly seventeen years, and I shall always consider my acquaintance with him as among the happiest circumstances of my life. I well remember his first visit to Earlham, (I think about the year 1816,) at the time of our Bible Society Meeting, when we were already crowded with guests. Wilberforce was the star and life of the party, and we all thought we had never seen a person more fraught with Christian love, or more overflowing with the praises of his Creator. He was then possessed of comparatively unimpaired powers. His eloquence was easy, lively, and captivating; and his cornucopia of thought and information rich and abundant. I never met with so discursive a mind, or with so interesting a companion. Many a roam have we enjoyed together over green fields and gardens; and very delightful has it been to me to draw out of his treasury things new and old. You have seen him, and cannot fail to recall his curved and diminutive person; his often illuminated countenance: his beaming smile of love; and the perpetual energy with which he flitted from one object of attention to another, like the bee gathering honey from every flower. I well remember that as he walked about the house he was generally humming the tune of a hymn or psalm, as if he could not contain his pleasurable feelings of thankfulness and devotion.

Wilberforce is now an old man — I think in his seventy-sixth year — and more than usually frail and infirm for his age. Since my first acquaintance with him, many sorrows and troubles have been his portion. His two daughters were his great delight:—the cold hand of death has smitten them both; and, in consequence of the imprudence of a near relation, he has been deprived, within the last two or three years, of by far the greater part of his property. Frequent illness has also visited him, and increasing years have occasioned some failure of his memory. Nevertheless, his eye is almost as lively as ever, his intellect lucid, and, above all, the sunshine of true religion continues to enlighten and cheer him on his way.

"What a gloomy, what a November evening prospect," said he to me in a letter describing the death of his elder daughter, "would now lie before me, were it not for the flood of light and of love which flows from the throne of God and of the Lamb!" This *flood of light and love* has been his chief delight since his twenty-second year, when an apparently accidental perusal of the New Testament, with a fellow traveller through France, was blessed as the means of his conversion; and now that his infirmities are gathered upon him, he has the same comfort, the same joy.

I called upon him the day before yesterday, on my way from Bristol to this place. I was introduced to an apartment up-stairs, where I found my beloved aged friend reclining on a sofa, with his feet wrapped in flannel, and his countenance bespeaking increased age, as well as much delicacy. He received me with warm affection, and seemed delighted by the unexpected sight of an old friend. I had scarcely taken my seat beside him before I felt that constraining influence of divine love, which seemed to draw us in secret towards the Lord under a canopy of silence; and I could not do otherwise than freely speak to him of the good and glorious things which, as I believe, assuredly await him in the kingdom of rest and peace. It seemed given me to remind him of the declaration of the Psalmist, "Although ye have lien among the pots, yet shall ye be as the wings of a dove covered with

silver, and her feathers with yellow gold." The ministry flowed towards him in a stream which I dared not attempt to stay; and his countenance, in the meantime, was expressive of profound devotion and holy joy. Soon afterwards, he unfolded his own experience to me in an interesting manner. He told me that the text on which he was then most prone to dwell, and from which he was permitted to derive peculiar comfort, was a passage in Paul's Epistle to the Philippians: "Be careful for nothing; but in every thing by prayer and supplication, with thanksgiving, let your requests be made known unto God; and the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, shall keep your hearts and minds through Christ Jesus." Now that frail nature shakes, and the mortal tabernacle seems ready to be dissolved, this "*peace of God*" appears to be his blessed and abundant portion.

Wilberforce is a man of a polished and cultivated understanding; but he well knows that this jewel of divine peace transcends in value all merely intellectual riches; and that the human mind, in its own strength, (notwithstanding its vast resources,) is utterly unable even to comprehend it. It is the gift of God by his own Holy Spirit, and it stays the soul in deep and hidden reliance on him from whom it comes. The mention of this text immediately called forth one of his bright ideas, and led him to display, as in days of old, his natural versatility of mind. "How admirable," said he, "are the harmony and variety of St. Paul's smaller epistles! You might have given an argument upon it in your little work upon Evidence. The Epistle to the Galatians is a display of doctrine; that to the Colossians is a union of doctrine and precept, showing their mutual connexion and dependence; that to the Ephesians is *seraphic;* that to the Philippians is all LOVE. With regard to myself," he added with tears in his eyes, "I have nothing whatsoever to urge, but the poor publican's plea, God be merciful to me a sinner."

I well remember his own definition of mercy, "kindness to the criminal who deserves punishment." Ah, my dear children, if Wilberforce, who has been labouring for these fifty years, in the cause of virtue, religion, and humanity, can feel

himself to be a poor criminal, with no hope of happiness but through the pardoning mercy of God in Christ Jesus, surely we ought all to be bowed down and broken under similar feelings! Such an example may solemnly remind us of the Apostle's question—"If the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear?"

Before we separated, he adverted to the loss of his fortune. "I am afraid of telling you what I feel about it," said he, "lest it should appear like affectation; but rest assured, that the event has given me no uneasiness—none whatsoever. In fact, it has only increased my happiness. I have, in consequence, been spending the whole winter with my son; the joyful witness of his gospel labours." In short, the world is under his feet, grace triumphs, and the Saviour whom he loves reigns over all, for this faithful believing servant. The covenant of his God with him is "ordered in all things and sure." Thus are we taught again and again, that "THIS is the victory which overcometh the world, even our FAITH." "Who is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God?"

And now, my dear children, store up these examples in your hearts, and keep this little memorial by you, for your father's sake, to remind you in days to come of that which he feels to be precious above all things—the redeeming love of God in Christ Jesus.

It would be easy to add to these instances of the happy work of true religion. What can account for this uniformity of Christian experience? *Truth, and truth alone.* May it be yours to know and to love "the truth as it is in Jesus;" and may it make us all free, entirely free from the bondage of this corrupt and evil world.

Now, therefore, "unto him who is able to keep you from falling, and to present you faultless before the presence of his glory with exceeding joy, to the only wise God our Saviour, be glory and majesty, dominion and power, both now and ever. Amen."

CHAPTER XXV.

ÆT. 45—46. 1833.

VISIT OF DR. CHALMERS AT EARLHAM; CONVERSATIONS WITH HIM; EXTRACTS FROM JOURNAL; FURTHER LABOURS IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF LONDON; LETTERS; SERMON AT DEVONSHIRE HOUSE.

JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY'S labours in London and its neighbourhood, the commencement of which is noticed in the last chapter, were proceeded in very gradually. "I always believed," he writes to a friend, "and said when I asked for my certificate, that [the service] would come to me by degrees."

During a short recess at home after his return from Melksham, he enjoyed a visit from his friend, Dr. Chalmers, who had been spending a few weeks in London. In his letters to his family, Dr. Chalmers has thus recorded his impressions of Earlham and its inhabitants:—*

"*Friday*, 19*th*. Awoke after a night of delicious repose, and with the full consciousness of being embosomed in an abode of friendship and piety. Gave up the day to sauntering. A spacious and commodious house, with ample store both of bed and public rooms. My excellent friend, Mr. Bridges, left

* See Life of Dr. Chalmers, Vol. iii, pp. 398—400.

us at one o'clock; but not without leaving on my heart a profound sense of his Christian devotedness and worth. After he went out, Mrs. Francis Cunningham, the lady of one of our best English clergymen, came in, and has been an inmate during my abode at Earlham. She is sister to Mr. Gurney, and is really a very attractive person, for simplicity and Christian principle, and elegant accomplishment, and withal high intelligence and cultivation. But last of all, another lady, who dined and spent the night, now aged and in Quaker attire, which she had but recently put on, and who, in early life, was one of the most distinguished of our literary women; whose works, thirty years ago, I read with great delight; no less a person than the celebrated Mrs. Opie, authoress of the most exquisite feminine tales, for which I used to place her by the side of Miss Edgeworth. It was curious to myself that, though told by Mr. Gurney in the morning of her being to dine, I had forgot the circumstance, and the idea of the accomplished novelist and poet was never once suggested by the image of this plain-looking Quakeress, till it rushed upon me after dinner; when it suddenly and inconceivably augmented the interest I felt in her. We had much conversation, and drew greatly together; walking and talking together with each other on the beautiful lawn after dinner. She has had access into all kinds of society, and her conversation is all the more rich and interesting. * * * I felt my new acquaintance with her to be one of the great acquisitions of my present journey; and this union of rank, and opulence, and literature, and polish of mind, with plainness of manners, forms one of the great charms of the society in this house."

The following are extracted from Joseph John Gurney's reminiscences of this visit.

One morning we conversed on the subject of the great minds with which he had been brought into contact. I asked him who was the most talented person with whom he had associated, especially in power of conversation. He said,

"Robert Hall was the greatest proficient he had known as a converser;" and spoke in high terms of his talents and of his preaching. "But," said he, "I think Foster is of a higher order of intellect; he fetches his thoughts from a deeper spring; he is no great talker, and writes very slowly, but he moves along in a region far above the common intellectual level. There are passages in his Essays of amazing depth and beauty, especially in that on 'Popular Ignorance.'"

We called on the venerable bishop, now in his ninetieth year, and very delightful was our interview. The dear old man was in good heart and health, reading without spectacles, hearing without the smallest difficulty, and able to talk with his old vivacity. He was evidently much animated by seeing Dr. Chalmers.

BISHOP. "Dr. Chalmers, I am very glad to be introduced to you. I have just been reading your Bridgewater Essay, with great satisfaction; and am especially pleased that you have insisted so much on the views of Bishop Butler, whom I have always reckoned to be one of the best and wisest of writers."

I remarked that it was strange that a writer of so liberal and comprehensive a cast should be accused of popery.

BISHOP. "There is no ground for it; people will always call names."

They then conversed on Dr. Adam Smith's "Theory of Moral Sentiments."

BISHOP. "I am sorry to find from your work, that his splendid passage respecting the necessity of a mediator was omitted in the second edition."

CHALMERS. "The omission was probably owing to his intimacy with Hume."

I asked the bishop whether he had not himself been acquainted with Hume.

"O yes," he replied, "I used to meet him at the old Lord Bathurst's." He then repeated to us part of the passage from Dr. Adam Smith, with peculiar accuracy and feeling, telling us that it had been fixed in his memory from his early man-

hood. He afterwards drew a lively picture of the talented but hot-headed Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, who was well known to his uncle, Lord Bathurst; and of the mighty Warburton with whom he was familiarly acquainted. He described him as a giant in conversation, and a fearless champion against Hume and other infidels.

I was glad to hear Chalmers and the bishop fully according in the praise of Warburton's "Julian," which surely contains important and specific, though somewhat indirect evidence of the truth as it is in Jesus. * * * *

One morning the Doctor and I walked down to a fir grove, at the extremity of the park, where a colony of herons have lately formed a settlement. He was as much interested and pleased as a schoolboy would have been, in watching the singular appearance, gestures, and sounds of these birds. His mind seemed quite occupied by the *fitness* between the length of their necks and that of their legs, and also by the circumstance, that as they swim not, but only *stand* in the waters, they do not, like other aquatic birds, require webs to their feet, and *therefore* have none! It is remarkably the habit of Dr. C——'s mind to see and feel God in *everything;* and what can be more desirable?

We talked of a correspondence respecting the Irish Education Bill, between himself and E. G. Stanley,* chief secretary for Ireland, who had written to Dr. Chalmers inquiring his opinion of the measure.

CHALMERS. "I expressed my disapprobation of the system. I think we ought to have a 'Bible Class' in every school instituted by national authority; and that it should be left to the parents of the children to decide whether they should attend that class, or not. A Roman Catholic child might avail himself of all the other parts of instruction afforded in the school, and might, nevertheless, withdraw from the Bible Class at the bidding of his parent. According to the present system, the Bible, not the Roman Catholic, is treated as the Dissenter. It is not that the Roman Catholic withdraws

* Now the Earl of Derby.

because he does not like the Bible; it is that the Bible withdraws because the Roman Catholic does not like *it*.

I observed, that the use of extracts from Scripture in schools appeared to me to be unobjectionable.

CHALMERS. "Very true: but in this case there is an objectionable principle—it is the omission of parts of Scripture *on the ground* that a certain class of men object to their being read."

I must confess that these remarks have considerable weight; and, considered in connexion with the eagerness displayed by the Roman Catholics in the adoption of the plan, have a good deal shaken my confidence in its advantages. * * *

We were talking of Fuller, the quaint historian of the Church of England. I remarked that he was fond of a dash of humor. "Yes," said Chalmers, "his book is dashed all over with it. Even so grave a subject as the death of a Bishop he cannot treat without humor."

One evening we were speaking of a certain class of persons who united to a great apparent gentleness and pliability, a peculiarly effective resistance to all reform in church or state.

FRANCIS CUNNINGHAM. "I have heard Wilberforce compare men of this description to sacks of wool lying before artillery; yielding, to all appearance, to the impulse of the cannon balls, yet effectually stopping their progress."

CHALMERS. "The great fear I entertain respecting the operation of the reform bill is, lest it should throw the legislative power into the hands of men of business, already full of all kinds of occupation,—to the exclusion of men who have *leisure* for deep study and reflection, and are therefore able to cope with great principles, on the various subjects of legislation. There is a fine passage in Ecclesiasticus, on the danger of entrusting with the arcana of government, men whose hearts and hands are full of the common business of life.* I wish we were more alive to the principles which are there unfolded. It is an alarming fact, that in order to effect a paltry saving of two or three thousand pounds per annum,

* See Ecclesiasticus, chap. xxxviii.

that great work, the trigonometrical survey of Great Britain, was on the point of being left incomplete. It was saved by a majority of only two votes, in a Committee of the House of Commons."

* * * * * *

Fifth day morning, [*7th mo.*, 25*th.*] Dr. Chalmers left us yesterday morning. We parted with him the preceding night, after a time of Scripture reading, silent waiting, and prayer, in which I had fervently to commend him and his family to the grace of God. His visit has been memorable indeed.

FROM DR. CHALMERS.

Edinburgh, August 29th, 1833.

I arrived at home only yesterday, and this is the reason why you have been so long without hearing from me. I waited till I could apprise you of my safe arrival, and of the delivery of your kind letter and present to my children. They read it with the deepest interest; and I can assure you that they have all been inspired by you with the greatest desire to visit Earlham. Nothing could exceed the enjoyment I had under your roof; and if my own happiness was the only element included in the deliberation, I should not be long in re-appearing in the midst of you. * * *

I shall never forget your great kindness to me, so much beyond my deserts, and my powers of requital, in any way. Earlham holds out many temptations, but the most powerful of them all is, that the companionships there, are those that I most love; all its accompaniments, and chief of all, its society, are precious to me. May heaven's best blessings rest upon you and yours!

The quotation you refer to is from Cicero, though at present I am unable to state from what part of his writings.

8*th mo.*, 2*nd.* My birthday; forty-five years completed in this mutable scene. Alas! what inexpressible and multiplied

cause have I for humilitation! But when I call to mind the sparing mercy of my God, have I not equal cause for thankfulness?

3rd. This morning, in all probability, have the remains of my beloved friend William Wilberforce, been followed to their last home, in Westminster Abbey, by a large number of peers and commoners; a pomp which can have been nothing to him; but we may value a tribute paid to virtue, humanity, and religion.

First day. I woke very low this morning, but am not without a hope that the glorious "Master of Assemblies" will condescend to bless this Sabbath day to many souls. Oh that his church may be preserved in life, in love, and in oneness; and that more of his "anointing," which alone fully leads into these things, may be experienced by all who love his name.

8th mo., 20th. I returned home yesterday evening, after a week of mournful, yet peaceful interest. My dear wife and I left home on second day. On reaching London, the next afternoon, we received very alarming tidings of our dear mother, so that we thought it best to travel through most of the night, and we arrived at Melksham to breakfast on fourth day morning. We found her much reduced, but not dying. Her mind is bright and serene as ever, and she can assure us, with all confidence, that she has not followed "cunningly devised fables," in embracing for herself, and in making known to others, the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. I took leave of her on sixth day night. It was difficult to tear myself from them, and my journey to London was rather mournful.

On arriving in London it was a great delight to meet Fowell and Hannah; the former greatly relieved by the happy termination of the Slave Question in Parliament. They went with me to Stoke Newington meeting; to which I had felt a particular pointing. It was a large meeting, chiefly of the young, and very solemn. I had to speak on the Lord's method of teaching his people, and boldly to uphold what I believe to be the genuine principles of Friends.

[*Earlham.*] *8th mo., 25th.* On fourth day arrived the bishop of Winchester, with his wife and four children; and our brother and sister Francis and Richenda Cunningham. C. Wodehouse and E. Edwards were with us at dinner. We passed a very pleasant afternoon, and I read the "Sketch of Wilberforce" to them in the evening. The bishop's courteous and gentle manner, and evident sweetness of mind, are very endearing. On sixth day morning he read to us, 1 John v, evidently under great and tender feeling. I took a private walk with him before we parted, and enjoyed the sweet savour of his Christian mind, converse, and demeanor.

9th mo., 12th. The [past] fortnight has been a memorable time to me. It was, I believe, well that I followed the secret impression of duty in leaving home, although at the time, it seemed rather contrary to evidence. In consequence, I had the satisfaction of attending my dear mother's dying bed, and of being with my beloved wife at a time of such deep and critical interest to her; a debt which I did, indeed, owe to so tender and devoted a companion. I arrived at Melksham on third day evening, and found my mother sinking into the arms of death; but she knew me, and seemed pleased with my coming. I do not think our beloved sufferer was devoid of consciousness; but the tabernacle was in too low and shattered a state to allow of her making that consciousness much known to those around her. This state of things, when almost nothing but the suffering, sinking body meets our perception, is affecting, and in some degree trying to the faith; but certainly there is no good reason why it should, in the smallest degree, affect our assurance of the immortality of the soul. This truth is no more disproved by half death, than by whole death: in fact, the life of the soul, and the dying and death of the body, are independent of each other. On one occasion she woke up in rather an extraordinary manner; and, in the recollection of a letter received about a fortnight before, gave us clearly to understand her wish, that money should be sent to the pious captain of a certain steam packet for the distribution of Bibles on the north coast of France. These were almost her last intelligible words. The funeral took

place on the following fourth day morning; many Friends attended, and it was a peaceful and edifying occasion.

[*Earlham,*] 9*th mo.*, 29*th. First day night.* At meeting this afternoon, (after an interesting visit to the Bethel, and reading in three wards,) I was much engaged in ministry. "Faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen." I afterwards rode round by the corner of Heigham Falgate, where I stopped my horse, and was soon surrounded by a congregation, to whom I preached for about a quarter of an hour.

Fourth day morning, [10*th mo.*, 30*th.*] Yesterday morning we received the affecting tidings of the death of our beloved nephew, S. Hoare,* after about three months, illness; a rapid decline. He has long been conspicuously ranged on the Lord's side, and appears to have been wonderfully favoured with his sustaining power, both in illness and death. His last words were, "Lord, I am thine."

In the prospect of resuming, for a short time, his religious labours in London, Joseph John Gurney writes:—

11*th mo.*, 20*th.* I look to it with a degree of awe, knowing my unfitness. For about two weeks longer, I expect to be employed at home, chiefly on the revisal of my work on our Distinguishing Views. Thus Friends' principles are a good deal brought before me, and have not been weakened in my mind by further research and thought. I feel a sincere and earnest desire, that the "wisdom from above, without partiality," may be given to me, that all fear of man may be removed, and that wholesome, sound truth, may ever be upheld by me, in its purity and strength.

12*th mo.*, 27*th.* The annals of the three weeks, during which I have been absent from home, I know not how to

*The eldest son of the late Samuel and Louisa Hoare, of Hampstead.

enter into. Lynn Monthly Meeting; my dear sister Fry and Jonathan Hutchinson there. Journey to London. Call on Charles Simeon by the way. The religious visits at Stoke Newington gently continued during two weeks. Some of them close and searching, and many very comforting; much of the baptism of tears. The meetings on the three first days were of a very serious complexion. On the last of the three, we were much favoured; a blessed day we had, through the mercy of our God and Saviour.

During the preceding week, I held three young people's meetings; [the subjects before me being] the Evidences of Christianity, the Atonement and Divinity of Christ, the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit, and Friends' principles. These meetings made their way through unusually deep exercise of mind. The last was remarkably relieving. A display of this part of the great system was, as I have much reason to believe, required by the doubting, cavilling state of many minds. O that all may settle into truth and peace!

The Quarterly Meeting for London and Middlesex on second and third days, was a very favoured time. I spent the afternoon and evening of second day, with Elisha Bates, at Bromley; and enjoyed a *tête a tête* with this extraordinary man. May he be graciously, and in all respects, preserved!

I felt constrained in the men's meeting on third day, to give notice for a meeting, the next morning, of the Friends of the Quarterly Meeting. Deep was the conflict which I went through previously. I felt the ground difficult to tread on, and the responsibility great, but we were favoured with a noble meeting for which I felt very thankful. * * *

"The dangers of one-sidedness in religion," he writes to Jonathan Hutchinson, a few days afterwards, "and the essential importance of embracing and holding fast the whole truth, were points which, with some others, arose in array before me. When this mountain was passed over, I found the tie which bound me to London, cut, as it were, in a moment—I mean for the present—and I gladly hastened home by mail that evening.

I believe there is a fine work of grace going on amongst many of our younger friends. Oh that they may be kept *watchful, humble, impartial, obedient!* Each of these epithets has a meaning of much importance.

TO ———

Norwich, 12th mo., 28th, 1833.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I am best satisfied to express the love and interest I feel for thee under thy present circumstances;—new and surprising to me, I may truly call them. I can easily understand how persons who have been educated in our Society, but who have never been properly instructed in the true nature and scriptural grounds of our religious principles, sometimes find a place which they apprehend to suit them better, in other departments of the church; but that those who have undergone the process of *convincement* (which I had before supposed to have been thy case,) should turn their backs upon us, is, in my view, much more remarkable.

Thou knowest, my dear friend, that words have a variety of bearings; and that if we use the same phrases in different meanings, we are not likely to understand each other.

The doctrine of "universal and saving light" I apprehend to be identical with that which the Wesleyans call the doctrine of "universal grace." It is simply that the moral law of God is written by his Spirit, (through the mediation of Jesus Christ,) on the hearts of all men; and that every man, born into the world, has his day of visitation. This doctrine is held not merely by Friends, but by a large proportion of other Christians, especially the Methodists, of which thou wilt find ample proof in the first vol. of Dr. Adam Clarke's life. The late William Wilberforce decidedly embraced it. He twice told me that he fully believed "that an effective offer of salvation is made to every man born into the world." How could such an offer be made but by the Holy Spirit. The poet Cowper has an admirable passage on the subject, I think in his Truth.

"Let heathen worthies, whose exalted mind
Left sensuality and dross behind,
Possess for me, their undisputed lot,
And take, unenvied, the reward they sought.
But still, in virtue of a Saviour's plea,
Not blind by choice, but destined not to see,
Their fortitude and wisdom were a flame
Celestial, though they knew not whence it came;
Derived from the same source of light and grace
That guides the Christian in his swifter race.

* * * * * *

But let not him that shares a *brighter day*,
Traduce the splendour of a noontide ray,
Prefer the twilight of a darker time,
And deem his base stupidity no crime."

These are my sentiments, and they have always been those of our Society. Had we been half an hour together, I think I could show thee clear proof of them in the Scriptures. By that test, like all other doctrines, they must stand or fall.

To speculate on the eternal prospects of the heathen, I do not apprehend to be our business. We may rest assured that God will deal with all the rational workmanship of his hands, after a law of perfect equity. The only duty which we have to look to in reference to them, is to promote, by every means in our power, the diffusion of gospel light amongst them. There cannot be a moment's question that it is our plain duty to communicate to them the superior blessings which we enjoy ourselves. No persons were clearer on this point than some of the early Friends, especially George Fox. Hast thou really ever given an attentive perusal to his deeply interesting journal?*

From what I have now said, thou canst not fail to perceive in what sense Friends, (as well as others,) deem the work of the Spirit to be "independent of the Holy Scriptures." Thou wilt surely not venture to deny that the Spirit graciously acted on the hearts of men, long before the

* See also George Fox's Epistles, pp. 205—208, 257, &c. of the Second Edition of Samuel Tuke's Selection.

Scriptures existed, and that, had it not been for the "independent" operation of the Spirit, the Scriptures themselves could never have been a divinely authorized record. But my dear friend, with us, the work of the Spirit, and the precious gift of the Holy Scriptures are in close connexion. Friends have always asserted just as strongly as other Christians, (and I apprehend more frequently,) that it is our bounden duty, diligently to read the Holy Scriptures, and that it is in the use and not in the disuse of them, that we are to expect the guidance and government of the Holy Spirit. Canst thou point out any one doctrine in Scripture more plainly or emphatically stated than that the Spirit is bestowed on those who truly believe in Jesus, as a Cleanser, as a Governor, and as a Guide into all truth; that they need not that any *man* teach them; but that "the anointing" will teach them all things, and is truth and no lie; that the Spirit will take of the things of Christ, and show them to our souls?

Woe will be to those, whether Friends or others, who let down this Christian doctrine; who refuse obedience to that Holy, inward Teacher, who guides the children of God, by that safe and narrow way which alone leads to life everlasting. I own I feel an extreme fear lest an unwillingness to take up our cross and follow Jesus, should be at the bottom of the objections which some make to the testimonies of Friends. I do not say it is thy case. I hope not; but thou canst not too closely scrutinize thy motives, or too fervently and honestly ask counsel of God.

Is it possible that thou canst seriously imagine that Friends, in pleading for their peculiar testimonies, make their appeals to the inward Guide alone, exclusively of the Scriptures? Such seems to me to be the import of thy letter. Such an appeal would be utterly at variance with their genuine principles. We assert that our testimonies respecting baptism, the supper, silent worship, women's ministry, &c., are not founded on any mere impressions made on our own minds, but *on plain and simple Scripture.* Thou mayest, perhaps, differ from us in opinion, but it is surely a mistake on thy part, to

ascribe an origin to those testimonies, which we ourselves entirely disavow, and which our forefathers as distinctly disavowed before us. The early Friends were always ready to accept the Holy Scriptures as the only proper test, by which all their doctrines and opinions were to be tried. Every dogma, however specious, which goes *beyond* Scripture, or *takes away* from, or (above all) *contradicts* Scripture, they always professed their willingness to reject as a mere delusion; and we make the same profession now.

I have not time to go into the particulars alluded to by thee; but never did I more clearly see that our *true* views, (not the exaggerated ones falsely imputed to us,) on these several subjects are absolutely and entirely scriptural. As such, and as such only, I hold them as a part of that superstructure which the Lord himself would have us to build on the glorious, broad foundation of Jesus Christ and him crucified.

From what I have now stated, thou wilt understand the sense in which alone we declare the Spirit to be "superior to the Scriptures." Who will deny that the fountain is superior to the stream? And the omnipotent, all-wise producer to that which he is pleased to produce? But supposing a person to say, "I have such and such impressions which I take to be from the Spirit of the Lord," and suppose that the Scriptures should contradict these impressions, dost thou really suppose that any true and sound Quaker would take the impression so made on his mind as a guide of superior authority to the Holy Scriptures? If such be thy idea of our principles, I must say that it is utterly false and unfounded. Certainly we should still hold the Holy Spirit to be superior to his own written word; but we regard the Scriptures as an infallible standard, and the contradiction in question would afford us an unanswerable evidence that the impressions so made on the mind were not from the Spirit, but were a mere delusion of human imagination. * * * *

Frequent as are the notices of Joseph John Gurney's ministerial labours contained in the extracts from his Journal, they are not of a nature

to enable the reader to form a correct idea of the general tone and character of his preaching. A lengthened extract from notes, soon afterwards published,* of a sermon which he preached at the Quarterly Meeting of Friends of London and Middlesex, in the spring of this year, will convey a more distinct and lively impression of his ministry than any laboured description. This extract may properly close the present chapter. It should be borne in mind by those who are but little acquainted with the usages of Friends, that what is spoken on such an occasion is not the result of previous preparation. The whole assembly sits down in silence. There is no preconcerted appointment or arrangement as to the services in the ministry. Indeed it is not known whether any such services may be called for, or offered. Each waits in silence, and they who desire to be true worshippers, seek to have their hearts turned to the Lord. According to the belief of Friends, Christ is the "one Mediator," and none other is needed either to lead the worship, or to present the prayers of the people unto God. In their persuasion the true worship of him who "searcheth the heart" is not confined to that which is seen or heard. It may be without words as well as with them. And if words are spoken, it should be under a deep

*It should be stated that these notes were taken down and published altogether without Joseph John Gurney's knowledge or permission. The excellence of the matter contained in them, has prevailed over the hesitation felt by the Editor as to their insertion. He would much regret appearing to give a general sanction to the practice of taking down such communications. See note by the late John Barclay, in the note at p. 275 of his Memoirs of William Dewsbury.

sense of individual duty; and of a call and qualification renewed for the occasion.

After referring to the declaration of the Apostle Paul, "As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive;"* Joseph John Gurney proceeded:—

I wish we were all sensible how worthy we are of death I wish we might remember, that even when the mourners go about the streets; when we lose the joy of our hearts, and the delight of our eyes; when our own strength withers, and we descend to the chambers of darkness, that these are tokens, these are proofs, that we are a fallen sinful race. But there is a death of a deeper kind; there is a darkness more impenetrable than that of the grave; there is a destruction infinitely more formidable than that of the body; there is the death of that which in one sense can never die; the separation of the soul from the source and spring of life. And *we* are dead, my brethren, we are "by nature the children of wrath even as others." We are separated from our God, not by the sin of Adam, not by the imputation of the fault of another, but by the awful consequences of the sin of our first parent, traced, as it is, in the depravity and corruption of our nature, and finding its way into our own selves. I wish we were more alive to this truth; for many of us conduct ourselves very differently from condemned criminals, dependent on the pure mercy of our Sovereign Lord God. And what is mercy, my dear brethren? There are those who have very meagre apprehensions of the meaning of this word. They mistake it for kindness and love in a general point of view. But mercy is the love which acquits the *criminal;* mercy is the love which obliterates all our transgressions, through the blood of the everlasting covenant; mercy is the love which delivers us from the bitter pains of eternal death, and bestows upon us, in great loving-kindness, the glorious gift of everlasting life.

* 1 Cor. xv. 22.

Where then is our humiliation before the Lord? Where are our mouths in the dust? Where is our contrition? Where is the breaking to pieces of the rock work of our hearts? I believe that we stand in peculiar need of coming under the immediate influence of that Word from heaven which is "quick and powerful, sharper than any two-edged sword, and piercing asunder;" for there are many among us who are taking up a false rest; moving on the surface of things; well satisfied with the system in which they have been educated; and all the while, while they are making a pretty good profession, they are slumbering the slumbers of death, they are sleeping the sleep of the grave. Alas for such a condition! "I know thy works, that thou hast a name that thou livest, and art dead. Be watchful, and strengthen the things which remain that are ready to die; for I have not found thy works perfect before God." *

Beloved young friends, ye who have been favoured with a guarded and religious education; ye who have some fleeting desires in your minds after holiness and heaven, do not deceive yourselves, I beseech you. Whilst you continue in your unregenerate nature you are "dead in trespasses and sins;" you are, with all your amiability, and all your steadiness, "the children of wrath even as others." I dare not flatter you. I love you too dearly. I long, I pray for your salvation. I want you to be humbled, broken to pieces, brought into the valley of tears, made sensible of your loss; of your liability to ruin by nature; of your sinfulness; of your death. Let no one suppose that we would depreciate a guarded education, a moral or steady life. Oh! no, we can rejoice in your moral, and amiable, and steady conversation. We believe that you have often been visited by "the day-spring from on high;" we believe that the Lord is at work in your hearts; but you are not regenerate; you cannot be born again until you make the unconditional surrender. It is no time for any of you to delay and trifle with eternal things; much less to play with edged tools; or to throw yourselves in

* Rev. iii. 1, 2.

the way of temptation. Now is your time to become decided in your religious course; now is your time to give up all for Christ; now is your time to surrender without conditions, that the Lord may make of you what he pleases, that you may be born again of the Spirit, and live everlastingly.

There are more than a few, I greatly fear, even in this assembly, who have followed the devices and desires of their own hearts, until they have become the very slaves of Satan; and how have they fallen? O the deep instructiveness of their history. First they have given way in some very little things; they have grieved the unflattering witness for the truth in their own bosoms, respecting some of those things which the world calls matters of indifference; and thus a small aperture has been made in the wall round about them, and the enemy has made it by degrees larger and larger. First there was room for "the little foxes" just to pass through the aperture and "spoil the tender grapes,"* and now there is room for the ravenous, and deadly, and noisome beasts of the forest to pass and repass just as they please.

And there are sins of the intellect which have done desperate mischief within our borders. We do not distinguish things aright, we misapply our powers, we are ever prone, under the influence of the corruption of our hearts, to call good evil; and evil good; to put sweet for bitter, and bitter for sweet. Let not my beloved young friends suppose for a moment that some of us who are anxious for their welfare would discourage them in their intellectual pursuits. Oh! no. We delight in their forming a refined and virtuous taste; we rejoice in their zeal for the acquirement of useful knowledge; we know the plain principle of our holy religion, that it is our bounden duty to make the very best of all our powers for the glory of God, and for the welfare of man; and woe unto those who, under the false pretence of their inability, are wrapping their talent in a napkin, and burying it in the earth. But are there not those who think that they can obtain

* Solomon's Song, ii, 15.

divine knowledge by the mere application of their natural powers? are there not those who are prone to make themselves wise above that which is written, and to build systems of their own contrivance, like those builders in days of old, hoping to scale the heavens by the strength of their own wisdom?—and it will end in their eternal confusion. Yes, my dear friends, the intellect and reason of man have their proper province, even in religion; let us never depreciate their value. It is our duty to bring them to bear, and for the highest of purposes. Would to God that the patient, deliberate, pious, and careful examination of the holy Scriptures more abounded among us; that we might be more like those noble Bereans, who searched the Scriptures, that they might know whether these things are so, yea or nay. And let me tell my dear young friends, that, whether we plead for the great fundamental doctrines of the Gospel, or for those Christian testimonies which we believe to rest upon them, we are bold, as our forefathers were before us, to make our honest appeal to the inspired records, and we are willing that our sentiments and our practice should stand or fall by this test. But, beloved friends, when we bring our natural powers into their right office, in daily reading and meditating on Holy Writ, are we to forget, shall we for a moment forget, that the very ground, and spring, and root of the authority of Scripture is immediately from revelation? Shall we for a moment forget, that it is "the Lion of the tribe of Judah," who alone holds "the key of David," and "openeth and no man shutteth, and shutteth and no man openeth?" Ah! my friends, let us endeavour to gather our minds into deep dependence on the power of a risen Saviour, and on the guidance of his Holy Spirit; that the Spirit of truth himself may take of the things of Christ, and open them to our understandings, and apply them to our hearts. There is the animal faculty and there is the rational faculty in man, and woe unto those in whom the animal faculty rebels even against the plainest dictates of common reason; and, above the rational faculty, there is the light of heaven, and woe unto those in whom the rational faculty is not subject to the light

of heaven; light, and life, my dear brethren, going hand in hand, and being inseparable companions.

"In Him,"—in Jesus, in our Saviour,—"was light, and the light was the life of men." I have feared that there are some among us, who would not only discard what may be called the outside of our system, but that which belongs to the very root and ground of our religious profession—immediate revelation. And I am bold to assert that mankind would for ever have groped in the darkness of the chambers of death, had it not been for immediate revelation. What! friends, shall we, a poor, corrupt, sinful people; shall we think lightly of the gospel of Christ? shall we clip it; shall we narrow it by any system of our own; shall we circumscribe God's glorious plan of redemption? Oh! no, friends, let us have the gospel in its length, and breadth, and height, and depth, in all its fulness, as that light from heaven which will manifest to us our own darkness, and our own sinfulness. Then we shall see the perfect fitness of the Saviour to the sinner; and "as in Adam all died, so in Christ shall all be made alive."

There is but one way for any of us to experience "the redemption [even] the forgiveness of sins," and that is through the atoning blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is "the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only but also for the sins of the whole world." Now the word "propitiation" is synonymous, in the common acceptation of it, with the word "atonement;" and those who are accustomed to the reading of the original text, are well aware that what is called the doctrine of the atonement is plainly stated in Scripture, in terms that cannot be mistaken, under the word "propitiation." Yes, friends, he came from heaven in his infinite mercy and humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, and bore the burden of all our sins; and, by this most important of all facts, God has displayed for our instruction his own immutable holiness, and his boundless mercy, to a lost and sinful world. And I beseech you, for ever to discard all dependence on your own works as the ground of the favour of God; even your best works, even those which you may humbly hope you perform under the

influence of his good Spirit. Do not mistake the superstructure for the foundation—"other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Christ Jesus." The veil is rent for you; God hath consecrated for you a new and living way through the veil; that is to say through the flesh of Jesus Christ, which was broken for you on the cross; and I beseech you not to attempt to enter into the pastures of life by any other way. Believe in the Lord Jesus; humble yourselves at his feet; wash your garments by faith in his blood; it is the ground of your acceptance, the foundation of your hope, the rock on which your peace is built for ever.

Remember how it was with our honorable elder, George Fox, when he was brought under sore conflicts; when he was laid low as a young man before the Lord. Would to God that many of our young men could be brought into this condition! They could be if they would. Would that we might see that day! Would that we might be delivered from our superficial walk. Would that we might be baptized; that the Lord's hand might be laid with power on our vanity, our folly, and our pride! I believe that if we were better acquainted with the experience of our forefathers in the truth, we should have a greater value for those testimonies which they were led to bear, in the sight of the world, to the perfect spirituality of the gospel. And how was it with this young man, after he had been baptized with the baptism of suffering in so remarkable a manner? He became instructed in the lessons of heavenly wisdom; and there was no lesson so near his heart at that time, as the lesson of the exceeding preciousness of the atoning blood of Jesus; so that when the priest of the parish inquired of him what was the meaning of our Lord's suffering and agony in the garden of Gethsemane, and of his words on the cross—"My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me," he plainly answered "that the Saviour of men was then bearing on himself the weight of the sins of all mankind." * Let none then pretend to say that this honored elder was not deeply sensible of the practical

* See George Fox's Journal, under the year 1645.

bearing of the Christian doctrine of the atonement. Now it is on the heart that these things are intended to bear: it is on the heart that the blood of Christ must be sprinkled; we must be filled with the Saviour's love. I call upon you, my beloved brethren and sisters, for the surrender of your hearts, to that Lord, who, in his infinite compassion has bought you with his blood; and you will soon understand that the sacrifice of our Lord Jesus Christ without the gates of Jerusalem, is no matter of cold speculation, no matter of religious theory alone, but that it is, of all things, the most practical and the most influential on the heart of fallen, wandering, and benighted man. And how are you to prove your love? How are you to develope your gratitude? What is to be the fruit? O friends, here comes the part from which human nature shrinks. We know who could say in the days of old, "I am crucified with Christ." Are you crucified with Christ? There is the vital question. Are you made comformable to his death? Do you follow him to Calvary's mount? Are you willing that your pride and your vanity, and your systems, should be slain on his cross? Will you be buried with him in baptism? Will you go down with him into the depths of the grave. O the depth, my friends, of true Christian experience!

And some of you who have thrown off the restraints of your youth, let a plain man ask you a plain question: Was it the love of a Saviour that constrained you to choose that course? Or was it the delusion of the world? Was it the unmortified pride of your own hearts? Was it your conformity to the god of this world, who would lead you first one little step in the downward path, and then another—and then another—and then another—and then another, and you go down—and down—and down, till nothing can arrest your progress. I trust there are many of you who will be arrested in your progress towards the world. I do not desire to speak hardly of any one. There are varieties in our circumstances and in our conditions, great varieties; and God looketh not at the outward appearance, he searcheth the heart. But I am bold to express my conviction that as a religious Society

we shall never gain strength by turning our back on our Christian testimonies. I long that all these may be borne in the light of truth; not in dry morality, not in hypocritical profession, but under the influence of the love of Christ. I believe pure truth is diffusing itself in the world, and oh that we may not be left in the rear. I wish I could convey to my younger brethren and sisters the deep settled conviction of my spirit, that though we be a poor, scattered people in the estimation of some, they never will gain anything by seeking out another way for themselves. No, friends, let us have the glorious gospel in our borders; let us cherish it; let us give it room to circulate; let it have its free course; let the truth, the very truth, the whole truth "as it is in Jesus," circulate among us and reign over all.

And, my beloved friends, one thing more before I venture to take my seat. We know that immediate revelation is the very root and ground of the Scriptures themselves. It is the preparatory work also of the Holy Spirit which can alone bring us to Christ. All other ways, however they may appear in the sight of human wisdom, must end in confusion. But, friends, when we are thus brought to Christ, does the Spirit cease from his office? Does he suspend his holy teaching? Does he then fail to guide the Lord's children? Is there an end of his work? Is this Christianity? Is it not the very compact of the new covenant, and the peculiar privilege of all true believers that the law of their God is "written on their hearts," and "put into their inward parts," and that they need not say every man to his neighbour, Know the Lord? O, my dear friends, my soul is exercised on your account. "I am tired," says one of my younger brethren, "I am wearied of these prolonged silences. I go from meeting to meeting; I repeat my attendance three times a week; I scarcely hear a word, I want to have a little more teaching, I long for a little more ministry." And I hope the day is coming, friends, if you will have patience, when there will be more of a truly anointed ministry amongst us, and I shall hail that day. It was so in the early days of our Society, and I believe it will

be so again. But, my dear young friends, forget not the peculiar privilege of true Christians, "All thy children shall be taught of the Lord, and great shall be the peace of thy children." There was the promise of the old covenant, and there is the promise of the new covenant; the promise of the old covenant was Christ, and the promise of the new covenant is the Spirit. It is specifically declared to be the Father's promise in the new covenant; and Christ hath promised that he will send the Comforter to us, even the Spirit of truth, who shall bring to our remembrance whatsoever he hath said unto us, and guide us into all truth. Do you believe it, friends? yea or nay. It was the profession of our ancestors, and God forbid that it should ever cease from being our profession. We shall never prosper if we go seeking after words. We shall never prosper if we place our dependence on anything less perfect than the Lord's own anointing. I deeply feel the importance of the subject. I am not one of those, you will believe me, my dear friends, who think lightly of the gospel labours of such as are not of our religious denomination. I believe that they have often flowed from a right zeal, and are often blessed with fruit by the giver of all grace; but of one thing I am well persuaded, that our security and prosperity as a religious body, is intimately and inseparably connected with our maintaining our own place in the universal church of Christ; not in the form, not in the system, not in the prejudices of man, not in the bitterness and narrowness of mere sectarian views; but in the light of immortal truth, in the beauty and strength of primitive Christianity, in the spirituality of the gospel of Christ, the old, the unchanging path.

O my beloved friends, I hope you will bear with a poor unworthy brother, as I feel constrained to say, in the first place, that I never felt my spirit more entirely bound to the whole of the glorious gospel of our Saviour, and the doctrine of a crucified Immanuel, than I do at this moment; and on the other hand, I never have been more constrained in my spirit to confess that I am a Quaker. I would not lightly use the words, but I do believe it is my bounden duty to maintain our profession inviolate. I wish I could do it better; I know

my own weakness; but I beseech you, as you value your immortal souls, and your standing as a religious body, make free room for the gospel to circulate—let us have it without clipping, without constraint, without restriction; in its fulness, in its unsearchable riches. Let us have the glorious ocean of light and love, overflowing the ocean of death and darkness: but let us not be beguiled by any of the temptations of the enemy, into a forsaking of our own standing, of our own duty, of our own belief. Let us "be steadfast, immoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as ye know that your labour shall not be in vain in the Lord.*

* See a little volume entitled Sermons, by Messrs. Allen, Bates, Gurney, Tuke, and other ministers of the Society of Friends. London: Hamilton, Adams and Co., 1834.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1834—1835. ÆT. 46—47.

FURTHER LABOURS IN LONDON; INTERVIEW WITH EARL GREY AND EDWARD G. STANLEY; EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS AND JOURNAL; VISIT TO ACKWORTH; ESSAY ON LOVE TO GOD; CONCLUSION OF LABOURS IN LONDON; DEATH OF JONATHAN HUTCHINSON.

After a short interval at home, at the beginning of the year 1834, Joseph John Gurney again returned to his labours amongst Friends in London; which were continued, with some intermission, until the sixth month. "Two things have I desired," he writes, in closing his Journal for the year 1833, "the first that I may be enabled to abstain from my own works in religion; the second, that I may be clear of the blood of all men. God alone can do the work for me."

His Journal describes, in some detail, his engagements at Tottenham, Ratcliff, and Plaistow, in the course of the second and third months. He afterwards writes:—

4th mo., 5th. I forgot to mention, in my account of my late engagements in London, an interesting interview with Lords Grey and Calthorpe, and Edward G. Stanley, on the subject of the Norwich and Norfolk labouring poor. They gave me

a full opportunity of stating the case, as it relates to the evil of the popular election of our municipal officers in Norwich: and as it regards the degraded and demoralized state of the agricultural labourers. The causes stated:—beer houses, as an accelerating cause; the poor-law system, as a primary one; the want of Christian education. The remedy, in the opposites:—abolition of beer houses; permissive abolition of poor law, on Dr. Chalmers' plan; pervasive system of Christian education; commodious cottages for the poor, a preventive of immorality as well as distress; small allotments of land, a good antidote against pauperism. I spoke very plainly on the utter uselessness of teaching the poor to read and write, unless they be imbued with the principles of Christianity. The Scriptures must be the groundwork; and in this, one would hope, most denominations in this country might unite. On parting with them, I expressed my belief, that nothing but the goodness of divine Providence can save the country, especially as regards its labouring population: and my desire that he might guide their counsels. I have since received a kind letter from Lord Grey.

Whilst in London he received the following

FROM JONATHAN HUTCHINSON.

Gedney, 3rd mo., 1st, 1834.

Thou hast expressed a desire for my sympathetic remembrances in the prosecution of thy arduous engagements in London and its vicinity. These thou hast, I believe, daily. If ever my heart be enabled to ascend by living aspirations to the throne of grace, I desire to bear thee upon it; and that thy true interests of every kind may be inseparably connected with every breathing and every cry for myself and others. * *

As I often find it easier to copy than to compose, I purpose occupying a part of the present sheet by the following extract from Henry Martyn:—"It has been well observed by one,*

* Pascal.

who took a profound view of human nature, that there are three very different orbits in which great men move and shine, and that each sphere of greatness has its respective admirers. There are those who, as heroes, fill the world with their exploits; they are greeted with the acclamations of the multitude: they are ennobled whilst living, and their names descend with lustre to posterity. Others there are who, by the brilliance of their imagination, or the vigour of their intellect, attain to honour of a purer and a higher kind. The fame of these is confined to a more select number; all have not a discriminating sense of their merit. A third description there is, distinct from both the others, and far more exalted than either, whose excellence consists in a renunciation of themselves, and a compassionate love for mankind. In this order the Saviour of the world was pleased to appear, and those obtain the highest rank in it who, by his grace, are enabled most closely to follow his example."

I very much admire the correctness of these views, particularly as regards the last, which I think the climax of human excellence. In the class thus defined, I desire not only that thou, my dear friend, mayest ever be found, but that all thy labours, by word or writing, may have an uniform tendency to produce and to cherish such true disciples of Christ, of which the world has much need. And whilst it is admitted that such characters must not seek great things for themselves, and that they need not expect the distinctions of earthly grandeur or fame, either on a throne, in the academy, or in the senate; but, on the contrary, in following their despised and dishonoured Master, may occasionally have to appear as "spectacles to the world, and to angels, and to men;" still I must maintain the sublime and superior nature, both of their present reward and of their future prospects, which are no less than a foretaste of heavenly peace, even in this world, and in that which is to come, life everlasting. In endeavouring to secure these, is it not worth while to make some sacrifices, and even, if it must be so, to suffer persecution, by being accounted as "the filth of the earth, and the offscouring of all things?"

TO LORD SUFFIELD.*

Norwich, 4th mo., 10th, 1834.

My dear Friend,

* * * I cannot express what I think of the value of those religious convictions which are hinted at in thy letter. I consider them to be beyond all price, because they are the work, not of man, but of God. I should conceive that it must have been through much mental conflict that thou hast come at them, for I have long found occasion to believe that we must be made in some measure partakers of the sufferings of Christ, before we can enjoy the privileges of true religion: "Are ye willing to drink of the cup that I drink of?" &c. The whole of Christianity seems to me to be comprehended in two things: first, the forgiveness of sin, through faith in the atoning blood of Christ; and secondly, deliverance from sin, through the power of the Holy Spirit.

That thou and I, and all that are near and dear to us, may fully experience these two things, and that we may meet in heaven at last, is the fervent prayer of thy affectionate friend,

J. J. Gurney.

TO ANNA GURNEY AND SARAH M. BUXTON.

Earlham, 4th mo., 19th, 1834.

* * * I have been much longing to see you; but after a break of nearly four weeks, which have been, I hope, well spent at home, I am now about to return to the field of labour at Southwark. There is some cross to myself in exchanging the moral and natural sweets of Earlham for scenes so different; but I ought to consider it a high privilege to be in any measure useful in helping any poor soul on the journey towards heaven.

* See the Memoirs of Lord Suffield, by Richard Mackenzie Bacon, pp. 461—462.

6th mo., 22nd. I have but a broken account to give of the last two months. Nearly the whole of this period has been occupied by Southwark Monthly Meeting and the Yearly Meeting. Soon after entering on the work I was thrown out of a gig in Southwark; and although I received no blow except in the hand and wrist, the nerves of the head were shaken, so that I have since been a good deal troubled with uncomfortable sensations of pressure and confusion; and have been compelled to go on with my work gently, not to say rather languidly. During the six weeks so employed, I do not think I had more than 220 private sittings; four young people's meetings, all largely attended, and very favoured times especially the last, held last week, on the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit; and four public meetings at Southwark, Deptford, Wandsworth, and Peckham; the last, in Dr. Collyer's chapel, a time of eminent feeling and outpouring; of which many testimonies have since reached me.

I had gone some way towards appointing a public meeting for the handicraft workmen in Southwark, in the open air, but was prevented from confirming the appointment by the state of my head; an effort made in Exeter Hall, at the Bible meeting, having convinced me of my inability for a great exertion of voice. I afterwards looked to the Methodist chapel, but was again prevented, and am at length returned home without holding it. Perhaps the way may yet open in due season.

Twice I attended the Monthly Meeting of———, and had to speak very plainly on the true intent of our discipline. I have been sometimes tried with indications of the hand which cuts off, or repels, and by the want of a more seeking, loving, gathering spirit; yet Friends in London are placed, in these respects, under peculiar difficulties. One sixth day morning was delightfully spent at the Croydon school, in a three hours' examination of the children; many Friends present. It was greatly to our satisfaction, and very precious was the influence over us, especially in prayer, at the close; no unsuitable conclusion to our labours in those parts. The Yearly Meeting was to some Friends a time of mental distress,

but all seemed to allow that the power and love of Christ were over all, still holding us together in bonds not soon broken. There certainly exist extremes of rather a painful nature, and each is haunted by an unduly coloured picture of its opposite. May nothing occur to occasion the stumbling of the young, who are, many of them, earnestly inquiring after the truth.

Writing to Jonathan Hutchinson, in allusion to a Friend lately deceased, he says, under date 7th mo., 5th:—

She dearly loved the truth, and was loved by her friends, though one of the simple, little ones. How satisfactory in the view of death is this description of the Christian character. May I live, saith my soul, to be a little child.

7th mo., 20*th*. Last second day I joined a large party of the friends of the London Missionary Society, [at Norwich,] after their breakfast at the Swan Inn,—probably two or three hundred present,—and spoke to them on several points which were interesting to my own mind, particularly the reign of Christ, and the desirableness of avoiding party politics.

27*th*, *First day*. We have passed a comfortable solemn day, a description particularly applicable to both our meetings, and to the reading this evening. Much remembrance of the dead, and much sweet feeling of their "living to God." My wife and I are intending to set off on our journey to Ackworth, early to-morrow morning. O gracious Lord, be pleased to be with those who go, and those who stay, preserving us from danger and temptation, keeping us always as in the hollow of thy hand! May we part, may we meet again in Thee!

Having returned from Ackworth, he writes:—

8*th mo.*, 8*th*. The prayer with which the last entry concluded has been mercifully answered; as I may acknowledge with humble gratitude. The dear party whom we left behind

appear to have been, in every sense of the word, preserved unhurt, and we have been truly favoured and blessed in our journey. It has indeed brought its close mental exercises with it, but every item in it has been marked with the loving-kindness of our Lord.

The first of the eighth month in this year, the day on which, by the Emancipation Act, Slavery was to cease throughout the British dominions, was made a day of innocent enjoyment at Ackworth School. Medals commemorating the event were presented to all the children, and they, on their part, joined in a subscription for the Negro Schools. In the evening coffee was provided for them in the open air, and the day closed with the reading of the 58th chapter of Isaiah, followed by an address from Joseph John Gurney, and a prayer of much feeling and solemnity from Mary Gurney.

The day was also distinguished in their family circle by the marriage of his long loved niece, Priscilla Buxton, with Andrew Johnston, of Renny Hill, then M.P. for St. Andrews.

TO HIS SISTER HANNAH BUXTON.

Ackworth, 7th mo., 31st, 1834.

My beloved Sister,

Perhaps a few lines from me of tender love and sympathy, may be as acceptable on the day after your great event as on the day itself; when a crowd of objects partly bright and partly solemn will be before thee, and sorrow and joy a little confused together. I hope that on the comparatively quiet day when this letter will reach thee, thou wilt be enjoying what I have heard called "peaceful poverty." If poverty of spirit, and a low estate of mind be thy experience, and if outwardly thou art deprived for a season of one

of thy constant objects of pleasure and care, there will be, I trust, that feeling of *peace at the bottom*, on which thy soul may repose and be at rest in the Lord. "In quietness and in confidence shall be your strength."

10*th mo.*, 22*nd*. On fifth day, we, with dear Anna, went to Northrepps, where we passed some happy, highly favoured days. We have never been more united with the families of Buxton and Hoare, and the dear inmates of the cottage. The maintenance of an intimacy with Fowell has been especially delightful. He and I dined at Gunton, (Lord Suffield's,) there I slept and ministered to the large household yesterday morning, from 1 Peter ii. Much pleasant and interesting conversation with Lord Suffield.

FROM THE LATE LORD SUFFIELD.

Gunton Park, Wednesday Night.

My dear Friend,

I cannot deny myself the pleasure of acquainting you with the excellent reception of your address yesterday morning, by my household. I need not say that *I* felt gratitude for one so applicable to each and all of us, that it would be our own faults if we were not the better for it; yet I confess I doubted how far prejudices in my family, (among those at least, in a subordinate capacity,) might operate to darken their perceptions. To my great satisfaction, (and I have taken pains to ascertain the fact,) the effect produced both upon the minds and hearts of *all* your hearers was exactly that which you would most desire. I am assured that a deep and I would hope a lasting impression was made upon the whole establishment. How thankful should you be, my dear friend, to Him who has given you such powers, with the disposition to use them in his service! I could not withhold this.

In haste, sincerely yours,

Suffield.

The work to which Joseph John Gurney had been lately devoting much of his leisure, was published early in the autumn of this year, under the title of an Essay on the Habitual Exercise of Love to God, considered as a preparation for Heaven. "I hope," he writes in his Journal in allusion to it, under date 8th mo., 8th, "I feel a little warranted in the undertaking. May the 'anointing' be with me, for without it, all my thoughts and words on religion must, of necessity, be dry and unprofitable."

It was warmly received and met with a rapid sale. The first edition of 500 copies, printed "as an experiment," was taken up in about eleven days; a second and larger edition was, in like manner, soon exhausted, which was quickly followed by a third. The work has been since many times reprinted, both in England and in America; and has been translated into French, Spanish, and German. It may be, perhaps, not improperly regarded as the first, and not the least important portion of the work, the remaining part of which appeared several years later under the title of Thoughts on Habit and Discipline.

"At the earnest request," says Joseph John Gurney, "of my friend Richard Phillips, of Wandsworth,* I had for some time been devoting my leisure hours to the composition of a work on Habit and Moral Discipline: first the philosophy of the subject, next its practical application to the purposes of this life; but above all the great work of preparing for eternity. I had made considerable progress in this undertaking, when

*Richard Phillips was an acknowledged minister amongst Friends, and an early and efficient labourer in the cause of the Bible Society.

my mind was more peculiarly directed, partly by my own feelings, and partly under the same pressing influence from without, to the crowning point of the whole matter, "Love to God, considered as a preparation for heaven." Seeing no prospect of completing the whole design, I gave up my literary leisure to this specific object; and with the help of Richard Phillips, who was frequently writing to me letters full of quotations and suggestions, I produced the little volume under the above title which has since been widely circulated. "We love him because he first loved us." The composition of this work was a source of great interest and pleasure to myself, not the less so for its having cost me a great deal of thinking. I am inclined to consider it the best written of my works; though there were a few passages in the first edition which I afterwards thought it right to modify, and the third edition was considerably enlarged. The subject is infinitely important. Never have I written anything which has occasioned me so much of the feeling of the difference between what one says, and what one is."

Towards the close of the year, Joseph John Gurney was again engaged in religious labours amongst Friends, in the neighbourhood of London.

TO JONATHAN HUTCHINSON.

Earlham, 1st mo., 3rd, 1835.

My Beloved Friend,

I am very desirous of again hearing from or of thee, for it seems long since we have received any tidings of thy health or spirits. May the year 1835 be replete with rich blessings to thee, both in body and soul! "The God of hope fill thee with all joy and peace in believing, that thou mayest abound in hope through the power of the Holy Ghost!" Many, various and deep, as have been thy conflicts of mind, and painful as are the proofs yet permitted thee, that the enemy has not forgotten the art of tormenting the Lord's children, my belief is, that, through all, thou canst

acknowledge the immutable firmness of the rock underneath. That foundation will never fail thee; and all the winds shall blow, all the waves beat in vain.

The little book, which I sent thee some time since, has been well received both by Friends and others, and as it relates to divine love, a theme so sweet and dear to thee, I trust it may have afforded thee some comfort in thy quiet, secluded hours. I feel assured that thy love to him who "first loved us," burns in a flame, which, although it may not always appear bright to thyself, will never, never, be extinguished, Blessed be the name of that adorable Redeemer, whose blood alone cleanseth from all sin.

My dearest Mary and I have passed a very interesting, and, on the whole, encouraging time, since I last wrote. About five weeks were taken up by the various meetings and families of Kingston and Longford Monthly Meetings; and it was a great comfort to us to be permitted to labour together. I ventured to convene many public meetings, which cost me, as thou mayest believe, much feeling and sometimes conflict. One of them, at Uxbridge, was attended by Joseph Bonaparte, the ex-king of Spain, and brother to Napoleon; and another at Jordans, by William Penn, an amiable young man, the great grandson of our venerable Penn, who once attended that meeting, and now lies buried in the adjoining ground. It is a romantic and beautiful spot. We afterwards called on William's father, Granville Penn, of Stoke Park, a literary, invalided, old gentleman; and were much pleased with him, his house, and his family. I have since supplied his young people with a few religious books, and William promised me that he would read the No Cross, no Crown.

FROM ROBERT WALPOLE.

London, January 12th, 1835.

My Dear Gurney.

I could not return you thanks before for your letter and for your kind present of your works, because I wished to read some of them attentively. I have now looked

sufficiently at them to see how much there is in them, for which I ought to thank you; and mean to go through the whole with great care. The alterations in the new edition of that very sound work in defence of the Deity of Christ, (the Biblical Notes,) are considerable, and they are improvements. The subject I am well acquainted with, having formerly collected large materials for a history of Unitarianism, both ancient and modern. There are some curious passages in Eusebius, particularly in the account of Paul of Samosata. In a future letter I shall have something to say on part of your work. It is a most valuable arrangement of the critical evidence on the subject; nothing can be more unexceptionable than the controversial part of it; the whole is marked with a most candid and Christian spirit.

The Portable Evidence of Christianity, is an admirable summary of that particular evidence which is the subject of the work. The fourth and fifth sections are the parts with which I was particularly pleased. The elaborate volume on the religious principles of the Friends requires to be very attentively perused; and I mean at the same time to go through Barclay's Apology. The introductory part, to which you drew my attention, is a most able statement of the prominent principle in the creed of your society. I have no doubt that Milton at one period of his life approximated to it.

I do not say anything about politics, as I mix myself in no degree with them. We are living in a most critical period; the popular feeling, from obvious causes, (such as the alteration of the constituency, the spirit of inquiry, more extended reading, &c.,) is getting great weight. What the result will be none of us can tell; it will be seen in a generation or two.

I turned with the greatest pleasure the other day to a reperusal of one of Robert Hall's finest efforts, "on the death of the Princess Charlotte." It is delightful to refresh oneself with such reading, such pure English, the channel of such sentiments and Christian feeling. He was in his line one of the most gifted men of modern times.

Joseph John Gurney's labours amongst Friends

in London were now brought to a conclusion by a visit to the Friends of Westminster, in which he was accompanied by his wife who had been lately "acknowledged" as a minister. On his return from this engagement he writes:—

3rd mo., 3rd. No words can express the relief, (not without a most undeserved portion of real internal quiet and peace,) of having quite finished London and Middlesex. Of my beloved wife I may say, she has been a helper indeed. We have laboured in close and uninterrupted unity and harmony from house to house.

3rd mo., 25th. My quiet retirement at home to-day is rendered the more agreeable by an improved state of health, and by the absence of any particular pressure of care. Earnest are my desires that grace may always be near to keep down "the enemies of my own household." I endeavour from day to day to cast myself in faith on the infinite compassions of God in Christ Jesus. Here alone is my hope. The trials, sorrows, and iniquities which abound on every side, are often the means of bringing me low, and of mantling me as in a dark shroud; but when I reflect on the display of the love and holiness of God, in the incarnation and death of his Son, I am cheered and comforted. That glorious dispensation contains in itself a sufficient and satisfying proof of his infinite goodness; and, when to this proof is added the precious evidence of that divine influence, which calms, gladdens, cleanses, anoints, and still directs the Lord's children as to a hair's breadth, we have, indeed, abundant reason to bow before the Lord, in cheerful, believing acquiescence, under all his dispensations, and cordially to bless his holy name.

FROM JONATHAN HUTCHINSON.

Gedney, 1st mo., 29th, 1835.

* * I am at present favoured with a considerable degree of relief from mental suffering; yet former experience con-

vinces me that I ought to "rejoice with trembling;" and, if I express my feelings at all, that it should be in the subdued and chastened voice of deep humiliation; seeing that I am still in the body, attended by wants and infirmities, and surrounded by the combined operation of causes, both physical and mental, which, but for the exercise of unmerited mercy and almighty power, must long since have sunk me to rise no more, and which, but for a continuance of the same power and mercy, may yet conduct my "grey head, by the path of sorrow, to the grave."

On a comparison of intellectual, or even religious characters, we perceive a surprising variety; and if thou wert to place thy two aged friends, the late William Wilberforce, and the one who is now addressing thee, side by side, I suppose the contrast would appear striking; but need this offend or alarm us? Is not harmony itself composed of different parts appropriately sustained? So that if every bird is but true and faithful to its own note, perhaps it shall not matter much, whether it be that of the plaintive dove, or the more melodious nightingale.

I have been comforted, and almost delighted, by the second section of thy little volume on love to God. Of the first few pages I have been a little doubtful, as to how far a meetness or preparation for the enjoyment of heaven, may not be insisted on, in a way and to an extent, rather discouraging to the eleventh-hour sinner, or the death-bed penitent—two descriptions of persons, who, I am persuaded, are so interesting to each of us, that we should be sorry to put them in too much fear of losing the blessed and high privilege promised even to a late repentance, by the "forgiveness of sins." The poor prodigal, Mary Magdalene, the thief on the cross, Rochester, Buckingham, and similar instances suit my own case so well, and have been so much and so long the subjects of my meditation, that I may possibly have acquired too strong a bias in favour of gratuitous mercy, as containing in itself a grand preparative, by inspiring, sometimes very late and very suddenly, the important senti-

ments and feelings of deep self-abasement, on the one hand, and, on the other, the most exalted love and gratitude to God; dispositions in which, whatever else may be granted, I desire, more than I can express, that we, my beloved friend, may, with the innumerable company of redeemed souls, who reach that haven of rest and peace, spend a joyful eternity in thanksgiving and praise."

A few weeks later, after alluding to a severe attack of illness, Jonathan Hutchinson writes, under date 2nd mo., 26th:—

Though I believe myself convalescent, it would be presumptuous to be sanguine. I shall at present only add that goodness and mercy attend me. Praised be the Lord!

These were the last lines received by Joseph John Gurney from his long loved and honoured friend. He peacefully expired, after a very short illness, on the 1st of the 4th mo., 1835.

"It was on a beautiful bright day of sunshine, when his favourite 'green Gedney' looked greener than usual," says Joseph John Gurney in a tribute to his memory written two years later, "that my dear wife and myself attended the funeral of my beloved friend and father in the truth, Jonathan Hutchinson. Many Friends were convened from different parts, and the villagers of the place and neighbourhood flocked in large numbers, and in their most decent dresses, to pay their last token of respect to the best man of Gedney. 'So the best man in Gedney is gone,' said one poor labourer to another. 'What!' said the other, 'is Mr. Hutchinson dead?' His remains were deposited in a little family burying ground, not far from his house, where his respectable, though not wealthy predecessors, had been laid in their turns

during several generations, and which he had taken the pains to plant with considerable taste. Indeed it was truly remarkable, with what skill this ardent, and almost poetic lover of nature, had contrived to adorn, by judicious planting, the small estate of rich pasture land, which he inherited from his ancestors; who had possessed and occupied the same little farm as he did for the period, as I understand, of about 200 years, never rising above or falling below the rank of respectable yeomen; and since the rise of Friends, members of that religious Society. Nothing can be said of the picturesque appearance of low Lincolnshire: but to this general remark, his little domain, cultivated and adorned as it was, by its late beloved owner, forms a striking exception.

"To revert to the funeral; it was an occasion of precious, comforting solemnity. The meeting-house is at the distance of a mile from the place of interment; but the assembled company followed the train of Friends and relations, first to the meeting, and afterwards to the grave, in the most orderly manner. The meeting afforded a full opportunity for reverent waiting upon the Lord, and for the preaching of the glorious gospel of our holy Redeemer; and at the grave, the thickening circle of Friends and neighbours were again addressed; all seemed united, not only in a sense of their own great loss, but in some view and apprehension of his blessedness,—the blessedness of one who had lived and died in the Lord. The striking mark of affection and respect, which was shown on that day, by the inhabitants of rather an extensive district, was obviously the result of the influence which is gradually obtained over a surrounding population by the weight of sound, practical, but unostentatious Christianity. The good man was gone; the meek, kind, humble, generous neighbour was no more; and many were they, of every description, who seemed ready to rally round his grave in the remembrance of his virtues.

"A painful disease, I believe in the heart, carried him off very suddenly. The unexpected attack came on in the course of the night, after he had retired to rest considerably better

than usual. The pain was violent, though short; and death ensued without the opportunity of any expression except a very short prayer, and, I may add, without a struggle. Surely this beloved friend, this humble devoted Christian, rests in Jesus; surely 'when Christ, who is our life, shall appear,' he also shall 'appear with him in glory.'" *

* Colossians iii. 4.

APPENDIX.

TO J. J. GURNEY.

Tottenham, 10th mo., 14th, 1815.

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND,

I fear thou wilt hardly give me credit for much sincerity, if, after so many weeks' delay, I now tell thee, that on the receipt of thy last affectionate and acceptable communication, such were the feelings of sympathy and gratitude, and, (if I may venture to use the term,) of Christian fellowship, that it excited in my heart, that I determined on attempting something in the shape of a reply, as soon as I was able; but just at that time, I was so fully occupied, that I had scarcely more leisure than was necessary for retirement and rest; and after my return home, though the same feeling of brotherly love and friendly interest followed me from day to day, yet I was easily content with making thee my mental companion, without discharging a debt, which I think I am sure would not have had the effect of discharging thee from my best remembrance—no: I think it could not have been so; for I feel, that something has been at work, so to rivet thee on my heart, that almost every day I think of thee, I wish to hear about thee —to know how it fares with thee, and I will not say, that if I really know what it is to pray, that I do not remember thee in my feeble attempts to look towards the throne of grace; but yet I wish I had written before, for in the first place, I might have written to better purpose, and in the next, I might by this time have hoped to hear from thee again.

I wish I knew how to tell thee all I have thought, and felt, in reference to thy biblical researches, and how much I am interested in the result. I was really glad, that thou hadst given up thy time and attention to the subject, particularly so, because I was aware, that thou wast impressed with its importance, and I did not doubt but thou

might be able to throw some light upon passages of Scripture which may have been too much overlooked, especially those in the Old Testament. I think thou wilt not be offended with me, nor attribute it altogether to the workings of a weak mind, if I say that I felt so much the awfulness of the engagement, that I could not but desire, in secret aspiration to the Source of help, that grace might be granted, adequate to the exigencies of the occasion. Nor could I doubt, but He, who knew thy desire to promote his glory, would vouchsafe the aid of his Spirit, so that at least thy own faith might be strengthened, whilst thou wast endeavouring to do what thou could for the confirmation of thy fellow-believers. I am the better pleased with the thought of thy observations being made public, under the consideration that they will wear an appearance, doctrinal or critical, rather than controversial: the latter has been so much the case with most of the Anti-Socinian tracts that I have met with; and it is so difficult to manage that kind of writing, in a truly Christian temper, that I fear our adversaries have had a little cause for triumph on that head. I am clearly of the mind, that thou need not trouble thyself about the morning meeting in the business, as its principal concern is to inspect manuscripts, relating to our own peculiar doctrines and principles. The doctrine of the eternal divinity of the Lord Jesus, has obtained much of my most serious thoughtfulness, since I last saw thee. I feel it, awful as it may be, for any of his disciples, however experienced, to speak, write, or think upon the subject, to be one of infinite importance; I am more and more convinced of its truth, and regard it more than ever as the key-stone of our holy religion; take that away, and the grand combination of truth in the mystery of redemption, will soon fall into confusion; therefore, I should value it as a privilege to be allowed to look over thy manuscript; but as my learning extends but little beyond my mother tongue, thou must be aware, that there is much to which I should feel myself incompetent. I think I could highly enjoy a few evenings' conversation with thee upon some of these topics, and others of the leading doctrines of the gospel. Oh! how I love to dwell upon the mercies of God in Christ Jesus; how it humbles the pride of man into the very dust of his unworthiness; and, when applied under the animating influence of the Spirit, how it raises the soul in hope of an inheritance incorruptible in the heavens! no room for the creature, its own works, its own merits, or its own excellencies; there every crown is cast down at the footstool of the Redeemer, and Christ within, and Christ without, becomes our hope of glory; not

one without the other, but both in blessed union exalting his own praise.

Let me beg to hear from thee before I leave home. I generally sink very low, and I think a letter from thee would help to cheer me. Try to think of me in thy retirements, and if thou canst do no more, to wish me increase of faith, but above all, an increase in humility.

I am thy very affectionate friend,

W. FORSTER, JUN.

FROM WILLIAM FORSTER,

[Then on a religious visit to the United States of America.]

New Hampshire, 10th mo., 1st, 1822.

MY DEAREST JOSEPH—

Scarcely a day has passed for many weeks, but I have wished it were in my power to tell thee of the very near and intimate fellowship, the brotherly love and affectionate sympathy with which I have cherished the remembrance of thee; and how much I have desired to be given up to feel with thee in thy depths of sorrow. * * * The many trials, and sore privations thou hast been permitted to endure, must have brought thee sensibly to feel, to what degree we are pilgrims on earth; and prayer, which has been so much thy resting-place, in happier and more prosperous days, I cannot doubt has often proved thy refuge and thy hiding-place—so that when the blast of the terrible one has been as a storm against the wall, thou hast found the Lord thy Redeemer to be present with thee, and by the clear shining of the light of his heavenly countenance, quickening and strengthening thy soul to a steadfast hope in the continuance of his protection. Surely He, whom thou hast acknowledged as thy Lord and Saviour—He who has been made "precious" to thee, as our High Priest—touched with the feeling of our infirmities—He who having borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows, is continually thy Mediator at the throne of grace—will never suffer thee to be moved from that patient, filial confidence, to which He himself has brought thee, even though thou shouldst be allowed to sink into very humbling feelings of the unworthiness and insufficiency of the creature; I make myself sure, that when reduced to the last extremity, when the floods may seem ready to overwhelm, and thou mayest be scarcely able so much as to say, "Lord, save me," that in the constancy of that love, with which He is ever watching

over his dependent and believing disciples, his hand will be stretched forth for thy help, and as in days that are past, thy faith will be renewed and confirmed in his divine omnipotence; and thus it is firmly my trust, that through the power of his grace, it will be given thee again, upon the banks of deliverance, to praise his holy name. I take great comfort in the persuasion, that under thy afflictions (sanctified as I humbly trust they are, by the blessing of the Lord richly resting upon thee) that he is enlarging thy experience, and preparing thee more fully for his service upon earth, and for an inheritance incorruptible in the heavens. My dearest brother, if the present should be a day of gloominess and clouds, if those aboundings in joy and spiritual consolation, with which thou hast been so eminently sustained, should subside for a small moment, if thy heart and thy flesh should fail thee, if thy lips should be closed, and all capacity withdrawn, for uttering a word to the praise of him who is thy strength and thy Redeemer; may it be given thee to possess thy soul in patience and in quietness; to wait the breaking forth of that light, which has often been to thee "a morning without clouds;" and if in this light, thy path be opened to a more extended sphere of religious usefulness, I cannot say to what degree my heart is engaged in desire for thy faithfulness, thy entire devotedness to God; if he hath separated thee to himself, for his own service, (and surely we must not, cannot doubt it,) we may reverently trust, that in the riches of his love, he will fulfil the many gracious promises in thy experience; in *blessing thee, make thee a blessing*, and in his own love and power, render thee instrumental to the confirmation and comfort of his heritage. This has been much the impression of my mind respecting thee, my dear friend, for some time past; it may seem almost out of season to allude to it now, but some months since (and I ought to have told thee of it sooner) thou wast brought before me with a peculiarly sweet and solemn feeling of what I take to be the heavenly unction, in association with Jer. xxvi. 2, "Stand in the court of the Lord's house, and speak unto all the cities of Judah which come to worship in the Lord's house, *all* the words which I command thee to speak unto them; *diminish not a word.*"

* * * * *

I trust thou wilt feel for me, when I say, that I have not been able to discover a door open for my release as soon as my beloved wife, and my many dear friends, may probably expect my return. I wish to stand constantly on the watch, ready to accept the very first intimation that may be granted me; and very earnestly do I crave an inte-

rest in the prayers of all who can feel with me, that I may be endued with patient resignation to the Divine will, and entire devotedness to the service of the Lord, until in the same love and power in which he made me willing to forsake all for his name's sake, He may be pleased to lead me back again to the enjoyment of my many social and domestic comforts.

Farewell, my beloved friend, in the love and fellowship of the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, believe me as ever, most truly thine, WILLIAM FORSTER.

FROM WILLIAM FORSTER.

Earlham, 2d mo., 12th, 1836.

MY DEAREST JOSEPH,

* * * * * * By a letter from K. F. we learn that thou hast concluded to stay over First day in their neighbourhood. I am sure we ought not to regret thy tarriance at Upton, as I dare say thy presence is most valuable and important to them; but I know thou wilt allow us to say that we really *long* to see thee back again. Thou canst hardly think what Earlham is without thee! Our little party is going on most smoothly; our boys are gone to Norwich as usual—they are regular and industrious with Kidd, and in every respect much as thou wouldst wish them to be. * * * * * * I hope thou art not going to pass by "*Truth Vindicated*," without some refutation of the sceptical notions which it is so much calculated to insinuate. * * * The quietness and retiredness of Earlham is not at all uncongenial to my taste at the present moment. I spend much of my time in the *study*, reading, &c., and have been a good deal cast down, perhaps unduly so, by poor dear ———'s secession. I really feel for him, both in sympathy and pity, though I dare say he does not think his case calls for it. It does go hard with me to give him up; and I am earnest and rather anxious in desire that Friends and the Church at large may be made fully aware that he was under no necessity to withdraw from us, because there is not amongst us an ear to hear and a heart to receive *pure gospel truth*—for, so far as my experience and information go, there is no department of the great Christian community in which the gospel of Christ, in all its parts and in all its fulness, (when it comes in the freshness and freedom of the divine anointing,) is either more precious or more effectual

than it is among Friends at the present day. I shall greatly value some free and intimate communication with thee on thy return. I need not tell thee what thorough, deep-rooted unity I have with thee in thy exercises, and how much I can and do rejoice when *thou* art honoured in the work and service of the Lord, though at the same time *I* may be abased, and laid very low. And when I can believe, as I often do, that thou art lifted up from thy depths of sorrow and spiritual conflict, and enlarged and strengthened by our Saviour to declare that blessed message of redemption and pardon through the blood of the everlasting covenant with which I do believe that God himself has commissioned thee, I cannot say how much it is my concern that thou mayest never be straitened in *thyself*, and that neither we nor the church may ever straiten thee, but that thou mayst be kept unfettered and at liberty to go, at the bidding of thy Lord, whithersoever he may be pleased to send thee; and that working while it is day, thou mayst finish thy course with joy, (*but not just yet,*) and the ministry thou hast received of the Lord Jesus to testify the gospel of the grace of God. * * * *

I have a pleasant and refreshing remembrance of the true, unrestricted fellowship in Christ, which was so great a comfort to me whilst we were together in Lancashire, and which has been so often renewed and strengthened during our long visit at Earlham Hall. * *

Thine most affectionately,

WILLIAM FORSTER.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

MEMOIRS

OF

JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY:

WITH

Selections from his Journal and Correspondence.

EDITED BY

JOSEPH BEVAN BRAITHWAITE.

"Herein do I exercise myself, to have always a conscience void of offence toward God and toward men." Acts xxiv. 16. — *Motto selected by J. J. Gurney for some of the earlier volumes of his Journal.*

TWO VOLUMES COMPLETE IN ONE.

VOL. II.

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CONTENTS.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Page

State of Feeling in the Society of Friends; Publication of the Beacon; Letter to Isaac Crewdson 11

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Yearly Meeting; Appointment of a Committee to Visit Lancashire; Letter to the Author of the Defence in Reply to the Beacon; First and Second Visits to Manchester; Journey in Derbyshire and North Wales; Illness and Death of his Wife 33

CHAPTER XXIX.

Third and fourth Visits to Manchester; Extracts from Journal; Yearly Meeting; Conclusion of the Labours of the Committee; Journey in Scotland and the North of England; Prospect of Visit to North America; Letters; Granting of Certificates 61

CHAPTER XXX.

Voyage to America; Writes his Autobiography; Arrival at Philadelphia; Journey to Ohio, Indiana, and North Carolina; Attendance of Yearly Meetings; Extracts from Letters and Journal... 92

CHAPTER XXXI.

Page
Journey from Richmond to Washington; Interviews with the President, Henry Clay, John Quincy Adams, &c.; Meeting at Washington; Baltimore; Arrival at Philadelphia; Extracts from Journal and Letters; New York; Rhode Island; Massachusetts; Justice Story; Dr. Channing; Reflections on completing his fiftieth Year 116

CHAPTER XXXII.

Visit to the Seminary at Andover; Conversation with Moses Stuart; Anti-Slavery; Yale College; Professor Silliman; Journey to Canada; Correspondence with the Earl of Durham; Engagements in Lower Canada; Return to Baltimore Yearly Meeting; Visit to Friends at New York; Extracts from Letters and Journal 141

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Conclusion of Labours at New York; Illness at Flushing; Pamphlet on Slavery; Second attendance of Yearly Meetings at Philadelphia and New York; Labours in the State of New York and in Upper Canada; Sing Sing Prison; Fenimore Cooper; Tonewanta Indians; Baltimore Yearly Meeting; Prospect of Visit to the West Indies 164

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Departure from New York; Voyage; Arrival at Santa Cruz; St. Thomas'; Tortola; St. Christophers; Antigua; Dominica; Letter from Thomas Fowell Buxton; Jamaica; Result of Investigations; Address to the Planters; Havana; Return to America... 195

CHAPTER XXXV.

Savannah; Charleston; Second Visit to Washington; Interviews with the President, J. C. Calhoun, Henry Clay, &c.; New York and New England Yearly Meetings; Letter to his Children; Voyage Home; Extracts from Journal 219

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Page

Publication of the Winter in the West Indies; African Civilization Society; Letters; Extracts from Journal; Address on Peace; Yearly Meeting; Engagement in Marriage; Visit to Paris 241

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Departure for the Continent; Rotterdam; Gouda; the Hague; Visit to the King and Queen of Holland; Amsterdam; Bremen; Hamburgh 264

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Progress to Copenhagen; Engagements there; Visit to the King and Queen of Denmark; Visit to Friends at Pyrmont and Minden; Hanover; Berlin; Journey into Silesia; Visit to the King of Prussia; Return Home 286

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Marriage; Re-settlement at Home; Extracts from Journal; Visit to Friends at Bristol, &c.; Narrow Escapes from a Mad Dog and Poison; Religious Engagements in Norfolk and Suffolk; Total Abstinence; Publication of his Work on the Papal and Hierarchical Systems; commencement of long Journey in France and Switzerland; Boulogne; Amiens; Clermont; Paris 313

CHAPTER XL.

Engagements at Paris continued; Duc de Broglie; Guizot; De Toqueville; Protestant Meeting; French Bible Society; Visit to the King and Queen at Neuilly; Journey to the South of France; Macon; Lyons; Avignon; Nismes; Congenies; Visit to the Friends; Illness at Congenies 337

CHAPTER XLI.

Page
Journey through Savoy into Switzerland; Chamberry; Anneci; Geneva; Countess de Sellon; Lausanne; Neufchatel; Zurich; Basle; Strasburg; Stutgard; Visit to the King and Queen of Wurtemberg; Brussels; Calais..... 364

CHAPTER XLII.

Total Abstinence Meeting at Norwich; Marriage of his Daughter; Publication of his last Work, Thoughts on Habit and Discipline; Journey in France; Boulogne; Rouen; Paris; Orleans; Tours; Mettray; Saumur; Nantes; La Rochelle; Bordeaux; St. Foy; Nerac; Pau..... 393

CHAPTER XLIII.

Journey in France continued; Pau; Toulouse; Saverdun; Montauban; Orleans; Paris; Attendance of Yearly Meeting; Voyage to Guernsey; Jersey; Labours there; Lecture on Total Abstinence; Water is Best; Return Home..... 420

CHAPTER XLIV.

Extracts from Journal; Illness of his Sister Elizabeth Fry; Letters to her; Letter to a Friend; Illness of Sir T. F. Buxton, and Letter to him..... 440

CHAPTER XLV.

Extracts from Journal; Death of Sir T. F. Buxton; Public Meeting on the Endowment of Maynooth; Letter to Dr. Chalmers on the Duty of Christian Churches in Relation to Slavery; Journey in Scotland and the North of England; Death of Elizabeth Fry... 459

CHAPTER XLVI.

Page

Brief Memoirs of Sir T. F. Buxton and Elizabeth Fry; Letter to Sir Robert Peel on the Distress among the Norwich Poor; Correspondence on the Oregon Question; Personal Trials; Attends the Yearly Meeting for the last time; Letter to Sir Robert Peel on the Introduction of Slave Grown Produce; Declaration of Faith..... 484

CHAPTER XLVII.

His last Engagements in the work of the Ministry; Journey to Darlington; Last Illness, Death, and Funeral..... 508

Recollections of Joseph John Gurney, by his Daughter..... 531

Appendix—Declaration of Faith..... 545

LIFE

OF

JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1835.—ÆT. 47.

STATE OF FEELING IN THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS; PUBLICATION OF THE BEACON; LETTER TO ISAAC CREWDSON.

THE interest felt by Joseph John Gurney in the controversy that was at this time agitating the Society of Friends, and the prominent part which he was led to take in some of the proceedings to which it gave rise, render some notice of it here unavoidable. It is far from the object of these pages to stir up painful recollections. No one deplored more than he did the severance of ties which had long united him to many whom he loved and valued. Deeply as he was attached to the religious community of which he was a member, from a settled conviction of the Christian soundness of its principles, no one more regretted the loss to that body of many whom he had hoped to have seen numbered amongst its brightest ornaments. Nothing but a sense of duty could have

sustained him in the course which he felt it right to take. It was a course attended with much suffering and humiliation; and he has often spoken of this period as one of the most sorrowful of his life. It may be desirable here to premise a few observations for the information of the general reader.

The Society of Friends, as is well known, took its rise about the middle of the 17th century. Raised up at a period of religious excitement, unparalleled in English history, the early Friends were instrumental, under the divine blessing, in bringing about a revival of primitive Christianity and vital godliness, to which the general historian of the Christian Church has not yet done justice. The successors of these devoted men inherited the results of their faithfulness in the enjoyment of a large measure of civil and religious liberty; but, in the midst of ease and abundance, worldliness in too many instances gradually took possession of the heart; coolness succeeded to zeal; and a traditional attachment to the opinions derived from early education, took the place of that vital change and depth of conviction which had wrought so marvellously in their forefathers. True indeed it is, that, through the divine mercy, there were preserved among them a considerable number of honest and true-hearted disciples of Christ, who were enabled to hold fast the truth in the love of it; but no one who duly reflects upon the internal state of this religious body about the middle of the last century, as it is unfolded in the mournful but instructive pages of the Journals of some of its most valued members at that period,* can fail to deplore

* See particularly the Journal of John Griffith.

the degeneracy that was then laying it waste. Brighter days followed; increased attention to the discipline purged the Society of many unworthy members; and, without the ordinary human provisions, or the stimulus of worldly emoluments, a body of faithful ministers was still raised up to preach, with increasing clearness and authority, the unsearchable riches of Christ. Yet in this revival there appeared lacking that thorough Christian devotedness which was so remarkably manifested at the rise of the Society. Whilst the preaching of the gospel amongst Friends, at this period, was often marked by great earnestness in setting forth the spirituality of religion, and the necessity of its inward operations,—it was not always connected with an equally clear and practical enforcement of other great and not less essential portions of revealed truth, which, in the minds of the earlier Friends, were inseparably connected with their deep and comprehensive views of the soul-searching and spiritual character of true Christianity.* And

* "Christ," says George Fox, "gave himself, his *body*, for the life of the whole world; he was the offering for the sins of the whole world; *and paid the debt and made satisfaction*." And surely no one, who did not, in his heart, feel the deep practical value of this precious truth, could have addressed his suffering friends in the following touching strain:—"The heavenly joy fill your hearts and comfort you in the inward man in all tribulations! The glorious light is shining, the immortal is bringing forth out of death: the prisoners have hope of their pardon, *the debt being paid, and they freely purchased by Christ's blood*." And again, "The voice of the Bridegroom is heard in our land, and Christ is come amongst the prisoners, to visit them in their prison houses; they have all hopes of releasement and free pardon, and to come out freely, *for the debt is paid*. Wait for the manifestation of it, and he that comes out of prison shall reign." Selections from George Fox's Epistles by

it may, perhaps, be added, that the increased attention to the discipline, valuable and important as it was, was too often associated with a rigid adherence to forms, and a tendency to multiply rules, and to make the exact carrying of them out, in degree at least, a substitute for that patient and discriminating wisdom, tempered with love, which should ever characterize Christian discipline. In this country the revival was happily connected with an increased attention to the education of the youth (among the results of which may be noticed the establishment of the school at Ackworth,) and to the reading of the Holy Scriptures in families, which, though always recommended and carefully practised by the more faithful members, had too much fallen into disuse. And it cannot but be considered as a striking evidence of the general prevalence of sound Christianity among the members, that when, towards the close of the last century, a minister from America attempted publicly to throw discredit upon the writings of

Samuel Tuke, pp. 12 and 17, second edition. Without needlessly multiplying quotations, this note may be closed by the following testimony recorded among the dying sayings of a Friend in the year 1698. The passage, is, it may be observed, on account of its excellence, printed in large black letter, in the original editions of Piety Promoted. "Now is my soul redeemed to God, and he that hath redeemed me is near me. THE SUFFERINGS AND DEATH OF CHRIST, AND HIS AGONIES, THE SHEDDING OF HIS BLOOD, AND WHAT HE HATH DONE FOR ME, I FEEL NOW THAT I HAVE THE BENEFIT OF ALL. BLESSED BE MY REDEEMER WHO IS NEAR ME." Piety Promoted, part 2nd, p. 19, second edition. Truly could they, who had been brought to such an experience, feelingly adopt the language of the Apostle, "We joy in God, through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom we have now received *the atonement*." Rom. v. 11.

the Old Testament, and when, in 1814, as has been already stated, an individual who had been disowned for promulgating Unitarian doctrines, appealed to the Yearly Meeting for a reversal of his disownment; in each of these cases the Yearly Meeting openly disavowed the opinions attempted to be pressed upon it, and plainly declared itself on the side of the pure and simple truths of Holy Scripture.

Meanwhile, in the United States of North America, to parts of which many members of the Society had emigrated in the days of Robert Barclay and William Penn, and where the body had become very numerous, causes had been more recently at work, which at length, between the years 1826 and 1828, produced a separation from the main body in five out of the eight American Yearly Meetings, of a considerable number, (estimated at about one third of the whole,) amongst whom, Elias Hicks, an aged and influential minister, held the most prominent position.* "Captivated by specious pretences to a refined spirituality," they had been led on, step by step, into an open denial of the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion, to the undervaluing of the Holy Scriptures, and to the denial of the divinity of the Lord Jesus Christ, and of his offices as the Redeemer and Saviour of men, and the one Propitiation and Mediator with the Father. And not a few, who

* The largest secession was in the Yearly Meetings of New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore; but the separation extended also to the Yearly Meetings of Ohio and Indiana. No secession took place in New England, North Carolina, or Virginia.

shrank from an avowal of these sentiments, were induced to join the ranks of the secession by the influence of personal feeling or family connexions; which, in minds inadequately instructed, and in many cases almost indifferent as regards evangelical truth, easily outweighed more important considerations.

Deeply afflicting as such an event must ever be to the mind that duly considers it, it affords a striking lesson, one it is hoped never to be forgotten, of the unspeakable necessity of humbly and reverently maintaining the truth of the Gospel in its integrity, and of holding fast that "form of sound words" which it has pleased Infinite Wisdom to make use of as a most important means of conveying it to our understandings, and of preserving it from corruption. Among those who thus separated were many, who, from a one-sided zeal, "not according to knowledge," for the doctrine of inward and immediate revelation, were gradually drawn away from the one incarnate Redeemer, the Fountain of all true spiritual life; substituting, under the notion of high spirituality, an exclusively inward Christ, of their own imagining, for Jesus of Nazareth, the one Messiah, the anointed of God.

"They are a determined body of people," says Joseph John Gurney in allusion to these separatists, in one of his letters a few years later, "entirely possessed by their one idea in religion, and little disposed to admit anything more. It is a desperate web, from which escape seems almost morally impossible. Quakerism truly asserts that Christ is 'the light;' because Christ, by his Spirit, enlightens the minds of men, and is truly indivisible from that divine influence of the Holy Ghost, by and in which he visits all men, and dwells in

believers. Hicksism asserts most falsely and dangerously that this light, life, or influence, is itself the Christ, the Son of God; the Redeemer, &c. They own *no other Saviour;* and this particular view, respecting the light within, is the true and obvious root of all their defect of faith; of their final and utter rejection of scriptural Christianity. * * * The mystified interpretation of the Gospel, of the blood of Christ, and of Christ himself, is the unquestionable parent of infidelity, as the whole history of Hicksism most abundantly proves."

Amongst the causes that led to this melancholy separation, it may not be uninstructive to remark, that one of the most powerful appears to have been (to use the words of the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia) "the neglect of many members in not bestowing upon their offspring a guarded religious education, labouring to imbue their minds with the saving truths of the Gospel, and habituating them to the frequent reading of the Holy Scriptures." For want of this care on the part of parents and teachers, many of the youth had grown up in great ignorance of these all-important subjects, as well as of the history and principles of the early Friends, and thus fell an easy prey to the cavils and sophistry of designing men who were seeking to lead them astray.*

The existence or spread of unsound and dangerous doctrines is no new thing in the Christian church. From the earliest ages of Christianity there have been those whose unsubjected spirits have refused to yield a full and submissive obedience

* Declaration issued by Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, in 1828. p. 5.

to the authority of divine revelation. The cause lies not in the truth, but in the natural opposition of that carnal mind which ever has been and ever will be enmity against God. And painful as the recollection of such events must ever be to the feeling mind, it ill becomes us, through either a misplaced charity, or a heedless forgetfulness, to blind ourselves to the lessons of deep and lasting instruction which they are designed to afford.

After the separation, the several Yearly Meetings of Friends in America issued declarations disowning the doctrines promulgated by Elias Hicks and his followers, and showing their inconsistency with the doctrines of Christ and his apostles, which had ever been maintained by the Society of Friends; and in 1829 the Yearly Meeting of London issued a brief but explicit declaration to the same effect.

"We have heard," says the Yearly Meeting, "with deep concern and sorrow, of the close trials to which our brethren on the American continent have been subjected by the diffusion of anti-Christian doctrines among them; and we consider, it to be a duty to disclaim, and we hereby do disclaim, all connexion, as a religious society, with any meetings for the purpose of worship or discipline, which have been established, or which are upheld, by those who have embraced such anti-Christian doctrines.

And, in order to prevent any misapprehension as to our views, we feel ourselves called upon, at this time, to avow our belief in the inspiration and divine authority of the Old and New Testament.

We further believe, that the promise made, after the transgression of our first parents, in the consequences of whose fall all the posterity of Adam are involved, "that the seed of

the woman shall bruise the head of the serpent;"[1] and the declaration unto Abraham, "In thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed,"[2] had a direct reference to the coming in the flesh of the Lord Jesus Christ. To him also did the prophet Isaiah bear testimony, when he declared, "Unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given; and the government shall be upon his shoulder; and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace: of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end."[3] And again the same prophet spoke of him when he said, "surely he hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows; yet we did esteem him stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted; but he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities; the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and with his stripes are we healed."[4] The same blessed Redeemer is emphatically denominated by the prophet Jeremiah, "THE LORD OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS."

At that period, and in that miraculous manner, which God in his perfect wisdom saw fit, the promised Messiah appeared personally upon the earth, when "he took not on him the nature of angels; but he took on him the seed of Abraham."[6] "He was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin."[7] "Having finished the work which was given him to do,"[8] "he gave himself for us, an offering and a sacrifice to God."[9] "He tasted death for every man."[10] "He is the propitiation for our sins: and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world."[11] "We have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins."[12] "He passed into the heavens;"[13] and, "being the brightness of the glory of God, and the express image of his person, and upholding all things

[1] Gen. iii, 15.
[2] Gen. xxviii, 14.
[3] Isaiah ix, 6—7.
[4] Isaiah liii, 4—5.
[5] Jerem. xxiii, 6.
[6] Heb. ii, 16.
[7] Heb. iv, 15.
[8] John. xvii, 4.
[9] Eph. v, 2.
[10] Heb. ii, 9.
[11] 1 John ii, 2.
[12] Col. i, 14.
[13] Heb. iv, 14.

by the word of his power, when he had by himself purged our sins, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high;"[14] and "ever liveth to make intercession for us."[15]

"It is by the Lord Jesus Christ that the world will be judged in righteousness."[16] He is "the Mediator of the New Covenant;"[17] "the image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature; for by him were all things created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers: all things were created by him, and for him; and he is before all things, and by him all things consist."[18] "In him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily:"[19] and to him did the Evangelist bear testimony when he said, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him; and without him was not anything made that was made. In him was life; and the life was the light of men. He was the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world."[20]

Our blessed Lord himself spoke of his perpetual dominion and power in his church, when he said, "My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me; and I give unto them eternal life:"[21] and, when describing the spiritual food which he bestoweth on the true believers, he declared, "I am the bread of life: he that cometh to me shall never hunger, and he that believeth on me shall never thirst."[22] He spoke also of his saving grace, bestowed on those who come in faith unto him when he said, "Whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life."[23]

Our religious society, from its earliest establishment to the

[14] Heb. i, 3.
[15] Heb. vii, 25.
[16] Acts xvii, 31.
[17] Heb. xii, 24.
[18] Col. i, 15—17.
[19] Col. ii, 9.
[20] John i, 1—4, 9.
[21] John x, 27, 28.
[22] John vi, 35.
[23] John iv, 14.

present day, has received these most important doctrines of Holy Scripture in their plain and obvious acceptation; and we do not acknowledge as in fellowship with us, as a Christian community, any body of religious professors which does not thus accept them, or which openly receives and accredits as ministers, those who attempt to invalidate any of these doctrines which we esteem as essential parts of the Christian religion.

It is the earnest desire of this meeting that all who profess our name, may so live, and so walk before God, as that they may know these sacred truths to be blessed to them individually. We desire that, as the mere profession of sound Christian doctrine will not avail to the salvation of the soul, all may attain to a living efficacious faith, which, through the power of the Holy Ghost, bringeth forth fruit unto holiness;[24] the end whereof is everlasting life, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Such a declaration carefully prepared, deliberated upon, and sanctioned by the body of Friends in this country, in their representative assembly,—an assembly to which each member has access, and in which he has a right to take a part, and which usually consists of at least one thousand persons, and of a yet larger number on important occasions,—ought surely to be accepted as satisfactory evidence of the soundness of the faith of the Society in all the fundamental articles of the Christian religion. But whilst the views of the body were thus clearly and fully set forth, and whilst it may, with thankfulness, be acknowledged that the Society of Friends in England have been spared the pain of differences so great and wide spread as those which have afflicted their brethren in America, it could

[24] Rom. vi, 22.

not be concealed that there was existing among certain individuals, even in this country, a want of complete harmony of mind and feeling. The comprehension of the entire truth, and the holding of each part in its due place and proportion are only to be found in connexion with a full submission of the heart and understanding to the enlightening and sanctifying operations of the Spirit of God; and, if attained to at all, the process is usually a very gradual one; the result of much time and experience. Instead, therefore, of being too much dismayed at differences of opinion, it should be rather matter of thankfulness, when many distinct and independent minds are brought, through divine mercy, to see and to act together. There were some members of the body who, whilst distinguished for their warm attachment to those views of the spirituality of the Gospel, which had led the early Friends to the disuse of all outward rites and ceremonies in the worship of God, and to press home to the consciences of men the practical operations of the Holy Spirit upon the heart; were yet, perhaps, hardly enough alive to the importance of keeping steadily in view the great and glorious truths of the incarnation of the Son of God, and of the necessity and efficacy of his atoning sacrifice upon the cross. These were not indeed disbelieved, but they had evidently not occupied so large a share in their meditations, as some other portions of divine truth. Others there were who, though brought up with great strictness in the habits and usages of the Society, had not imbibed in their earlier years an extended knowledge of scriptural truth, and

who, after leading a regular and blameless life among their fellow-men, had, in their middle or declining age, been, for the first time, awakened to the full conviction that their salvation wholly depended on the free and unmerited mercy of God in Christ Jesus. This was indeed a new light to their souls, and, under the painful consciousness that they were dark before, they were too ready, perhaps, to reject all their former experiences; too ready to think that all their brethren were in precisely the same condition as they had been in; too ready to make this one precious doctrine the entire sum of their Christianity.

The working of these two classes of mind obviously tended in opposite directions. If, on the one hand, the spirituality of the Gospel was dwelt upon by some in a way that appeared, at times, to throw into the shade truths of equal importance and necessity, which can never be profitably separated from it; there was, on the other hand, no less danger of these latter truths being treated in too distinct and exclusive a manner, and of too little place being given to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit in all its fulness and practical application.

Amidst these conflicting tendencies it was Joseph John Gurney's earnest endeavour steadily to maintain a course removed from extremes in either direction. His own belief in the Christian soundness of the doctrines and practices of Friends had remarkably kept pace with his general religious convictions; and as, on the one hand, he found his mind incapable either of putting aside, or keeping out of view, any one of those glorious truths of

Christian redemption upon which, as he often expressed himself, *were founded all his hopes;* so, on the other hand, he was not less indisposed to let go any of those practices and testimonies which he believed to be, if not equally essential, yet equally part of pure and complete Christianity.

"Not to rest our hope of salvation," he wrote to Jonathan Hutchinson, in the sixth month, 1833, "alone on the merits and mercies of our gracious Redeemer is fearful unbelief; and not much less so to surrender our faith in his being always with his people by his Spirit to guide them into all truth. I feel quite sure we shall never mend matters by clipping any one part of Divine truth. The remedy appears rather to lie in a comprehensive view and full statement of the whole."

A few months later he writes in his Journal: —

"Conversed with ——— in private, first on the danger of conversation on the supposed unsoundness of others; on varying opinions; on American and *supposed* English Hicksism. Secondly on the vast importance in our proclamation of orthodox doctrine, not to trench on the 'anointing,' or on those things which we have found experimentally to be truly precious. Earnestly do I desire that the evil so much dreaded, and which I consider non-existent, may not be fretted into being. May the great Master keep us in the plenitude of his mercy and love. I feel thankful in the belief that he has done this, and will yet do it."

Still later, he continues: —

7th mo., 6th, 1834. Many thoughts pass and repass, in spite of one's self, respecting the state of things amongst us, as a religious society. I have been considering, this morning, the importance of steadily maintaining the *juste milieu*. I

believe the only way is to forget one's self, and to forget men, and every arm of flesh, on the right hand and on the left; and to look simply and singly to Jesus, in the reverent desire to be preserved without error in his blessed truth, and without interruption, to do the Father's will. "I will behave myself wisely in a perfect way. O when wilt thou come unto me! I will walk within my house, with a perfect heart."

Such was the state of Joseph John Gurney's feelings when, towards the conclusion of his ministerial labours in London, the conflict of opinion amongst Friends in this country was brought to a crisis by the publication of the Beacon, in the beginning of the year 1835. The late Isaac Crewdson, of Manchester, the author of this work, was a man greatly esteemed and beloved by a large circle, and was then in the station of an acknowledged minister. He had been brought up in all the strictness of an external Quakerism, and had early imbibed a strong attachment to its usages; but it was not until towards middle life that evangelical truth dawned upon his mind. "I remember," says Joseph John Gurney in his Autobiography, "telling my friend Isaac Crewdson, nearly three years before the publication of the Beacon, that he and I had started in our race from opposite points, had met, and crossed on the road."

"This publication consisted," to adopt Joseph John Gurney's description, "of a running commentary on various passages in the sermons of the late Elias Hicks of North America, who had been disowned by Friends in that country; and, with proofs, drawn from Scripture, of this preacher's perversions and delusions, are mixed up many painful innuendos, trenching,

in various degrees, on our well known views of the spirituality of the Gospel of Christ. Indeed, it is my deliberate judgment, that the work, professing as it does to defend sound Christianity, has an undeniable tendency to undermine the precious doctrine of the immediate teaching, guidance, and government of the Holy Spirit. Calculated as it was to disparage the character of the Society, it was forced upon the attention of the public by placards and advertisements of various kinds, and was the means of bringing down upon us a shower of offensive weapons, in reviews and other publications, from our evangelical fellow Christians. The Society was, in no common degree, held up to scorn and reproof; the common butt of many, who were destitute of any correct knowledge of our principles. The consequence was just what might have been expected; the alarm occasioned by the Beacon operated in a direction which was not intended by its author, and was well nigh being the means of driving some easily alarmed ones on to the very rocks, against which he was wishing to warn us. A reply, published without any sanction from the Morning Meeting, soon made its appearance; and, naturally enough, was eagerly laid hold of by Friends in different parts of the country, and especially Lancashire; but, with much that was valuable, it was found to contain many errors, and helped to confirm the prevailing notion, that we really needed such a work as the Beacon.

The annoyance of this internal warfare disturbed me a good deal, even in its early stages; it seemed to have a tendency to divide best friends, and many were the jealousies which it was the means of propagating."

TO PETER BEDFORD.

Earlham, 3rd mo., 7th, 1835.

* * * I do from my very soul love the genuine and unadulterated gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. In it are developed all my hopes, and on its merciful provisions depends all my happiness. My attachment to Quakerism arises from

a firm conviction that, rightly understood, it is simple Christianity — Christianity without diminution, and without addition.

I fully believe that He who raised us up as a people to bear testimony to his name, will surmount and regulate the present storm, and overrule it to the extension of pure truth and to his own glory. In the mean time it is impossible not to be anxious on two points. The first is, lest the faith of any of our members in the grand fundamental doctrines of the New Testament, should be in any degree shaken, or I might rather say their relish for them impaired, by the imprudence of some who press these points almost to the exclusion of their practical consequences. The second is, lest that most precious doctrine of the inward and perceptible guidance of the Holy Spirit, which lies at the very foundation of all our peculiar testimonies, should be let down in the minds of our beloved inquiring young people.

With an earnest desire to promote a spirit of reconciliation and harmony, Joseph John Gurney addressed a long and affectionate letter to the author of the Beacon,* in which, after briefly but distinctly adverting to several important points in regard to which he considered the remarks of the author "useful and striking, and quite in accordance with the sentiments of every sound and enlightened Christian," he proceeds to a lengthened explanation of his grounds of objection to the work. It was a letter not of attack, but of calm Christian suggestion and expostulation, written in the hope of eliciting such an explanation from the Friend to whom it was addressed as would have been generally satisfactory. True to that charity which "believeth all things," and conscious of his own

* This letter is dated Earlham, 4th mo., 27th, 1835.

deep-rooted attachment to the principles of Christianity maintained by Friends, it was with difficulty that he was persuaded that others whom he had long looked upon as holding the same profession, were not equally animated by a love for the same religious principles. Without unduly burthening the attention of the reader, the following extracts may serve to illustrate the general tone and character of the letter.

After adverting to the tendency of the Beacon to disparage the doctrine of "an inward and universal light," he continues: —

The doctrine that a measure of the influence of the Spirit—although in numberless instances, small and faint—is actually communicated to the whole human species, appears to me to be the only safe and sufficient basis of a closely analogous truth; namely, that all men are placed, through the redemption which is in Christ, in a real capacity of salvation. I conceive that this capacity is broadly declared by the apostle Paul, when he says, "Therefore, as by one man's offence (judgment is come) upon ALL MEN to condemnation; even so by the righteousness of one (mercy is come) upon ALL MEN unto justification of life." Now, that this view of the subject is most salutary to the human mind, and that the steady maintenance of it, in the ministry of the gospel of Christ, is of immense use and importance, there are, as I believe, thousands who can testify. I am informed by the Wesleyan Methodists, that this is one great secret of their extensive success; and it may surely be ascribed in part to the same cause, that such wonderful effects were produced by the preaching of the early Friends.

To be able to assure those whom we are addressing, that if they will come, they may come and "take of the waters of life freely;" to declare to them that they are already placed, through the infinite compassion of God, in a salvable con-

dition; to direct them all to that divine influence by which the Father draws them, and which, as they give way to it, will never fail to answer to the gospel, and dispose them to receive it — must surely be numbered among the plainest duties, as well as the happiest privileges, of the Christian minister. "I turned the people," cried George Fox, "to the divine light which Christ the heavenly and spiritual man enlighteneth them withal; that with that light they might see their sins, and that they were in death and darkness, and without God in the world; and might also see Christ from whom it cometh, their Saviour and Redeemer, who shed his blood and died for them; who is the way to God, the truth, and the life." *

Again, I deem it to be of peculiar importance, that our children should be frequently reminded of that unflattering witness for God, in the conscience, which testifies against their sins; of that still small voice of Israel's Shepherd in the soul, which would lead them into every virtue. The more this "inward light" is attended to, the clearer will be their view of their own corruption; the more they will be brought into humility and contrition; the better they will be prepared for a full apprehension of Scriptural truth; the more earnestly will they "flee for refuge" to the "hope set before us" in the gospel.

Before I quit this subject, I wish to say a few words on the Word of God. I am quite aware that both λόγος and ῥῆμα very frequently mean the declaration of the divine will, or of divine truth; and therefore the Scriptures, in this sense, unquestionably contain the word of God; and they may themselves be justly described as the declaratory or written word. But I cannot think that there is any authority in Scripture itself for our applying this title to the volume of sacred writ, in the naked and exclusive manner which is so customary among many Christians. It appears to me, that the scruple of Friends on the subject is not without a good and sufficient foundation; and that they do well to restrict the

* Journal, p. 156.

application of that title, as one of pre-eminence, to him of whom the Scriptures testify — to him who is essentially, eternally, and, in the highest sense, the Word of Jehovah.

In reply to an observation in the Beacon, in which it appeared to be asserted, that the source of instruction to the apostles was "immediate," but that to us it is "mediate," except only that the Spirit deals immediately with the *affections* to dispose the heart to receive their doctrine, Joseph John Gurney remarks:—

Now here, my dear friend, if I understand thee aright, I am directly at issue with thee; because I consider that we have plain scriptural authority for asserting, that the promise of the Spirit, in all its richness and variety, is the inheritance, in this world, of the Holy Catholic Church in all ages. This point appears to me to be proveable, first from John xiv, 16, "And I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you FOR EVER;" with which compare Matthew. xxviii, 20, "Lo, I am with you *alway, even unto the end of the world:*" secondly, from the words of Peter, in Acts ii, 39, "The promise is unto you, and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call;" and thirdly, from the promise of God to the Messiah, in Isaiah lix, 21, "'As for me, this is my covenant with them, saith the Lord, [compare Jer. xxxi, 31–34,] my Spirit that is upon thee, and my words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith the Lord, from henceforth and for ever."

Here I must particularly desire not to be misunderstood. When I speak of the universal application of the promise of the Spirit to the church of Christ in all ages, I have no intention to promulgate the notion, that the Spirit is bestowed on the church in an equal measure at all times, and under all

circumstances; much less that every individual in the church has the same calling. On the contrary, I believe that there have been many especial effusions of the Spirit at particular periods of the church; and it is too obvious to require remark, that one Christian is called into one service, and one into another.

The effusion of the Holy Ghost, which commenced on that great day of Pentecost, and which distinguished the first age of the church, was in a large and unparalleled measure indeed, a measure exactly adapted to the work which was then to be done for the Lord, and more especially to the peculiar and extraordinary call of the apostles of Jesus Christ. That call was to promulgate among all nations, for the first time, the truth of God in its evangelical fulness; not merely to confirm the dictates of what is usually called natural religion, but to declare the glorious fact, that the eternal Word of the Father —one with him in the divine nature—had become incarnate, had died on the cross as a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of all men, and had now afforded an unanswerable evidence of his divinity and mission by his resurrection from the dead. As the ambassadors of Christ, and in the demonstration of the Spirit and power, they called upon all men to repent of their sins and to believe in Jesus Christ, that they might be justified by his blood, purified by his Spirit, and thus translated from the power of darkness into the kingdom of the dear Son of God. Now that vastly pre-eminent measure of the Holy Spirit, by which the apostles and their brethren were enabled to disseminate these new truths in the world, and thus to establish the church of Christ among men, qualified some of them also for another specific service—namely, that of writing the books of the New Testament; which, in connexion with the Hebrew Scriptures, were destined to form the only written standard of doctrine and practice in all succeeding ages. There can be no question that, in the execution of these offices, the promise of Christ, that the Spirit "should bring all things to their remembrance whatsoever he had said to them," was accomplished, in their experience, in that literal and primary sense,

in which it applied exclusively to their own case; and the absolute divine authority both of the preaching and the writings of the apostles, was demonstrated by the miracles which they were enabled to work.

In the gospel which the apostles preached, and which is recorded for the most important of practical purposes in the New Testament, no change could afterwards take place. Nothing might be added to it, nothing might be taken away from it; he that attempted to preach any other gospel was accursed. Nothing could be more distinct than the testimonies of our early Friends to this grand point. They utterly disclaimed the pretension which was sometimes falsely ascribed to them, of having received the revelation of any new truths; but, *under a fresh and powerful outpouring of the Spirit*, they made abundant use of apostolic materials—even the doctrines of the New Testament—and proclaimed the old, the unchanging gospel in its genuine spirituality.

In what respect, then, are we now permitted to realise the promise of the Holy Ghost as an unfailing and ever-present Guide and Teacher in the church? One, who though he may often make use of human instruments, still operates directly and immediately, not merely on the affections, but on the understandings of his people?

I would venture to reply:—

First, in unfolding to the mind, with divine clearness and power, yet often very gradually, all those blessed truths which are recorded by the pen of inspiration in the Holy Scriptures.

Secondly, in perpetually directing the children of God to the practice of holiness, teaching them how to apply to their daily duties, to the exigencies and requirements of each passing moment, the general principles of the divine law; principles which are primarily written on the heart, and are confirmed and beautifully unfolded in the sacred volume. Here I would remark, in passing, that obedience, in practice, to that swift witness for God in our bosoms, who testifies against all that is wicked, and leads into all that is virtuous and comely in our daily walk, has a vast efficacy in preparing the mind for a right understanding of Christian

truth. I wish also to observe, that these precious immediate influences of the Spirit are to be enjoyed, not in the disuse and neglect of Scripture, or of any other appointed means of religious instruction and edification, but in connexion with the diligent use of them to the best of our ability.

But, thirdly, this immediate anointing will lead the living members of the body of Christ into those specific services in his cause, which belong to their individual paths of duty;—as the Spirit divideth to every man severally, even as he wills. And the same influence which leads into these duties, will ever be present with the believer, to qualify him for their performance. While the general tenor of these services may be collected both from the precepts and examples afforded us in Scripture, and while the spirit of them must ever be checked and tested by the known principles of Christianity, we can derive no information from the sacred volume respecting their peculiar direction in our own case. Here we have no resource but immediate revelation. Our Lord and Master, who speaks to our souls by his Spirit, can alone determine for us what our service shall be; and when, where, and how it shall be performed. Blessed be his holy name; he still enables his faithful, humble, and watchful followers—even those who are willing to *wait* for his teaching in deep humiliation of mind — to distinguish the Shepherd's voice from the "voice of the stranger."

The full application of this blessed principle to the ministry of the gospel, not only as it regards the original call, but as it repects the continued exercise of the gift *on every successive occasion*, must, I think, still be regarded as a marked and distinguishing peculiarity in the views of our religious Society, a peculiarity based, like our other testimonies, (as I believe,) on Jesus Christ, and *inseparably* connected with the spirituality of his gospel.

Feeling as I do the great practical importance of this our Christian testimony, and the necessity of our maintaining it inviolate, both for our own benefit, and for the welfare of the church at large, I cannot wonder at the disquietude which has been excited by the omission of any reference to it in the Beacon.

Thou hast adduced abundant evidence from Scripture, that the gospel is not, as E. Hicks pretends, "God in man," but the annunciation of the glad tidings of salvation through an incarnate and crucified Redeemer. And I am perfectly aware that when Paul says, "I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, for it is the power of God unto salvation;" he is not defining the word "gospel," or identifying it with the Spirit, but is only describing its efficacy, when preached under divine authority, for the conversion and salvation of sinners. But in returning an affirmative answer to the question, Can man preach the gospel? it would certainly have been very satisfactory hadst thou clearly stated that, according to our views, man CANNOT rightly preach it, except under the direct and *renewed* influences of the Holy Ghost.

The omission of such a statement may probably have been accidental; yet it seems to correspond with thy remarks on silent worship. (*Beacon*, p. 96.)

I fully admit that the New Testament contains no specific direction respecting mode of worship; and when we consider the infirmities of man, and the various mental conditions of sincere and pious Christians, we may be thankful that it is so. But the New Testament contains unchanging principles, which it is the duty of all men to follow up, according to the light given to them. For us, then, who dare not preach or pray, in our meetings, except under the immediate influence (as we believe) of divine anointing, silence and stillness are surely essential to true worship. They are not merely convenient and advantageous accessories to this our public homage to our Lord; they are, practically speaking, *indispensable* to its right performance. While Martha was busied about "much serving," Mary sat still at the feet of her Lord; which, in his view, was the one thing needful. This beautiful anecdote may suffice to show that there is a "passivity" which is worthy of the gospel, and consistent with its principles. "There is a stillness," said our late dear friend, Jonathan Hutchinson, "which is not the stillness of death; there is a silence which is not the silence of the grave!"

Unreasonable as the length of this letter may appear, there

are two other passages in The Beacon to which, before I conclude, I shall be best satisfied to allude, "Creaturely exertions," "creaturely activity," thou sayest, "are not Scripture phrases, and the mischief is very great of using unscriptural terms on religious subjects, when the meaning of those terms is not clear and definite. Such phrases also, as 'sinking down,' 'centering down,' 'digging deep,' 'dwelling deep,' 'turning inward,' &c., the reader may have observed, but we hardly need say they are not the language of Christ and his apostles." (*p.* 112.) The general principle, as regards terms, here alluded to, is unquestionable. But allow me to express my conviction that, although these phrases are somewhat awkward, they are capable of a meaning which is deeply scriptural, and of the greatest possible importance to our religious welfare, both as individuals and as a society. The want of more depth, of more humiliation, of a more frequent descent to the well-spring of life, of a more diligent application to the all-wise Counsellor who condescends to dwell within us by his Spirit, appears to me to be one of the greatest and most characteristic dangers of the present day. May we be brought into the depths together, and there know the love and power of Christ to triumph over all our disputations, and to heal all our wounds!

Finally, my dear friend, I must, in all honesty, tell thee that I cannot at all approve the contrast with which the Beacon concludes, between "a religion of FEELINGS," and a "religion of FAITH."

While I am prepared to go all lengths with thee in deprecating the mystical absurdities of misplaced metaphysics, and the arbitrary impressions of a wild enthusiasm,—unsupported as they are by reason, and unchecked by Scripture,—I am quite sure that religion is nothing to us, unless it is *a religion of feelings;* and notwithstanding the contrast which thou hast thus drawn, I am heartily willing to give thee credit for the same assurance. It is only as we give way to those gracious impressions of the Holy Spirit, which bring us into tenderness, and fill us with the love of God; it is only as we obey the *perceptible government* of our Holy Head in the path of practical piety, that we shall ever be established in

our most holy FAITH. Thus alone shall we be made in the end "more than conquerors through him that loved us."

In conclusion, I wish to express the hope (to which I cling) that, after all, I may have misconceived thy sentiments, as conveyed in the Beacon, respecting the doctrine of Universal Light; respecting the immediate influence and perceptible teaching of the Spirit; and respecting the nature of true worship and ministry. If so, I can only plead, in my excuse, that the volume has produced precisely the same effect on a multitude of other minds—on minds as deeply impressed as thy own respecting the immense value and importance of the Christian revelation, of the Holy Scriptures, and of the glorious doctrine of Christ crucified. Under such circumstances, I would suggest, as the only sufficient remedy, an explicit disavowal of the sentiments imputed to thee, as open and public as the Beacon itself.

I can say truly, that this suggestion is offered to thee as to a Christian brother, by a most sincere friend, and in tender love.

Such a disclosure of Joseph John Gurney's views awakened a considerable amount of feeling amongst those who approved of the Beacon. But, happily, he had not now, for the first time, to learn the lessons of Christian truth. Long disciplined in the school of experience, he was, in mercy, prepared for a conflict in some respects more painful and severe than any which he had yet endured.

TO A FRIEND,

(Who had written warmly to Joseph John Gurney on the subject of the Beacon, &c.)

Norwich, 5th mo., 18th, 1835.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Thy two letters have reached me in due course, and I am sincerely obliged to thee for so freely telling me all that is in thy mind towards me. I utterly deny that I have, in the smallest degree, to the best of my knowledge, compromised the blessed truth as it is in Jesus Christ our Lord.

either in private or in public. To the best of my ability, (I well know how poorly and weakly as regards myself,) I have declared what I believe to be "the whole counsel of God," from place to place, especially during my late prolonged visit to London and Middlesex. More than this, in the public teaching of young people, I have, in the most specific manner, detailed both the evidences of the Christian religion and of the divine authority of Scripture, and the scriptural proofs of the grand doctrines of the Divinity and Atonement of Christ. I have found it my place to unfold these points by themselves, before I touched on the doctrine of the Spirit, and the views of it which are in some degree peculiar to Friends. In all this service I have never met with the slightest opposition from those among whom I was labouring; but, as far as I know, have had the full unity and kind co-operation of Friends. What possible reason then can I have for taxing Friends with infidelity?

I have fully stated my views of the Beacon to our dear friend Isaac Crewdson. While I cordially concur in his view of the Divine authority of Scripture, the inspiration of the Apostles, the privilege and necessity of prayer, and, above all, the great and glorious doctrine of the justification of the penitent and converted sinner through faith in the blood of Jesus, I as *clearly differ* from what I understand to be his view of universal light and of the immediate teaching of the Holy Spirit in the church of Christ. On neither of these branches of truth have my sentiments undergone the least change since I first became a Quaker on conviction: and, until I am better informed, it is my calm and deliberate intention to adhere to them both (as ability is afforded) to my life's end.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1835. ÆT. 47—48.

THE YEARLY MEETING; APPOINTMENT OF A COMMITTEE TO VISIT LANCASHIRE; LETTER TO THE AUTHOR OF THE "DEFENCE" IN REPLY TO THE BEACON; FIRST AND SECOND VISITS TO MANCHESTER; JOURNEY TO DERBYSHIRE AND NORTH WALES; ILLNESS AND DEATH OF HIS WIFE.

In the Yearly Meeting of 1835, the difficulties consequent on the publication of the Beacon formed a prominent topic for deliberation.

"It was proposed," writes Joseph John Gurney, "to appoint a committee to aid Lancashire Quarterly Meeting in the case; upon which I expressed my sentiment that there was so much fault on both sides of the controversy, that the whole affair had better be left where it was, or in other words, all proceedings quashed. This proposition was overruled; and, notwithstanding my earnest request to the contrary, I was appointed on the committee. Arduous, indeed, did we find the service, when we met in Lancashire, at their summer Quarterly Meeting."

Previously to going into Lancashire, Joseph John Gurney addressed the following letter to the Friend who had written the Defence of Immediate Revelation, in reply to the Beacon, explanatory of several particulars in which he considered the reply defective or open to objection.

Earlham, Norwich, 6th mo., 8th, 1835.

My Dear Friend,

Attached as I am on principle, to those spiritual yet simple views of religion which have always been maintained in the Society of Friends, I am prepared to unite with thee in earnest endeavours, through every day of rebuke and difficulty, steadily to uphold them. And I wish openly to repeat a declaration which I have often made, that my state of mind on this subject is not founded on any sectarian or traditional notions, but on a firm conviction that Quakerism, rightly understood, is nothing *more* nor *less* than the religion of the New Testament. I look upon it as Christianity without addition and without diminution.

Such were the views of George Fox, William Penn, Robert Barclay, and other veterans of their day. They pretended to the revelation of no new truths; they proclaimed no modern variations from the one, original, unchanging Gospel. They pleaded only for broad, unfettered, spiritual Christianity. And, with respect to the whole system of divine truth, as it is revealed to us in the Holy Scriptures, they sometimes expressed themselves in the words with which the apostle John concludes the book of Revelation: "If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book; and if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life, and out of the holy city, and from the things which are written in this book."

Inseparably connected with this principle was their noble testimony on the subject of human creeds. They were indeed always willing, when occasion required, publicly to declare their faith in the doctrines of Christianity; but they refused to tie themselves down, like many other Christian societies, to "articles of belief" constructed either by themselves or others. They depended on the Holy Spirit as their immediate guide and teacher; and their only written creed was the volume of inspiration.

I am induced to make these remarks by observing that in thy reply to the Beacon, thou hast not clearly defined what

is the standard by which the sentiments of its author are to be tried; for while, on the one hand, thou hast expressed thy wish that thy defence "should rest entirely on the authority of Holy Scripture," thou hast, on the other hand, checked and tested the Beacon by passages from Barclay's Apology; and one of the remarks on the subject is as follows:—"I quote the Apology of Robert Barclay, concluding that one who is now a minister, in outward fellowship in the same society with myself, can hardly be supposed to have thrown off the authority of a work so justly esteemed amongst us; for this would imply that his departure from the ground of our testimonies was greater than I am yet willing to believe it to be." (*Defence, 2nd Edition, p.* 23.)

I have no desire to detract from the value of the writings of Robt. Barclay. He is certainly an author of extraordinary learning, ability, and piety; and, as such, must always be entitled to a very considerable degree of influence in our religious society. Nor can there be any objection to our making use of his Apology, when occasion requires it, as an able exposition of his own sentiments, and those of his brethren.* But whatsoever a superficial view of Quakerism may dictate to us on the subject, there can, in my opinion, be no greater departure from the "ground of our testimonies," than to bring the doctrines or practices of any man to the *authoritative test* of any writings which do not bear the stamp of absolute inspiration; or, in other words, of any writings whatsoever but the Holy Scriptures.

I cannot believe that there is any real question between us on this point. But if such a question does exist, let me, in the present instance, give way, and refer the settlement of it to Robert Barclay himself. His verdict on the subject is short and explicit. "We do look upon them (the Holy Scriptures) as the only fit outward judge of controversies

* I am, however, inclined to the opinion, that were we compelled to select a single writer in order to ascertain the religious principles of the early Friends, we could scarcely do better than choose George Fox himself.—*Note by J. J. Gurney.*

among Christians, and that whatsoever doctrine is contrary unto their testimonies may therefore justly be rejected as false." (Apol. prop. III, § 6.) Just similar were the frequent declarations of Barclay's brethren; and nothing appears to have been further from the minds of these eminent men than any desire to test each other's doctrines, whether written or preached, by their own as a standard.

No, my dear friend, their sentiments on the subject were of a nobler and sounder character; and, while they appealed to the Scriptures only as their written test, they cast themselves on the guidance of that divine anointing, which, to a wonderful extent, led them, in their views of revealed truth, to a blessed unanimity. When they were gathered together for divine worship, Christ was their present head, and preserved them in harmony both of feeling and doctrine. And when they met for the purpose of conducting the affairs of the church, it was his gracious power which enabled them to bear their Christian testimony not only against moral delinquency, but against all vital and dangerous error, in matters of faith. May we never be found departing from this safe, and only Christian ground. * * * *

No man can more sincerely believe than I do, in the doctrines to which thy work chiefly relates, immediate revelation, and the universality of divine light: but I greatly regret that, in a public defence of our principles, which has obtained so extensive a circulation, these points are not more carefully distinguished. It was matter of surprise to me, in perusing the chapter, in the Defence, on *immediate revelation*, to find almost the whole of it relating to that manifestation of the Spirit of Christ which we believe to be universally bestowed on mankind, through the redemption which is in him, and of which therefore even the benighted heathen are joint partakers with ourselves. Thus two vastly different measures of the same thing are so intermingled as to involve the mind of the reader in considerable perplexity.

Immediate revelation must, I think, be understood of a far higher operation of the Spirit of God upon the mind of man than that which is universally enjoyed by our species. It is

justly represented by Robert Barclay, of whose system of Theology it is the primary and fundamental article, as that especial work of the Holy Spirit, by which a true and saving knowledge of divine things is imparted to the soul, and by which the Lord's chosen instruments in different ages have been prepared to communicate these truths to others. By this the patriarchs and prophets of old were instructed in the secrets of a glorious future, and spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. By this the Apostles and their brethren were taught the doctrines of true religion in their evangelical fulness, and were enabled to record them in the New Testament, for the instruction of men, in all future ages.

And now, under the enlarged effusion of the Holy Spirit, in connexion with a knowledge of Christianity, which distinguishes the dispensation of the gospel from that of the law, it is *immediate revelation* by which the eye of the soul is opened to a saving view of the truths thus recorded; it is this by which the Christian believer is guided in his daily path of holiness; it is this by which he is led into those specific and often sacred duties, which belong to his particular place and calling in the church of Christ. "The anointing which ye have received of him abideth in you, and ye need not that any man teach you; but as the same anointing teacheth you of all things, and is truth and no lie, and even as it hath taught you, ye shall abide in him." (1 John ii, 27.) This precious anointing — this immediate and perceptible guidance of the Holy Spirit, appears to me to be the grand practical characteristic of the New Covenant; a large and important feature in the whole system of the gospel. May we ever maintain this blessed principle of truth inviolate! May we neither overrun the Lord's anointing by our natural activity, nor curb and check it by our prejudices and our fears! It is only as it spreads and rules amongst us, that we can ever maintain our true standing in the church of Christ; or fulfil the purposes for which we were raised up of the Lord, to form, for a season at least, a distinct religious community.

No sincere Quaker can entertain a doubt that the immediate influence of the Spirit was the moving cause which

gathered our forefathers in the truth; and that it is the root of our peculiar Christian testimonies. Here, however, I must observe in passing, that our early Friends were not led into their spiritual views of the Gospel, independently of Scripture, but in connexion with the diligent searching of that blessed book. While they renounced all dependence on human wisdom and learning, it was their privilege to maintain a firm, unshaken hold on scriptural Christianity. The Bible, in their view, was not one of the "appendages" of religion; much less did they regard it as "the letter" which "veiled the mysteries of the kingdom." On the contrary they hailed it as the divine record by which these mysteries are plainly declared to us; it was their treasury of knowledge, their storehouse of materials for the Redeemer's service.

It is by no means my intention, in making these remarks, to convey a notion that the special influences of the Spirit are necessarily confined to those persons who are acquainted with the Gospel. Had such a notion been true, the Scriptures themselves could never have been written; and Paul the Pharisee could never have become a preacher of Christianity. There are few of us perhaps who cannot look back to visitations of the Holy Spirit, in the day of our comparative ignorance, which were productive of very tender feelings, and were, in a great degree, independent of external circumstances. May these visitations, so justly comparable to the wind blowing where it listeth, ever be precious in the view of our Society! May we be preserved from ascribing any unauthorized limits to the work of an omnipotent Agent! * * *

It may probably be owing to thy not having sufficiently marked the distinction, in point of degree, between the influence of the Spirit in "immediate revelation," and the light universally bestowed on mankind, that many passages of Scripture are adduced in the "Defence" in support of the latter point, which can scarcely be regarded as applying to the subject. Surely, my dear friend, when the Apostle Peter speaks of the "incorruptible seed" by which the converts to Christianity had been regenerated, and the Apostle James of the "engrafted word" which was "able to save their souls,"

they must be understood as referring to that especial influence of the Spirit, in connexion with a knowledge of the Gospel, by which these believers in Jesus had been delivered from the power of darkness, and translated into the kingdom of the dear Son of God. A similar remark applies, as I conceive, to several of our Lord's parables. He has himself explained the parable of the sower, as relating to the word preached, which withers or flourishes in the hearts of those who hear it, according to their respective characters and conditions. (Matt. xiii, 18—23.) The parables of the grain of mustard seed which became a great tree, and of the little leaven by which the whole lump was leavened, appear to me to be applicable to that double sense in which the kingdom of God is mentioned in the New Testament. Thus they may be regarded as indicating first the growth of Christianity in the world, and secondly, the growth in grace of the individual Christian. To both these points the figures in question are beautifully apposite, but where is the evidence of their being here employed to describe a universal light?

Much disadvantage accrues to a good cause, when we attempt to support it by evidence which will not bear the test of calm investigation. Nothing is more easy, on such occasions, than so to add our X to our C, as to turn our hundred into ninety. But this result is by no means the worst consequence of such a method of treating the subject of a universal inward light. If we confuse the measure of light bestowed even on the heathen, with the higher influences of the Holy Spirit, if we apply to it those passages of the Scripture which relate to the work of grace, in connexion with revealed religion, we are in danger of losing our sense of the unutterable value of the Gospel of Christ, as the grand instrument of the Spirit in the salvation of sinners. We soon imagine that the heathen may fare as well without a knowledge of Christianity, as with it; and this notion reacts upon ourselves, and undermines our faith in the crucified Immanuel, as our only hope of everlasting glory. No one can examine the history of the late schism in America, or fairly peruse the discourses of Elias Hicks, without perceiving

that a disproportioned and exaggerated view of this precious truth, was the stepping stone from which he and his followers plunged into infidelity. While we humbly endeavour to hold fast the truth in question, may we ever set a careful watch against this tremendous danger! * * *

I can readily believe that the author of the Defence does not really intend to insinuate the doctrine, often unjustly ascribed to Friends, that there is in man a native tendency to good as well as to evil. Such a doctrine is utterly opposed to the declarations of Scripture, that "the heart is deceitful above all things and desperately wicked," that we are "by nature the children of wrath," that in us, that is, in our flesh, "there dwelleth no good thing." Any departure from the truth, as it regards this primary article of Christianity, like a wrong figure in the early part of a sum in arithmetic, is sure to produce a train of error. It inevitably leads, as I conceive, to the substitution of another gospel for the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. Believe me, that I give the author of the Defence credit for a willing concurrence with the strong language in which our early Friends were accustomed to express themselves respecting any such substitution. For we do firmly believe that there is NO OTHER GOSPEL or doctrine to be preached but that which hath been already preached BY THE APOSTLES; and do freely subscribe to that saying, "Let him that preacheth any other Gospel than that which hath been already preached by the Apostles, and ACCORDING to the Scriptures, be accursed." Barclay's Apology, prop. III, § 9.

I must now advert to another point, of a most fundamental character, respecting which I would on no account ascribe unsound views to the Author of the Defence. Yet I cannot but express my regret at the manner in which he has touched on the subject. * * * *

Our [early] Friends frequently declared their belief, first that "There are three who bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit;" and secondly, "that these Three are ONE."

"We believe," said George Fox, "concerning God, the

Father, the Son, and the Spirit, according to the testimony of the Holy Scripture which we receive and embrace as the most authentic and perfect declaration of Christian faith, being indited by the Holy Spirit of God that never errs; first, that there is one God and Father, of whom are all things; secondly, that there is one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom all things were made, who was glorified with the Father before the world began, who is God over all, blessed for ever; thirdly, that there is one Holy Spirit, the promise of the Father and the Son, and leader, and sanctifier, and comforter, of his people. And we further believe, as the Holy Scriptures soundly and sufficiently express, that these three are One, even the Father, the Word, and the Spirit."—*Answer to all such as falsely say the Quakers are not Christians*, p. 27, 1682.

I cannot but compare the mode in which this subject is defined in the Defence, [p. 38,] with the corresponding assertion (in p. 7,) that the term "distinctive offices," as applied to the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, is "altogether unscriptural." I can easily believe that this remark was intended for the purpose of warning some of us against a too precise and systematic method of defining Christian doctrine; and, as an individual, I gratefully accept the caution, and confess that in these matters simplicity becomes us as well as clearness. Yet I must assert that although the term in question is not to be found in the Bible, the doctrine which it obviously conveys, is not only clearly scriptural, but absolutely essential as an article of faith. True indeed it is, that a perfect unity of counsel and operation as well as nature are ascribed in Scripture to the Father, the Son, and the Spirit. Yet it cannot surely be denied, that, in the economy of grace and redemption, certain acts are ascribed distinctively to the Father, certain others distinctively to the Son, and certain others distinctively to the Spirit. For example it is declared of the Father *only* that he sent his beloved Son into the world for the salvation of sinners; of the Son *only* that he died on the cross, as a sacrifice for the sins of mankind; and of the Spirit *only* that he should be sent of the Father and of the Son, to "testify of Christ," that he should take of the things of Christ, and

show them to the believer; that he should bear witness with our spirits, that we are the children of God. "The holy Scripture Trinity, or three thereby meant," says George Whitehead, "we never questioned but believed; as also the unity of essence; that they are one substance, one divine infinite being; and also we question not, but sincerely believe the RELATIVE PROPERTIES of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, according to Holy Scripture testimony, and that these three are ONE."—*Works*, p. 195.

Allow me to suggest, that there is infinitely more danger in confounding these *relative properties* than in simply maintaining them, as they are declared in Scripture. Dost thou think it is quite desirable to say, "To acknowledge Christ as Saviour is one thing, to feel and know him to be the actuating Spirit, is another,"—(*Defence*, p. 61.) What is intended by the "Spirit *in* the Comforter," (p. 57,) and when Christ, the eternal Word, is described as the "sword (or sharp instrument) of the Spirit?" (p. 97.)

Believe me, that I am as jealous as thou canst be, for our upholding, with all faithfulness and decision the glorious oneness of the Father, the Son, and the Spirit; and I have pleasure in concluding my remarks on this subject with a few words written by our late dear friend Jonathan Hutchinson. "While the Christian rejoices in the distinct characters and offices of the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, so graciously revealed to us for our instruction and edification, he probably never finds his soul bowed down with so deep a reverence, or filled with so pure a delight, as when he contemplates the Almighty as an ineffable glory, an incommunicable name, an infinite and incomprehensible UNITY."

* * * * * * *

Thus faithfully did Joseph John Gurney labour in private to correct the misapprehensions that appeared to exist on both sides of the controversy.

He now entered upon the more public service allotted him in Lancashire, as one of the Committee

appointed by the late Yearly Meeting. Referring to this engagement in his Autobiography, he writes: —

"Our committee consisted of thirteen individuals, viz: — William Allen, Peter Bedford, Edward Pease, Joseph Tatham, Barnard Dickinson, William Forster, Josiah Forster, George Richardson, Samuel Tuke, Edward Ash, Joseph Marriage, myself, and George Stacey, who acted as clerk, I may truly say, with great ability. Manchester was the place of peculiar difficulty; and after some conferences with the ministers and elders of that meeting, the committee proceeded with a scriptural examination of the Beacon. In this work I was closely engaged; it was indeed, no common labour; but it was the means of bringing the members of the Committee into very intimate communication one with another; a free interchange of sentiment, in a high degree instructive and profitable. Our strictures have since been printed, and, whatever any objectors may think of them, three points are undeniable; first, that they try the Beacon by no test whatever but simple Scripture; secondly, that they fully support all the cardinal features of evangelical truth; and thirdly, that they are written in the spirit of true love and kindness towards our dissentient brother, who was the object of our solicitude. We left them in his hands for his calm consideration; and, after the rest of the committee had departed, I gave up two or three days to the further explanation of our views to him in private; and I remember leaving him in tears after a highly favoured meeting one fifth day morning.

My dear wife was my companion during this first visit to Manchester. On leaving that place (7th month, 2nd) we proceeded to Matlock, where we had the delight of meeting my sister Rachel Fowler with my children. Happy, yet very touching is the recollection of this, the last journey which we took together through Derbyshire and North Wales. I held a certificate for convening public meetings as the way

might open, and many very interesting ones were held at Matlock, Bakewell, Castleton, Llangollen, Conway, Caernarvon, Barmouth, Dolgelly, and some other places. Perhaps the most remarkable was that held at Castleton in the Peak Cavern; a great part of the population of the town, and many from the neighbouring villages assembled on the occasion, and the Great Head of the church graciously condescended to bestow his presence upon us in that noble natural temple. Others of the meetings were held in the open air, which appeared to answer a good purpose. I believe we all felt that the pleasure of the journey was greatly increased by the engagements of a higher nature which devolved upon us from time to time as we proceeded. The contemplation of the sublimity and beauty of nature is in true harmony with such services; and nothing is more salutary than to bear in mind that the God of nature is also the God of grace; that the Lord of the heavenly host, (even of the stars that deck the firmament) is the Holy One of Israel.

Whilst on this journey he had much pleasure in making the acquaintance, at Barmouth, of the late Dr. Olinthus Gregory, "a most agreeable and instructive companion."

In his Journal he writes:—

7th mo., 20*th.* Morning spent at Barmouth. Fourteen Cambridge students to meet the Gregorys at dinner; instructive conversation till six o'clock, when we drove off, along that beautiful estuary, to Dolgelly, having parted from our friends, old and young, in much friendship and love. Dr. Gregory gave us an interesting account of Hutton and Bonnycastle, his two predecessors in the mathematical chair at Woolwich; awful instances, especially the latter, of the danger of permitting science to exclude religion.

They returned home by way of Coalbrōokdale,

where a large meeting was held with the work people of the Iron Factory, about 2000 being assembled on the occasion; "a blessed meeting, I humbly trust," he remarks in his Journal, "and greatly to the relief of my own mind." On his return he writes:—

8*th mo.*, 3*rd.* Seven weeks have sped their rapid, interesting course, since my last entry in this journal. During those weeks, the catalogue of deaths has been affectingly increased by the decease of my truly dear friend, Lord Suffield, in consequence of a fall from his horse. It has been a great blow to me, and a very painful loss, both public and private; a sad loss as it relates to the poor blacks in our colonies, of whose sufferings under the apprenticeship system, we hear grievous, heart-rending accounts. Lord Suffield died in the faith of a Christian, in humble reliance on the atonement of Christ. He spoke to Sir B. Brodie of the blessing which had mercifully rested on my feeble labours with him, in a religious point of view, which has been a comfort to me. Our dear cousin, G. Allen,* has also escaped from the infirmities of mortality. The sudden death of John Shelly, of Yarmouth, a highly useful character, after attending a Parliamentary Committee, leaving a large family, has excited much feeling. The good do indeed seem to be remarkably taken away! The cry has been afresh raised in my heart, "O that I may die the death of the righteous," and a sweet hope, and even belief, has been graciously given, that the death of the Christian believer will be mine. Yesterday such a precious assurance of divine favour was permitted, as I have not of late often experienced. What a mercy to be brought at times to a living sense of the rule of Christ over all!

Whilst at Conway he had been much interested with several persons in comparatively humble cir-

* The wife of his friend William Allen.

cumstances, whose minds appeared remarkably open to the spirituality of the Gospel. To one of these he subsequently wrote the following letter. The individual to whom it was addressed, on being called upon, fifteen years afterwards, by a relation of Joseph John Gurney's, alluded to his visit with tears.

Earlham, 9th mo., 1835.

It was pleasant to us to hear from thee, and we are glad that thou and our friend ——— are pleased with the present of books.

The Observations on our Distinguishing Views would give thee some idea of the various particulars which Friends have seen in a more spiritual light than many of their fellow Christians. I thought when I was at Conway that we were not much disagreed upon these subjects. It is a very blessed thing to know something of the immediate teaching and guidance of the Holy Spirit so graciously bestowed upon us by our dear Redeemer. "The anointing which ye have received of him abideth in you, and ye need not that any man teach you, but as this same anointing teacheth you of all things, and is truth and no lie, and even as it hath taught you ye shall abide in him." (1 John ii, 27.)

I feel a strong desire that thou mayest be enabled to obey the teaching of this divine "anointing," although it may and will lead thee in the way of the cross. "Except a man take up his cross and follow me he cannot be my disciple," said the best and holiest of masters. As thou "followest on" to know and serve the Lord who bought thee with his blood, the truth will be more and more unfolded to thee in its beauty and purity, and thou wilt be led, I believe, out of all those things, even of a religious character which are in the will of man, and brought to a more simple and unreserved dependence on the wisdom, power, and goodness of God. What a blessed thing would the worship of Christians be, were there less in it of the mere activity of the human mind, and more of patient reverent waiting upon the Lord, in the silence of all flesh!

And how sweet and enlivening would be the ministry of the Gospel were it exercised under the immediate influence of the Spirit of Christ! Then would the great Head of the church enable his servants livingly to baptize their hearers "into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

I am pleased to find that thou art prepared to agree with my view of plainness. The plain and simple mode of address as well as attire, which Friends have thought it right to adopt, sometimes exposes them to ridicule; but a little consideration may suffice to show that it is quite consistent with the principles and precepts of the New Testament. I hope thou wilt be enabled to be faithful even in these matters; and that thy light will, in all things, shine before men to the glory of God the Father.

Seek daily, and more often than the day, for retirement before the Lord; and pour out thy heart to him in fervent prayer. Take care never to neglect the deliberate reading of the Holy Scriptures, both in private and in thy family circle, and may thy wife be of one mind with thee in following and serving the Lord!

TO PRISCILLA JOHNSTON.

Earlham, 8th mo., 8th, 1835.

* * * I have been much interested by reading Lord Brougham's Discourse on Natural Theology. He has some strong points on the right side, and is a noble defender, not only of the wisdom and goodness of God, as revealed in created things, but also of the immateriality, independent existence, and immortality of the soul. But he nevertheless treats his subject like a man who has but little knowledge of scriptural religion. I am quite aware that natural theology has its own proper department, and I own I have a great delight in it, and would have it kept distinct. Yet no man can ever truly unfold it, who does not know and love Christianity. It is just here that one perceives the difference between Brougham and Butler.

I leave home again under some difficulty, but the object is of so much importance that it must be no common bond that

would retain me there. I have often thought of thy hint about Manchester, referring us to the Lord as the lover of even balances. This remark exactly applies to our need in this case. May he graciously bestow and preserve amongst us that evenness of balance which he so justly loves.

The illness of his beloved daughter, who since their return to Earlham, had been seized with typhus fever, occasioned Joseph John Gurney much anxiety, especially in the prospect of again resuming his labours at Manchester, where the committee had appointed to meet on the 10th of the 8th month.

"The work, however," he writes in his Autobiography, "was too important to be neglected, and, hard as was the struggle, yet, with the sanction of our medical attendant, I pursued what appeared to be the path of duty. Our meeting was an important one. Isaac Crewdson's answer to our Strictures was before us, and contained much that seemed to evince his continued attachment to the views of Friends. In a private conference he made some further declarations, which were satisfactory to the committee; and these, through my earnest persuasion, were at last reduced by him to writing, handed to the committee, and recorded in our minutes. They were read to Friends in the committee of the Quarterly Meeting, and afforded, on the whole, so good a hope of reconciliation, that we resolved to quit the scene of action for several months, trusting that, with the Lord's blessing, the swelling billows on all sides would subside into quietness, and the mischief produced by the controversy die out and cease. In this glad hope I returned home, and had the happiness to find my daughter recovering."

But he was now once more permitted to be plunged into deep affliction. It was an unlooked

for stroke. His beloved wife, whose health had, of late years, much improved, had been unremitting in her attentions to his daughter during her late illness, without apparently suffering in consequence. The disease was, however, lurking in her constitution, and after some time made its appearance. The fever gradually gained ground, and she sank under it on the 29th of the 9th month.

"When we became aware of the nature of her complaint," he writes in his Autobiography, "it appeared of so mild a character that we were by no means very anxious. A decided prevalence of hope cheered us as the disease advanced to its crisis; and it was no small happiness to wait upon the beloved object of our care, and observe her quiet, comfortable, and even lively condition. Precious were the religious opportunities which we enjoyed together from day to day. At length, however, delirium came on; weakness rapidly increased, and I was brought to the inexpressibly afflicting point of surrendering my dearest earthly treasure. For almost thirty hours before her end, she lay in a state of insensibility, after which, though speechless, she suddenly recovered her powers of perception, recognized us one after another, and expressed her joy and happiness, by the most radiant smiles. It was like the bursting forth of the setting sun from under the dark clouds. Cordial was her response to the remark that "Jesus Christ is all in all;" and her answer to the question "Whether she was comfortable," was the most remarkable exhibition of delight which could be given by mere motion and expression. I am not aware that I ever witnessed such an appearance of ecstatic pleasure. I say so with reverent thankfulness to the Author of all our mercies. From this state of bright effulgence, she sank into a gentle calm, and in a few minutes without the least struggle, breathed her last. I knelt down and returned heartfelt thanksgiving for her deliverance in Christ, from every trouble."

TO A NEAR RELATIVE.

Earlham, 10th mo., 2nd, 1835.

* * I begin in some degree to understand where I am, which, during the first two days after the awful and unexpected stroke, I found to be difficult. The "inbreathings" of the Holy Spirit to which thy letter alludes, are my support and comfort under this truly bitter sorrow. My own secret infirmity of mind almost passes conception, but I am permitted to feel and know assuredly that there is an influence from above, which restrains the buffetings of Satan, brings all into soundness, sweetness, and calmness, and enables me to rejoice in her happiness, and even on my own account to give thanks.

Never have I known such a combination as I found in her of a strong and lucid intellect, a sound judgment, great amiability and generosity, and deep abiding piety. Her views of religious truth were of a very comprehensive and well balanced kind, and it was her joy and strength to abide under the teaching of the Lord's "anointing." This, in fact, was the grand secret of her excellence, connected as it was with a daily and diligent study of the Holy Scripture. She was admirably versed in the Greek Testament, and used to read it to me with a fluency and beauty of pronunciation. and with a nice spiritual and critical discernment of its meaning which I have seldom known equalled. A more adapted companion it was impossible for any man to have found, and the blank and loss must be in proportion. I am, however, most thankful for having enjoyed her society during more than eight years, and undue sorrow is precluded by some living sense of the fulness which is in Christ.

The following stanzas written by Joseph John Gurney after her decease, and subsequently published by him as part of the Christian's Race, beautifully describe her character.

Her's was the cultur'd and the lucid mind,
The generous heart, the conduct ever kind,
The temper sensitive, yet always mild,
The frank simplicity of nature's child—
Nature unspoiled by fashion or by pride,
And yet subdued by grace, and sanctified;
The cheerfulness, devoid of base alloy,
That bade her speed her even course with joy,
Yet left full scope thro' her revolving years,
For love's fond grief and pity's softest tears;
The abstinence from self—an humble view
Of all she said, and did, and thought, and knew;
The elder's judgment in the youthful frame,
And love to God and man, a deathless flame.

* * * *

Her early covenant not vainly made,
Like some fair flower, she blossom'd in the shade,
Till with advancing years affliction came,
And wan disease oppressed her slender frame.

* * * *

Her virtues grew in sorrow's lingering hour,
Her faith was deepen'd by the Saviour's power,
She rose, replenished with abundant grace,
For larger duties, in a wider space.
Blest was our union; all that life endears
Brightened the current of those rapid years,
Brightened and swelled; — around her bounty flowed,
Her soul, enlarging, with fresh fervour glowed;
Her views of truth extending more and more,
As Scripture, daily studied, spread its store.
'Twas hers each rougher wave of life to smooth,
To advise and comfort, elevate and soothe.
Fondly we hoped, when, with no faltering voice
She bade her friends in Jesus Christ rejoice,
Fondly we hoped, her gifts with years would grow
To enlarge, improve, the struggling church below;
But God ordained a higher walk of love,
In boundless regions, with the blest above;
The summons came, the accepted hour was given,
Her sainted spirit smiled and sprang to heaven.

More than a hundred letters which have been preserved amongst his papers manifest the deep feeling which the event awakened in the circle of his numerous friends. From these a very brief selection only can be here given.

FROM ELIZABETH DUDLEY.

Peckham, 9th mo., 30th, 1835.

What can I say to thee, my beloved friend and brother, in this the day of thy calamity, that is not likely to be said by other nearly interested, sympathizing friends, and suggested immediately to thy own mind, as a source of encouragement and comfort? Happily, thou knowest where to look for availing succor, and hast proved the faithfulness of him, who, whilst he sees meet to afflict and wound, sustains by his own almighty arm, and pours the balm of heavenly consolation upon the sorrowful and bleeding heart. In the darkest dispensations of his providence, the eye of faith perceives a bright spot whereon to rest; though joy may be far from the dwelling, and for a season, sadness and mourning be not only allowed, but called for and sanctioned. She whom we have lost was lovely and justly beloved in an extensive circle of relatives and friends. Her endearing qualities and sincere piety awakened respect and affection where the acquaintance was but slight; while with intimate knowledge, nearness of regard and union seemed increased by every fresh interview, and her capacity for usefulness in various ways more and more developed. I was peculiarly sensible of these feelings when we were last together; and my heart became bound to her, in tender and religious fellowship, to a degree which was surprising to myself, and made the parting painful, though attended with sweetness.

I trust thou wilt be kept in calmness and resignation, knowing "that it is the Lord." He will be mercifully with thee in the furnace, and in his own time bring thee out uninjured, with fresh capacity to serve and praise him.

FROM THE BISHOP OF NORWICH,

(then in his 91st year.)

London, October 3rd, 1835.

My very dear Friend,

Taught by severe experience, no one can know better than I do how to estimate your loss; a loss for which you want no Bishop to remind you that there is only one remedy.

Yours ever most sincerely and affectionately,

Henry Norwich.

FROM DR. OLINTHUS GREGORY.

Woolwich, 19th October, 1835.

* * What a mercy, that in the midst of the darkness and desolation, the grief and the agony, in which so heavy a stroke leaves an affectionate spirit, you are not without "strong consolation." You have lost her whom your soul loved, but blessed be God, *only for a season*. A few more years of active exertion in promoting the glory of God, and the salvation of souls, and then you, dear friend, will be called to your reward, and she and you will again meet to separate no more for ever. * * Doubtless you are often called back in your mournful meditations to think how happy your dear wife *was*, and how happy she made others; yet you will, I trust, by the merciful supply of grace and consolation, be enabled to point your meditations in the opposite direction and think how happy she *is*—how everything now, without the slightest drawback, augments her bliss. O! the ineffable delights of that state, in which there is a perpetual increase of knowledge without any mixture of error; a glorious measure of holiness without the least degree of sin; constant peace and joy without the slightest intermixture of solicitude, sorrow, weariness, or pain; the most pleasing, refreshing, unwearying society, in which no misconception of motive, sentiment, or principle can enter; the uninterrupted exercise of the purest love; "the spirits of the just made perfect inter-

mingling their energies and their excellencies in an ever augmenting, ever flowing stream. All rests upon the rock of the Divine veracity, binding upon our hearts and confirming to our faith, the deep conviction that all the ineffable delights, all the high prerogatives "of the saints in light," are stamped with the seal of *eternity*. How do we read again, and again, and again, of "everlasting life," "eternal glory," "the everlasting kingdom," going "no more out for ever," "an enduring substance," "pleasures for evermore," "an incorruptible crown," "a kingdom which cannot be moved," "a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory." And why is this placed before us in so rich a variety of forms? but that we may trust the record even when we cannot trace the hand, and cherish the persuasion that when our Heavenly Father removes from us our dearest delights, he takes what is his more than ours, and transplants them to a higher region, his providence concurring with his grace in saying "Come up hither."

From his sister Elizabeth Fry, who had been with him on the occasion of the funeral, he received the following:—

Upton Lane, 10th mo., 14th, 1835.

I have exceedingly missed your dear sorrowful party, and felt a certain painful lowness in being out of the sweet, solemn, holy atmosphere, that surely we appeared to live in from day to day. Sorrow passes through many variations of feeling. On coming to the stripped, low, and at times tossed estate, when simple faith, and not present consolation, must be our stay, there is need to possess the soul in patience; and thus to wait for the fresh opening of the springs of hope and consolation. When I wake at night and in the morning, I think of thee in thy lonely condition; but I rest confidently assured that thy Lord will be thy stay, and, however high at times the waves may appear to arise, they never shall overflow thee.

I have had several sweet glances at the kingdom where all is rest, peace, joy, and full satisfaction; but when a prospect

of this state is permitted, then the fear enters lest those we love, and perhaps ourselves at last, should fall short of it,—there are so many hindrances here,—and then again some joy is felt over the beloved departed; the warfare accomplished,—what a consideration! May we continue in faith, patience, humility, and dedication, to fight the good fight, until we come to the same blessed end. The time is short, therefore, we must go on, nothing doubting, remembering that "faithful is he that calleth us who also will do it," and in him we must wholly trust.

I am truly thy most loving and sympathizing sister,

E. Fry.

P. S. Jonathan Hutchinson once said to me, "schoolmasters give *apt* scholars *hard* lessons." So with *our* Master; this thou mayest take home.

"The present stage of my grief," writes Joseph John Gurney, to a near relative, a few weeks after his bereavement, "is one marked by some peculiarly trying and sorrowful feelings, and much conflict has been occasionally my portion. But I believe that nothing will do but patient bearing, and waiting in hope for brighter and better things. This I strive after, and can gratefully acknowledge that I am surrounded with many precious alleviations, and am not forsaken by the God of all hope and comfort."

CHAPTER XXIX.

1835—1837. ÆT. 48—49.

THIRD AND FOURTH VISITS TO MANCHESTER; EXTRACTS FROM JOURNAL; YEARLY MEETING; CONCLUSION OF THE LABOURS OF THE COMMITTEE; JOURNEY IN SCOTLAND AND THE NORTH OF ENGLAND; PROSPECT OF VISIT TO NORTH AMERICA; LETTERS; GRANTING OF CERTIFICATES.

AMIDST this deep sorrow, Joseph John Gurney was again called to his painful duties in Lancashire. The Yearly Meeting's committee had appointed to meet at Manchester, in the twelfth month. "May the Lord open my way in the path of duty," he writes in his Journal, "and provide for all my need by the riches which are in Christ!"

FROM WILLIAM FORSTER.

Bradpole, 10th mo., 27th, 1835.

* * I have often wished that I could write and tell thee with what fulness of sympathy I was bearing thee in constant remembrance. It was much more of an effort to me than I was willing any of you should know, to turn my back on Earlham, but most of all to break away from thee. I had been so entirely at home with thee, and thou hadst been so much to me—every thing that a friend could be—and I had partaken so largely with you of the peace, and joy, and hope, with which you had been sustained, that it required as much resolution as I could command, to pursue the course it seemed best for me to adopt; and it was long before I could feel that I had actually left you. Throughout the day I had such a sense of thy affliction, and thy conflict of mind, and such

assurance of our Saviour's love and care towards thee, that I was glad to be left very much to myself, and did not wish for the best of conversation to divert my attention from that which had such full possession of my mind and feelings. I had books enough, but I had not much inclination to read them, for I had enough to do to think where I had been, and what I had witnessed; and I dwelt upon that which I had seen of the power of the grace of God, much to my instruction and to the confirmation of my faith. * * *

I look forwards with much comfort to our impending journey together into the north. Friends seem as if they could not give up the hope of having *thee* there.

In what I have written, I have told thee but little of my feeling of the past, the present, and the future, as it relates to thee, and all the hope and confidence I have for thee. What a pleasure will it be if in any way I should be of the least use or comfort to thee.

The following are from Joseph John Gurney's Journal:—

11*th mo.*, 8*th.* The last week has passed very smoothly; our dear little home party uninterrupted, and our course of study pursued diligently; but the tone of my own mind has been very low, and the conflict occasionally severe. I believe that, through infinite mercy, I have not murmured; but indeed I have nothing to look to, nothing to depend upon, except the one great source of hope and consolation, the infinite and unmerited mercy of God in Christ Jesus.

11*th mo.*, 10*th.* I feel this morning, in some degree willing and desirous to leave, (forget I cannot,) that which is behind, and press forward in hope. Yet there is a holy forgetfulness of that which is behind, at which the Christian pilgrim must aim, and to which he is sometimes enabled to attain in the name of the Lord.

12*th mo.*, 9*th.* I have completed my evidence on the Beacon, &c., and, after some inexpressible conflict, find myself

ready for our journey to Manchester. We hope to set off to-morrow morning.

In allusion to this visit he writes: —

1*st mo.*, 8*th*, 1836. All the committee, except two, met on seventh day morning, the 12th ult. It was a great favour that I found an opportunity during this first morning of our labours, to read to the committee the whole of my strictures on various demi-unsound pamphlets, which laid a clear foundation for further arduous service in the working of our business.

The committee concluded its operations, for the present, on seventh day evening, the 2nd instant, at Manchester. Such a fortnight it has never been my lot to pass before. The engagement of mind; the intensity of thought and feeling; the strong and clear expositions of sentiment; the singular turns of Providence; and, above all, the gentle, unseen, resistless influence of the "anointing," and the grace and goodness of our ever present Caretaker and Holy Head, were, during this period, most remarkably displayed.

During the whole time, though not unfrequently finding relief in tears, I was mercifully sustained in quiet peacefulness, not without an occasional flow of natural pleasure, and I believe of joy in the Holy Ghost. I have repeatedly said, that the inexpressible sufferings through which I had previously been passing, seemed to me but an adequate preparation for the peculiar, new, and difficult duties which devolved upon me, a poor, weak, and blind one, during this memorable and important time. * * *

"It was a time," he writes in his Autobiography, "of great pressure upon us, for strong were the currents setting in from opposite quarters, both of which required to be stemmed. When I was on the scene of action, my private conflicts disappeared, and I was graciously strengthened, from day to day, for the extremely difficult path in which I believed it my duty to tread. Of one thing I think I am sure, that, both in public and private I was enabled to bear an unflinching tes-

timony to the truth, as it is in Jesus Christ our Saviour: the Lord alone be praised for it.

The result of the visit was, first the decision of the committee, (reported to the Monthly Meeting,) not to recommend disciplinary proceedings on the doctrinal question of the Beacon; and secondly, to hand Isaac Crewdson their private advice to withdraw *for a time*, from public ministry, and from attending the meetings of ministers and elders. The two conclusions, in my opinion, were not inconsistent with each other; both arising, by a kind of necessity, from the circumstances of the case. But, indeed, some of us on that occasion, were called on to endure a 'fight of afflictions.'

Whilst I had no unity with the spirit of disaffection and restlessness which marked the course of our dissentient Friends, I found it my place in the whole affair, to set a strong guard against opposite dangers; and these I had from time to time to press upon the attention of my brethren. The committee adjourned to the fourth month (1836,) and I spent much of the intermediate time in drawing up my Remarks on the Defence, (written in reply to the Beacon,) which have been printed for private use, but not published; also in extracting from several other modern publications of Friends, (wholly unauthorized by the Society,) passages which appeared to me to be erroneous and dangerous, tending (without the smallest intention on the part of the writers,) to the weakening of the true faith of the Christian. Fully and faithfully did I lay the subject before my brethren on my return to Manchester; and, the author of the Defence having removed out of the scope of the committee's labours, I spent a morning in company with Josiah and William Forster, and another member of the committee, in reading my remarks on his work to the men elders of the meeting, of which he had before been a member. They were also sent to the author himself, who, I may add, is a truly amiable and pious individual.

Isaac Crewdson having substantially complied with the advice of the committee respecting his ministry, nothing further was done in his case, in the fourth month. Some other features in the general question of disunity among

Friends, were, however, closely attended to; and we again left Manchester in peace. On my return home, I continued to pursue the object to which I have already alluded, and wrote the Strictures on 'Truth Vindicated.' This publication, teeming as it does with the kind of error I am speaking of, was written by an anonymous author in Wales, once, but not now, a member of our body. It is a work of no small ability, and had been (through carelessness, I trust,) circulated and patronized by many Friends. Under these circumstances, some check was essential. When the Strictures were finished, I laid them before the Morning Meeting, which, of course, did not commit itself to the controversy; but, after some discussion, set me at liberty to publish them, giving an explicit verdict that no sentiment was advanced in my pamphlet at variance with the principles of the Society of Friends. Two thousand copies were rapidly sold; and I look back on this little service in the cool of the present hour, with much satisfaction and thankfulness.

The following are from his Journal of this period: —

2nd mo., 21*st.* I feel thankful that I have not been moved by any thing which has occurred, from my own position in the Society. A little hope yet lives that a remnant will be preserved alive in the truth, and enabled steadily to maintain it in its *wholeness*. That hope is simply and solely in Christ; for in these days, the wisdom of man is more than ever foolishness. O most gracious Lord God, who didst, as I reverently believe, raise us up to be a people, graciously condescend to show forth thy matchless power for our deliverance from all the snares of Satan; and be pleased according to thy wonted loving kindness, to guide me, thy poor unworthy servant, in the path of simple duty, and show me from day to day wherein thou wouldst have me and my children to serve thee, O Lord, my God! Suffer not one, who has preached to others, to become himself a castaway. Anoint me with abundance of the fresh oil of thy kingdom; prepare and

direct my work; and enable me, I earnestly beseech thee, with a single eye, to seek thine honour and glory, who alone art worthy, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

2nd mo., 23*rd.* Yesterday I took my Strictures on Truth Vindicated, to the press, to my own satisfaction and relief of mind. I have now to work on the Scripture Essay. I also settled my accounts, and closed another year of pecuniary prosperity with thankfulness, and with a desire to be a faithful steward.

TO HIS SISTER ELIZABETH FRY.

Norwich, 1st mo., 19th, 1836.

I have a surplus fund which I think I ought to dispose of at the winding up of the year 1835, and had been thinking of sending thee a portion of it, to which thou art perfectly welcome. I order Barclay and Co. to pay thy draft for the amount. Pray do not allow thyself any compunction or hesitation on this point. I shall always depend on thy being perfectly free in mentioning thy needs to me. In fact, it is a kindness, as I do not consider that my circumstances justify much, if any accumulation.

4th month, 3*rd.* [Referring to his labours in connexion with some controversial pamphlets.] As far as I can judge, it is the present line of duty; [though] in various respects uphill and arduous, and one in which I may expect rebuke and suffering. But "if our heart condemn us not, then have we confidence towards God." And in the presence of the Most High, and under some precious feeling of it, I think I can say with truth, that my heart does *not* condemn me for being thus engaged. O that I may be yet more delivered from the fear of man! more clothed with holy boldness as well as meekness! O that I may, in the conduct of this warfare, take every step under the authority of the Lord's anointing, and not *one* step without that authority!

As a general principle, I must surely be right in pleading for simple, unalloyed, scriptural truth. May the great Ruler and Head of the church graciously condescend to endue me

with wisdom, love and strength, that I may be preserved from doing the least harm, and that the pleasure of the Lord may prosper in my hands! While these desires have been much awakened, I feel the necessity of rising above the turmoils of the day, and of knowing my soul to be really fixed on a better and holier world.

Most merciful Lord God! Be pleased, I humbly beseech thee, to obliterate all my past sins in the blood of Jesus, and plenteously to endue me with wisdom and strength, by the power of the Holy Ghost; that I may be enabled to stand and advance in my rank of righteousness, according to thy blessed will, for the benefit of thy church, and for a purpose of thy glory, Amen and Amen.

Amidst Joseph John Gurney's other, and very different engagements at this period, he found time to write a short tract on a subject in which he had been long interested. This he published in the spring of this year, under the title of A Letter to a Clerical Friend on the accordance of Geological Discovery with Natural and Revealed Religion.* Deeply as he was convinced of the inspiration of Holy Scripture, and steadily as he was opposed to any theory of the creation not reconcileable with the inspired record, he was well assured that the investigations of an enlightened science, when conducted in a proper spirit, can, in the end, serve only the more completely to illustrate the harmony of the Divine mind as manifested for purposes distinct, yet not contradictory, in the book of nature and the book of grace. "Let Geology," he writes in one of his letters, "have her full scope in discovering the ancient secrets of the crust of the earth—she will wonderfully elucidate natural theology, and inflict

* This tract is reprinted in the Minor Works, vol. ii, p. 201.

no wound on the religion of the Bible." To illustrate this view is the object of this little tract, which may still be read with interest, notwithstanding the increased light that further research has thrown upon the subject.

In the fifth month, as usual, he attended the Yearly Meeting. Referring to it in the Autobiography, he says: —

The yearly meeting of 1836 was a time of no small interest and importance. Although considerable excitement was produced by the unexpected visit to this country of Elisha Bates, without any certificate from his Monthly Meeting, yet on the whole, the prospect of an increased degree of good fellowship seemed to brighten upon us. In consequence of the unfair questioning which had arisen on the Society's views of the Holy Scriptures, it was agreed to issue a declaration on that subject. I ventured to state to the Yearly Meeting what I apprehended ought to be the substance of it. These suggestions were afterwards adopted; the declaration was brought in and passed, with the warm concurrence of the body at large. It formed a part of the general epistle, which was carefully drawn up by a judicious committee, and which I believe to be as clear and important a document, considered as a confession of faith, as was ever put forth by a body of professing Christians; and it certainly ought to be received as a sufficient reply to all doubters and cavillers on the subject of the Christian belief of the Society of Friends.* This issue of the Yearly Meeting afforded to my own mind a most acceptable relief.

* The portion of the Yearly Meeting's epistle here alluded to, is as follows: —

"Often as our religious Society has declared its belief in the divine authority of the Holy Scriptures, and upheld the sacred volume as the only divinely authorized record of the doctrines of true religion, we believe it right at this time to revive some important declarations

Earlham 7th mo., 10th. Some missionaries of the London Missionary Society came to us on fourth day morning. Williams's account of the South Seas highly interesting and instructive; about 250,000 nominal Christians now in the islands of the Pacific, with rather a larger proportion, as he thinks, of real Christians, than in this country. The history of Raratonga, discovered and christianized by his own instrumentality, very striking. In itself worth living for!

of Scripture itself, on the subject. It is expressly declared by the Apostle Peter, that, "the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man; but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost:" 2 Pet. i, 21. The Apostle John declares respecting the gospel which he wrote, "These are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing, ye might have life through his name:" John xx, 31. Very pertinent and comprehensive is the language which the Apostle Paul addressed to Timothy; "From a child thou hast known the Holy Scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus. All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness; that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works;" 2 Tim. iii, 15—17. Again the Apostle says, "Whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope;" Rom. xv, 4. Finally, our blessed Lord in reference to those divine writings, of which the grand object, in accordance with his own declaration, was to testify of himself, emphatically declares "the Scripture cannot be broken:" John x, 35.

"Although most of these passages relate to the Old Testament, our Society has always freely acknowledged that the principles developed in them, are equally applicable to the writings of the Evangelists and Apostles. In conformity with these principles, it has ever been, and still is, the belief of the Society of Friends, that the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament were given by inspiration of God; that, therefore, the declarations contained in them, rest on the authority of God himself; and there can be no appeal from them to any other authority whatsoever: that they are able to make us wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus, being the appointed means of making known to us the blessed

TO ANNA GURNEY AND SARAH M. BUXTON;

(then on an extended tour on the Continent of Europe.)

Earlham, 7th mo., 1st, 1836

I am quite pleased to be invited by Priscilla Johnston to contribute to a parcel of letters for the "Ambassador's bag," for I assure you that though so far out of sight, you are anything but out of mind to me.

I suppose that you are, as far as you can be, missionaries; and that wherever you are, you do not forget the blessedness of divine truth, either for yourselves or others. * * *

We are settled again at our delightful home. I am surrounded with many comforts, and my dear sister Rachel Fowler's being now fairly settled with us, is a satisfaction to us all. The Yearly Meeting was a good one, and served some important purposes. We put forth a noble declaration respecting the Scriptures, and on some points of doctrine, in our General Epistle. I hope it will settle some who had before been very restless. But my path in these matters is still somewhat thorny and anxious. Indeed we have "need of patience," that after we "have done the will of God" we may "receive the promise."

truths of Christianity: that they are the only divinely authorized record of the doctrines which we are bound as Christians to believe, and of the moral principles which are to regulate our actions: that no doctrine which is not contained in them can be required of any one to be believed as an article of faith: that whatsoever any man says or does which is contrary to the Scriptures, though under profession of the immediate guidance of the Spirit, must be reckoned and accounted a mere delusion.

"We trust, however, that none of our members will content themselves with merely entertaining a sound view on this subject; but that they will remember that the Holy Scriptures are given to us that they may be diligently used, and that we may obtain a right understanding of them in the fear of the Lord. Let us never forget that their main purpose is, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, to bring us to our Lord Jesus Christ, that by a living operative faith in him, we may obtain reconciliation with the Father, and be made partakers of everlasting life."

In the course of the summer he was occupied in various religious engagements amongst Friends and others, principally in his own county.

"It was a time," he writes in his autobiography, "during which I had much to suffer, not only from missing my dearest earthly companion, but from the weakness of my nervous system; yet in the blessed influence of the Spirit, the Comforter, and in the exercise of ministerial labour, I found, from time to time, the requisite relief. This was particularly the case in two of the visits, one to Lowestoft and Pakefield, where my dear sister Richenda Cunningham was a special helper; and the other to Wells and Holkham. In the latter I had some rather intimate communication with Lady Anne Coke, for whom I have long entertained a sincere friendship: and, at night, read the Scriptures and ministered to the whole family, guests and household, from 70 to 80 in number. It was a time of much solemnity, and reminded me of the visit to Knowsly, already recorded in this Memoir. Thomas William Coke,* is the prince of British commoners, now a very old man, a complete gentleman of the old school, eminently courteous, and remarkable for a frank, honest demeanour. I was with him some time since, at his one hundred and first half-yearly audit, when 110 tenants came to dine with him and pay their rents. On the evening which I have just mentioned, both he and his lady appeared to feel a good deal; and I have no doubt of the sincerity of their religious principles."

In the autumn of this year he was again closely engaged with the other members of the Yearly Meeting's committee in Lancashire, and was also much occupied in a somewhat extended course of religious labour in the North of England and in

* Afterwards Earl of Leicester.

Scotland. Of these engagements he has preserved the following record in the Autobiography:—

When the committee met at Manchester, in the 9th month, 1836, we soon learned that, since the Yearly Meeting, our friend Isaac Crewdson had re-commenced and continued his ministerial functions without reserve; and at the same time it was evident, that so far was unity from being restored, that the breach had become wider than ever; so much so as to render it increasingly clear, that principles were at work, on either side, which operated to make the distance between Friends and the dissentients greater and greater.

This was indicated by a variety of circumstances; but more especially by certain devotional meetings held by the dissentients, on first day evenings, and conducted on principles of worship, essentially different from ours. Was it right that under these circumstances, our still valued friend, the author of the Beacon, should continue to act as a minister in our meetings, notwithstanding the advice of the committee, that he should for a time withdraw from the service? Was it possible for us, as faithful servants of the Yearly Meeting, to leave this difficult case without further care, and just in this position? Constrained, as we were, to answer these questions in the negative, what course remained for us to follow? None, as I conceive, but that which we adopted; namely, that of taking no further responsibility on ourselves, and of simply reporting the actual state of the case to the church, in which, by our discipline, reside, in all such cases, both the authority and responsibility, under its holy Head. We therefore went to the Monthly Meeting with a simple report of the fact, (already published to the world by Isaac Crewdson's friends,) that the committee had advised him to desist for a time, from his public ministry, and of the further well known circumstance, that this advice had been disregarded.

No sooner was this report read to the Monthly Meeting, than Isaac Crewdson's friends demanded of us a clear declaration of the grounds on which the advice in question had

been given. The meeting agreed to request the committee to answer the inquiry. We accordingly withdrew to consider our reply; and then it was that I felt it my clear duty, decidedly to stand forth in defence of our well-known principles. I therefore voluntarily undertook to give the answer to the Monthly Meeting. Friends freely accepted the offer. We returned to the meeting; and, under a measure of holy anointing, graciously afforded, as I believe, for the occasion, I was enabled quietly, and with sufficient clearness, to state the grounds of our advice. Nothing of importance was said in reply; the question was drawing to its inevitable settlement; and, after a long and painful discussion, in which the committee refrained from taking any side, (as to the yea or nay,) the meeting came to a solid conclusion, to confirm the advice of the committee. * * * *

We now left Manchester, agreeing to meet again in about five weeks; an interval of no small value and relief to myself, though filled up by labour as well as pleasure. Be it ever remembered, that, in the cause of Christ, labour is pleasure! It was on a seventh day, that I went from Manchester to York, where I met my children and their aunt Rachel Fowler. The sabbath was spent at York, and a large public meeting held in the evening. On the following morning, a meeting of peculiar solemnity took place, greatly to the comfort of my own mind. It was with the patients in the "Retreat;" and afforded me renewed evidence of a fact of which I had been before convinced, that insanity in its more moderate degrees, by no means prevents the worship of Almighty God; and further, that the public acts of worship are highly soothing to persons afflicted with that worst of natural maladies. On the occasion now mentioned, many of the poor sufferers found relief in abundant tears, and I trust some ability was afforded us, even to rejoice together in the Lord our Redeemer.

From York we proceeded to Darlington, where we spent a few interesting days. It was a great pleasure to find ourselves under the roof of our cousins Jonathan and Hannah C. Backhouse. They had been travelling for some years in

America, and great was the comfort of their friends in their restoration to their home and family.

Whilst at Darlington I felt much interested in the religious welfare of the coal-pit men in that neighbourhood; there being too much reason to believe that infidel, and even atheistic publications had been extensively circulated amongst them. A meeting of them was convened one first day afternoon, at a pit's mouth, near Bishop Auckland, a temporary awning having been erected for the purpose. A very large company assembled, (from 1500 to 2000,) and I trust it was a time in which the truth was permitted to triumph over all doubts and cavils. I afterwards held a similar meeting near Newcastle. Here my sister Rachel Fowler and Anna met us, and after some good service, (as I trust) especially in two meetings for young people, we pursued our course into Scotland. There we visited Hawick and Jedburgh, (where I held a good public meeting,) Melrose, &c., and so passed on to Edinburgh. Lively and pleasant indeed was our short sojourn in that place. It gave us the opportunity of enlarging the circle of our friends. More particularly was I pleased to form a friendship with Dr. Abercrombie, the author of those able works, so generally esteemed, on the Intellectual Powers, and Moral Feelings. No man, perhaps, has written more ably on the subject of the moral principle, universally communicated to mankind. He came to dine with us at our hotel, and I took the opportunity of explaining to him the views of Friends on this subject, namely, that the light which enables the conscience to perceive the great dictates of the divine law, even independently of an outward revelation, is a measure of the influence of the Spirit, graciously bestowed on all men through Jesus Christ our Lord. He made no objection to these views, and I have seldom found them otherwise than acceptable to evangelical Christians. Dr. Abercrombie is considered the first physician in Edinburgh. His works display a mind of a very lucid and acute character; a combination of sound philosophy and evangelical piety, which renders them invaluable. We enjoyed some true communion in spirit before we parted; and I trust we shall

always remember each other in love. Dr. Chalmers with his family we found at Burntisland, a sea bathing place in the north of the Forth. Very much was it to our mutual enjoyment to meet again. His conversation was luminous as usual, and he received my strong words of warning against high-churchism with great good feeling. In a parting opportunity we were brought into that unity of spirit which overflows all sectarian distinctions.

From Burntisland we proceeded to Wemyss Castle, a fine old baronial residence on the rocky coast of Fifeshire, where our friend Captain Wemyss treated us with characteristic hospitality; thence to Renny Hill, the comfortable little lairdship of the Johnstons, where two days, passed with my niece Priscilla and her husband, were to our mutual comfort, and so across the country by Stirling to Glasgow. At a large public meeting there, I had to insist, in an especial manner, on the influence of the Holy Spirit, reviewing the subject after the manner of Friends. I afterwards found that Dr. Wardlaw, who had published a book on the Beacon side of the controversy, was present with a great number of his people. At his request we went to breakfast with him at his cottage on the banks of the Clyde, when I had a full opportunity of more explicitly informing him of our true views of spiritual influence, and of correcting his misapprehensions respecting us. He received the communication with great attention and respect, and I trust it served a good purpose. We parted in much love, after fervent prayer had been offered for him and his interesting family.*

After holding many meetings in Cumberland, especially in the coal and lead mining districts, where there appeared a great openness among the people towards Friends and their doctrines, I returned to Manchester. Great were the difficulty and conflict which awaited us there; nevertheless I believed it to be my duty to support Friends, in promoting a

*Joseph John Gurney afterwards addressed to Dr. Wardlaw several letters on these subjects; which he subsequently published. See Friendly Letters to Dr. Wardlaw, Norwich, 1836.

total change in the "overseers," and in discouraging the irregular meetings for worship, which the dissatisfied party had instituted. The difference of principle between that party and the society had become so obvious, that no other line of conduct could be pursued by me consistently with my own views. The crisis was now come; the Monthly Meeting appointed new overseers; and, within a very short time, our long-valued Friends, Isaac Crewdson, William Boulton, and many others—in all, about fifty—resigned their membership in the society.

Most sincerely do I love these Friends, and heartily do I desire their welfare; but we are separated, not merely by a diversity of practice, but by the difference of principle on which that diversity is grounded. We must, therefore, agree to differ—in the humble hope that, through a reverent, abiding trust in our Lord Jesus Christ, we may meet at last where differences will exist no longer, and where all misconceptions of one another's conduct, will for ever cease.

Thus terminated the proceedings of the committee at Manchester. The Friends, who then resigned their membership, at first established a separate meeting, which was, however, discontinued in the course of a few years, as its supporters found that there was little to distinguish them from some other communities of professing Christians. Those who withdrew from Friends in other places about the same period, gradually became, in like manner, united to other Christian societies. No distinct body now survives to preserve a memorial of this secession. But though the loss of so many who might have been valuable members cannot but be greatly deplored, it may be thankfully acknowledged that, whilst not insensible of its weakness, the Society of Friends, in England, has been mercifully permitted to emerge from these difficulties,

more than ever united in its attachment to the essential spirituality of the Christian religion, in its inseparable connexion with pure evangelical truth.

"In reviewing my conduct," adds Joseph John Gurney towards the conclusion of the foregoing account, "I am very ready to acknowledge that, under the difficulties of the case, I may have been betrayed into some minor errors in expression, &c.; but on calm and deliberate reflection, I am not aware that, in any respect of importance, I could have acted differently. In reference to these painful affairs, in all their various stages, I can say with the apostle, 'I trust I have a good conscience.'"

During Joseph John Gurney's absence on this journey, he received the sorrowful tidings of the decease, after a rather lingering illness, of his sister Louisa Hoare, the wife of the late Samuel Hoare, of Hampstead. With the warmth of brotherly affection, he thus traces her character in the Autobiography.

"What a sister and friend has Louisa been to me; and how glowing is the picture of her that memory is often painting for me! Perhaps I should not be far wrong in estimating her as superior, in point of talent, to any other of my father's eleven children. She was a calm, deep thinker, and applied her well wrought out views and principles to action with a perseverance and exactness which were very uncommon. No small sense had she of the true bearing and value of the views of Friends; but her circumstances in married life strongly led in another direction. Education was her great forte. Her work on Nursery Discipline, or the Early Education of Children, is replete with wise thoughts, well expressed, and has met with a widely-extended circulation. A little book on the same subject, for the use of the poor, is also of much

value, as is her interesting Memoir of a Workhouse Boy. She had a larger and yet more important work on hand, being a collection of contrasts between the effects of religion and irreligion, afforded by the lives and deaths of the godly and ungodly, the believing and unbelieving, the righteous and the wicked. I never could persuade her to prepare it for the press; but I still hope it may in time see the light. The decease of her eldest son inflicted a wound on her sensitive constitution from which she never recovered. Her sufferings were peculiarly affecting; but she struggled against them with a well-principled steadiness which afforded us much instruction; and her hold on the truth, and on its blessed promises, was never shaken.

The winter was spent by Joseph John Gurney mostly at home, in the enjoyment of the company of his children. During this recess from more active labours, a prospect of extensive service in a distant land gradually opened before him with increasing clearness. The following extracts will enable the reader to trace the course of his mind in relation to this important subject.

After a short visit to London where he was detained a few days by a heavy fall of snow at the house of his brother Samuel Gurney, he writes:—

1*st mo.*, 5*th*, 1837. The commencement of the new year was felt with a sort of melancholy solemnity; but the Lord afterwards seemed very graciously to lift up the light of his countenance upon me. My situation just now in the church is one of considerable humiliation; which I think I am content to bear, if so be the precious cause of eternal truth may not suffer through me. A calming influence is cheeringly spread over my own mind this morning, in the humble belief that the Lord will provide.

1*st mo.*, 14*th*. I could hardly have believed it possible that four or five days should have witnessed so remarkable a

change in my condition of mind, prospects, intentions, feelings, &c., as has been the case since my last entry. For several months past, I have been suffering from time to time under a state of conflict, and a weight of sorrow, for which I was wholly unable to account; though at no time, that I remember, have I quite lost either faith, hope, or patience; or quite slipped from my footing on the rock—Christ Jesus. It seems to have been permitted for my humiliation; for the breaking of me down — yea, for the grinding of me into dust — before the Lord; and a thick vail of darkness was spread over the future, which it was impossible to penetrate. I often seemed to myself as one cast out and trodden on, who could be of little farther use in the church of my Redeemer.

During the continuance of this condition, I may gratefully acknowledge that the anointing of God's Holy Spirit was from season to season bestowed in a measure for my refreshment; especially through the exercise of the ministry. But if the cloud broke away for a time, that time was but very short; and the hand of the Lord still appeared to be very heavy upon me. Seldom, if ever, have I suffered more in this way, than during last first day night; a time of tempest-tossing indeed! Notwithstanding some relief in the morning of second day, I went heavy laden and broken to call on ——. A few words of ministry, which were then addressed to me, seem to have been the appointed means of breaking the spell; and as I was afterwards riding to Thickthorn, my conflict fled away, and I was left in a calm, but decided possession of the most important religious prospect which has yet fallen to my lot — a prospect which has been floating before me for about twenty years, and now seems to be quickly gathering to its focus. Delightful tranquillity was my portion during the remainder of the day and the whole of the next day.

TO HIS BROTHER SAMUEL GURNEY.

Fakenham, 1st mo., 20th, 1837.

I believe that I ought not longer to delay informing thee of my present condition of mind in reference to religious ser-

vice. Our dear sister Fry is more aware than you are, of the remarkable measure of mental conflict under which I have suffered for several months past.

About ten days ago, this conflict was wonderfully removed in the view of quietly submitting without much further delay, to a prospect which has been more or less floating before me for nearly twenty years, of no less magnitude than that of *crossing the Atlantic, and visiting Friends and others in America.*

Ever since something like a surrender at discretion on this subject, I have, with few intermissions, felt much more at ease in mind, cheerful, and happy, and preserved from anxiety about the future; though at times, of course, a tide of fears and doubts sets in upon me; but it is my increasing apprehension, that the Lord is condescending to require the sacrifice of me.

Until within a short time, I permitted myself to believe, that some future year would prove to be the right time. My present apprehension is, that there ought not to be any delay beyond the present year; and that, if nothing providential forbids, it may probably devolve upon me to mention the subject at our ensuing Monthly Meeting, that is, on fifth day, the 9th of next month.

Still my mind is by no means fully settled on that point; and I am, of course, open to your counsel. I know I shall have your fervent petitions on my account, and your tenderest sympathy.

I am quite tranquil, and feel a hope that if this matter is required, the Lord will not be wanting in giving me the *double evidence* which such a service seems to demand.

TO THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON.

Earlham, 1st mo., 28th, 1837.

My dearest Buxton,

Thanks for thy verbal advice on the subject of America, and still more thanks for thy letter, which I am able to digest with quietness to-day under a peculiar feeling

of rest and relief. I very much accord with thee in thy view of the principles on which it must be settled. "Do the will of God, whatsoever sacrifice it may bring in its train, but take care not to involve yourself in the sacrifice until you are quite sure that it is his will."

To both these positions I say, "Amen;" but I wish to be preserved from exaggerating either the sacrifice itself, or the kind and measure of evidence it requires. On both these points I desire to be as simple as a child. First, with respect to the sacrifice, I feel and acknowledge it to be great, and by far the greatest I have ever been called upon to make in my Christian course. Yet I do not consider that absence in a distant land during two or even three years, involves the permanent surrender either of my home privileges or home duties. It is what most men would submit to without much hesitation in the pursuit of health. I have no idea that the personal difficulties or deprivation of outward comfort, which would attend the execution of such a purpose, would be to any great or overwhelming extent. With respect to my darling children, and all over whom I am here permitted to exercise some beneficial influence, my mind is stayed upon two grand considerations. First, that the influence of Christian love, and even of Christian authority when grounded in love, is by no means extinguished, but, in some respects increased, by the absence of the party who exerts it; and it may by the very discipline which a temporary separation involves, be prepared for a yet more vigorous and decided exercise in future. And secondly, and more especially, that if my absence is ordered of the Lord, it is far safer for my children as well as for myself, that I should be absent than present; for there is no example which I could set before them with so little advantage as that of disobedience to the glorious Saviour to whose service I wish them to be devoted. In the mean time I feel a humble confidence that so long as I am conformed to his will, he who protects the fatherless, will graciously protect them and supply all their need, temporally

and spiritually, unspeakably better than I could do by any planning of mine in a direction contrary to the divine counsels.

These remarks bring me to my second head—the point of *evidence*. I am free to confess, that for evidence I expect only a quiet, deliberate, *settled* sense of duty, in connexion with my general call to the ministry; such a sense of duty as I cannot possibly bring upon myself; which lives through times of appalling cloudiness; and which ever and anon, at happier seasons, bursts forth with a brightness all its own, rises into authority by its native power, and brings me, in spite of all discouragements, into a happy and easy tranquillity, if I am but submissive to it.

Thou wilt perceive that my views and experience on this subject are connected with my general call to the work of the ministry. With regard to that general call itself, I suppose that Christians of every denomination who have entered on so sacred a function with the seriousness which it demands, would acknowledge a similar experience, and would cast themselves, in this awful affair between God and their souls, on the same description of evidence. Here, perhaps, many would leave it; and, for the location and peculiar direction of the work, would look for nothing more than that providential guidance which is marked by outward circumstances. But it has been for the last quarter of a century my settled belief that the same description of evidence may be looked for and ought to be followed with respect to what may be called the secondary parts of a call to this service. "Thou shalt go to all that I shall send thee, and whatsoever I command thee thou shalt speak." It is upon this principle that I have endeavoured to act ever since I was first so engaged; and, though I am very sensible of the infirmity of the earthen vessel, I may truly say that I have found my Lord and Master to be a most sure and sufficient guide; and that my security and success in the work, have ever been found to depend on a simple, faithful following of the Lord's "anointing." This is a clue that I dare not forsake or neglect or refuse to follow. I have the belief impressed upon

me, that if I did so, it would be to the peril of my soul. And yet I humbly trust that the constraining principle which binds me to the service is love rather than fear.

I am far from confining this view of the immediate guidance of the Holy Spirit to the work of the ministry. I apply it generally to our whole course of duty, and even to temporal avocations, which are more or less connected with our own religious interests and those of others. I think thy own experience with respect to parliament and parliamentary duties has, in an eminent degree, tallied with this remark. But I nevertheless conceive that the application of this doctrine to the ministry of the Gospel is marked with pre-eminent clearness, and operates with peculiar force.

With regard to my prospect of parliamentary duty some years ago, to which thou hast alluded; certain it is that I was led to the *consideration* of it under feelings which appeared to me to be of a sacred character; but never was I brought to the point of *concluding* that the thing was right; and after some trial of patience, I was delivered from all bonds on the subject, without any human instrumentality, and without any aid from circumstances.*

With respect to America, after all that can be said on every hand, my only course is to go to my Lord and Master, in simple faith and fervent prayer, with the question—"Is it of myself, or is it of thee?" or, in other words, "Is it wrong or is it right?" the two questions being perfectly equivalent.

I will not say that I am yet in possession of that full and clear affirmative answer to this question, on which it is safe for me to act. And most heartily do I desire that, in weighing the subject, I may be preserved from presumption. But honesty compels me to acknowledge that the conviction that this is actually the path which he sees fit to point out to me is not decreasing. In the mean time I am mercifully favoured with some quietness, and I hope sobriety of mind. My humble hope and belief is, that if this thing be not required of me, he will either providentially or spiritually, cast a bond

* See *supra*, Vol. I, p. 493.

upon me which will detain me here; and that if it be required, *you* will all be able, in due season, to adopt the language, "Loose him, and let him go."

TO HIS SISTER ELIZABETH FRY.

Norwich, 1st mo., 31st, 1837.

I am glad to report comfortably of myself to-day, as I am far better in body; and in mind tranquil and at ease, in unreserved submission to the prospect already mentioned to thee. I feel increasingly bound to it, and cannot believe that the voice which leads me into it, and which during the last few days has been very distinct, is the voice of a stranger, or any other than that of the true Shepherd. With regard to time, though I felt pretty well satisfied with the view taken by thee of it when we were together, it is now evident to me, that the peculiarly close conflict which has been allotted me for many months, was, (though unknown to myself,) preparing me for an earlier surrender to the service. My natural judgment also coincides with this, for when such a burden is decidedly laid upon the mind, there is nothing like throwing it off without unnecessary delay. Otherwise one is crippled and spoiled for everything else. So also with respect to the Monthly Meeting, I believe it best to give Friends their *full time*, though an early beginning of it may be the consequence. I have endeavoured just to tread on the "stepping stones" as they have appeared, and in this way have now mentioned the subject to all my brothers and sisters, and to all my partners in the Norwich bank. The result is, less difficulty and obstruction than might have been anticipated. But I have had my low seasons, and may have them again before I go further.

1*st mo.*, 24*th.* We had an excellent meeting last fifth day morning; William Forster's ministry most delightful; on being brought *through* the fire. Dearest Catherine, Rachel, my aunt, and my own children, have now been informed of my condition of mind, and I have written to my brother Samuel, &c. Under the trial necessarily occasioned by this development, I feel wonderfully tranquil and quiet; and, in some degree of the breaking down of my own will before the Lord,

only desire to be favoured, on a calm and deliberate view of the case, with sufficiently clear evidence as to the real path of duty. I feel, in the meantime, happily able to attend to the calls, and even the pleasures of the day.

2nd mo., 5th. [Referring to a visit from two of his brothers.] I believe they have both left me with the feeling, that this sacrifice, affecting as it evidently is to them and all the family, as well as to myself, must, unless providentially impeded, be quietly submitted to. I have been favoured with unbroken tranquillity; although, at times, lowness, as well as some anxiety about my bodily state, have been my portion. On the whole, it is impossible not to perceive, that the way towards this prospect has been so far wonderfully made for me. Oh! that I may continue under the constant and settled impression that I can do nothing well of myself, and that so far as I am enabled to go forward steadily in the path of apprehended duty, it is entirely of the grace and goodness of the Lord!

According to the Christian order which has been long established in the Society of Friends, it was necessary, before Joseph John Gurney could go forth in the extensive service now before him, that he should obtain not only the concurrence of the Friends of his own neighbourhood and county, testified by the "certificates" of the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, of which he was a member; but also that of the Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders, consisting of representatives and others from the various meetings of Friends in those stations in Great Britain and Ireland. On the morning of the day on which he was about to lay the subject before the Friends of his own Monthly Meeting, he received the unlooked for intelligence of the death of his sister-in-law Lady Harriet Gurney.

He afterwards writes: —

2*nd mo.*, 14*th*. *Third day.* Oh! the importance, and, in some respects, awfulness of the past week! During the former part, my mind continued tranquil, but fixed without change on the prospect before me. At my request, our visitors left us on fourth day morning, that I might have that day quietly to myself at home, in order afresh to ponder all my ways. Our little home circle was calm, and, on the whole, happy; the night easy to me. But, alas! while I was dressing on fifth day morning, a special messenger from Runcton was ushered into my chamber, with the appalling intelligence that our dearest sister Harriet had been prematurely confined, and was dead. I was favoured with much quietness of spirit on receiving these heavy tidings; broke them to dear Catherine, and rode to Norwich to inform C—— W——, who, with Lady J——, and Catherine, were requested to come to Runcton at once; then returned to Earlham to see Catherine before her departure; and afterwards went to our solemn, most important meeting. The meeting for worship was refreshing, and yet deeply searching. Frances Page spoke excellently on the case of Elijah at Mount Horeb; and I was led to vindicate the certainty of the divine guidance by the voice of the Spirit; obedience to it being the only safe path either for time or eternity. The women were requested to keep their seats for the Monthly Meeting; and, after a solemn pause, I fully unfolded my weighty concern for America, not feeling that the duty of so doing was in the least degree affected by the trial of the morning. The subject was well considered, under deep solemnity, and very full unity and sympathy were expressed by large numbers, so that a certificate was ordered. Dear Frances Page thought that a ram might possibly still be caught in the thicket; if so, how entirely willing shall I be to accept it; but if not, may I have grace to go simply forward! Early the next morning, I went off with Anna to Runcton. There I passed sixth, seventh, and first days; a time of deep mourning indeed, especially sixth day. Afterwards we were

more tranquil. My dear brother is wonderfully calm, and supported, though broken, and sorely tried. I read with the household and others twice on first day; and we were, I trust, favoured with the gracious influences of the Holy Spirit, accompanied by a sweet apprehension of her perfect happiness.

3rd mo., 10*th*. Yesterday our Monthly Meeting was largely attended. We had a solemn meeting for worship, in which it was given to me to speak of the quietness of those in whom Christ governs; its foundation and characteristics. Afterwards my certificate was read and signed, under feelings of great solemnity. It was to me inexpressibly affecting.

4*th mo.*, 4*th*. The Quarterly Meeting, on fifth day last, was well attended, and a very solemn season. In the consideration of my certificate much unity was expressed, and, I believe, felt generally; and the certificate of the Monthly Meeting was finally completed by an excellent endorsement.

4*th mo.*, 10*th*. Peace of mind — the result of an arrangement with my partners, respecting my profits from business. I give up one-third of my own share of profits to those who stay at home and do the work. My partners have been very kind and considerate, and the arrangement is made from my own sense of propriety and duty. I have looked closely at the question of renouncing a considerable proportion of my income, which, had I continued at home, might have been expended for the good of others; but it is done in apprehended obedience to a higher call; and with, at least, a sincere desire to promote the kingdom and glory of my Redeemer. As America opens before me, and the way to that vast field of service seems gradually clearing, my soul is bowed in reverent prostration before the Lord, with the earnest desire, that he may be pleased to preserve me and my darling children, whom I am to leave behind, from falling into any of the snares of the enemy; and that we may meet again in peace, if it may be, on this earth; but, above all, and far beyond every other consideration, before his mercy-seat, in glory: there to unite, with many tenderly beloved ones, in endless songs of thanksgiving and praise to the Lord God, and to the Lamb.

Previously to the Yearly Meeting in London, he this year also attended the Yearly Meeting of Friends in Ireland. On his return from these engagements he writes:—

6th mo., 11*th.* Returned home last evening, with my sister Rachel [Fowler] and Anna, from Upton, after nearly seven weeks' absence; a period of deep interest and importance, in the retrospect of which I can feel my own weakness and unworthiness, and praise the Lord for his great and unmerited goodness.

The first point of our journey was Birmingham; where I examined the school, attended the Quarterly Meeting, and held a young people's meeting. Thence with our cousin, B. Dickenson, to Coalbrookdale, where we paid a precious farewell visit; reached Holyhead on sixth day night, and arrived at Dublin early the next morning. The Yearly meeting there was a good one. I trust I was enabled to preach the glorious Gospel with power. Friends abounded in kindness towards me and my dear children.

On second day morning, in our third week, my children and I set off for Limerick, on our way to Killarney; which latter place we reached, after some little difficulties, the following evening. The weather was delightful; and the evening of our arrival, and the following day, were pleasantly spent in surveying the magnificent beauty of the scenery. Thence to Cork, where we were kindly entertained by A. Beale, and sailed the next morning for Bristol; which place, after a voyage of twenty-eight hours, we reached in safety on seventh day, and found a peaceful home at Sarah Allen's. A very exercising Sabbath followed, in which I had to plead earnestly for the principles of the Society; and a public meeting was held in the evening.

Our fifth week commenced with a first day morning at Stoke Newington, which was very satisfactory. The two following days were occupied by the Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders. On third day morning I brought forward my

American prospect; it was most carefully sifted, and deliberated on, and ended with a clear decision for my liberation. The principal question raised had respect to time. That the concern itself was of the Lord, and that the present is the right time, may be said to have been the conclusion of the meeting; though perhaps some on both sides might fairly be considered to be in opposition to the prospect. I have not regretted the shape which the matter thus assumed, and though the ordeal was exercising, I was well satisfied with the meeting. At the adjournment, the certificate, drawn up to my entire satisfaction, was passed and signed without alteration.*

*The following copy of the document furnished to Joseph John Gurney on this occasion will not be without its interest to the general reader:—

TO FRIENDS IN NORTH AMERICA.

DEAR FRIENDS,

Our beloved friend Joseph John Gurney, a minister in unity, and well approved amongst us, has, with much weight, informed us of an apprehension of religious duty, which for some years, at times, has impressed his mind, to pay a visit in the love of the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to Friends in North America; he also informed us that he had a prospect of holding meetings with the people at large, in some places, in the course of his travels, and that he has an apprehension that he may find it laid upon him, to visit one or more of the West India Islands, on his return home. He has produced a certificate from his Monthly Meeting, endorsed by his Quarterly Meeting expressive of their unity with him in his concern, and we think it right to add our testimony to theirs, that his life and conversation are consistent with his Christian profession.

This important and extensive concern has obtained our very serious and patient deliberation; after the expression of much unity and sympathy, this meeting concurs with his prospect and liberates him for the service before him. In granting him our certificate we commend our dear friend to the tender care of our Almighty Father in heaven. We feel a very strong desire that he may be kept in a state of humble, reverent watchfulness before the Lord, relying day by day, with holy faith and childlike simplicity, on the all-

FROM WILLIAM ALLEN.

6th of the 7th mo., 1837.

My dear Friend,

The love and sympathy I feel for and with thee, would have brought me to Liverpool instead of this letter, if circumstances had not been too adverse to the undertaking. May the sacrifice of all, which I believe thou hast made, be accepted by our divine Master; and may he condescend to hear and to answer the ardent prayers, which thy fellow servants are pouring out before him, for thy preservation, and for a blessing upon thy labours in his cause! May he preserve thee humble, and ever depending upon himself, in all thy movements and undertakings; and then, whatever may be the permission of his providence, in life or in death, thou wilt be sweetly and eternally his own, and he will give thee to feel that it is so. Remember those precious words, "I know my sheep, and am known of mine." I wished to have said something to thee about encouraging the prosecution of our agricultural plans for the benefit of the people of colour, but this may become the subject of future correspondence. My feelings are too solemn, at present, to admit of more than farewell in the Lord, my beloved brother, and may he be with thee in every extremity. So prays thy affectionate

William Allen.

sufficiency of his grace; then should the enemy be permitted sorely to buffet him, we trust that neither in heights nor depths, will anything be permitted to harm him; but that wherever he may be led in the service of his Lord, he may both in public and in private, out of a good conversation, shew forth his works with the meekness of wisdom. Desiring that it may please the great Head of the church to prosper his labours among you, and at their conclusion grant him a safe and peaceful return to his family and friends, and that he may obtain your kind and tender sympathy,

With the salutation of Christian love,

We are your friends.

Signed by desire and on behalf of the Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders held in London by adjournments the 22nd and 23rd of the 5th and the 3rd of the 6th month, 1837.

William Allen,
Clerk.

Before leaving England, Joseph John Gurney printed a few Essays in poetry, under the title of Sabbatical Verses. Composed during a period of much affliction, they had helped to sooth some of his solitary hours of sorrow; and deserve the attention of the reader, both from their intrinsic merit, and from the interest attaching to the circumstances under which they were written and first presented to the Christian public, "as a farewell token of affectionate respect and regard."*

6th mo., 20th. I have to record with humble gratitude, that though it has been through considerable conflict, we are much advanced towards a quiet and satisfactory settlement of the various points, connected with the Earlham arrangements in my absence. I have not been very well or strong, and sometimes a little oppressed in spirits; but, through all, I have been mercifully favoured with great calmness; and no doubts or misgivings respecting the main object before me have been permitted to intercept my path, even with the alternative before me, that it may be either for life or for death. My brother Samuel has been most acceptably with us for a few days; and William Forster, my most effective friend and helper in the needful hour.

7th mo., 14th. I leave home to-day in much quietness and peace. We had a very interesting leave-taking with my Norwich friends and associates on first day evening. I have been favoured to clear away all matters of business, and to leave things in such order, that if my life should drop, no one would be put to any difficulty about my affairs. Quietness and peace are permitted to reign over my mind. We had a solemn time with the servants this morning after reading. May the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be abundantly with us all!

* They will be found in Joseph John Gurney's Minor Works; vol ii. pp, 251—294.

CHAPTER XXX.

1837. ÆT. 49—50.

VOYAGE TO AMERICA; WRITES HIS AUTOBIOGRAPHY; ARRIVAL AT PHILADELPHIA; JOURNEY TO OHIO, INDIANA, AND NORTH CAROLINA; ATTENDANCE OF YEARLY MEETINGS; EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS AND JOURNAL.

JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY embarked from Liverpool in the Philadelphia packet, Monongahela, Captain Miercken, on the 8th of the 7th mo., 1837. Owing to a succession of head winds, and occasional calms, the voyage occupied seven weeks.

7th mo., 8th. On board the Monongahela, seventh day night. My circumstances are so new, so strange to my natural feelings, that it is no wonder that I can as yet hardly understand myself. But I *can* understand, that the Lord has condescended, in an astonishing manner, to hear the broken and feeble petitions of one of the very weakest of his children; so that, through infinite mercy, even I am not a castaway, but graciously protected by the wing of his love, and sent forth, under a measure of his own anointing, for his own service. Our parting from the little circle at Earlham last third day, our journey to Liverpool, our short sojourn there at the pleasant abode of our dear hospitable friends, I. and T. Hadwen, the precious meetings which we have enjoyed in that dearly beloved family party, have all bespoken the loving-kindness and tender mercy of the Lord; and, not least, our parting religious opportunity on board the vessel, when my

dear sister Fry once more raised her voice in solemn supplication. What am I, that the Lord should permit so many of his servants to be my helpers, and to utter blessed words for my encouragement—words full of hope and confidence, and flowing with a Saviour's love? Bow, O my soul, in reverent gratitude before the God of thy life, who has so richly provided for thy needs, cleared away every obstruction, and is now making a path for his servant through the mighty deep. The feeling of being on the bosom of the ocean for so long a voyage, is touching and sublime; and might lay painful hold of my nervous nature, were it not for some happy sense of the sustaining and protecting arm of omnipotent love. William Forster's last words in ministry to me, were for the purpose of reminding me of our blessed Saviour's declaration, "Behold I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." Here is my security, here is my comfort, here let me take my rest on the bosom of the mighty deep.

7*th mo.*, 10*th*. We have enjoyed a noble day's sail; a fine view of the Tuskar Lighthouse, on the coast of Wexford, about seven o'clock this morning; and soon afterwards we were clear of the narrows of St. George's Channel. We have been since bearing to the south of west, in order to be clear of the Irish coast, and of Cape Clear, at its south-western extremity, without being liable to the necessity of tacking. The entrance on the vast Atlantic was peculiarly sublime, from the various considerations with which it is connected, in addition to the great beauty and glory of the ocean scene, ruffled by a gentle breeze, and sparkling, under the sunshine, with innumerable living diamonds. I have seldom experienced a more thrilling and pleasurable sensation than on this occasion. During the day some little squeamishness, from the increased motion of the ship, has been my lot; but I have read a good deal, and have felt in comfortable spirits, favoured with some ability to trust in the Lord, and to commune with him.

The intervals of leisure afforded by the voyage were employed by Joseph John Gurney in several

minor literary undertakings. Besides the Tribute to the memory of Jonathan Hutchinson, subsequently published, it was now that he wrote, at the request of one of his nephews, the little volume of Autobiography, of which so many extracts have been laid before the reader. Meanwhile his fellow passengers were not forgotten.

7th mo., 16*th.* The wind is clean contrary, which is somewhat of a trial to my easily discouraged mind; but I am thankful to have a little faith given me according to my need. We have enjoyed two very solemn meetings, in the cabin and on the deck, attended by about fifty, the captain, passengers, sailors, &c. I trust the glorious gospel was not preached in vain; the sailors, especially, appearing very thoughtful and attentive.

Seventh day. This day completes our fortnight at sea, and although our progress through the waters has not been very great, yet, on the review of this time of novel experience, I feel that I have much for which to be very thankful. We have been preserved in safety, and although conflict of mind has at times been my portion, I may commemorate frequent occasions of peculiar favour and peace. We have had adverse winds; dead calm; fair wind for a season, and now somewhat the contrary again. How incontrollable is this moving power by any human being; how consoling the remembrance, that our Heavenly Father holdeth "the winds in his fist." We are in lat. about 47 deg., in long. 23 deg. Nothing could well be more solemn to my feelings, than the calm which prevailed on fifth day, late in the evening; scarcely a breath of air playing with the sails, the ship motionless, in the midst of a mighty ocean. My condition was one of much lowness, for the enemy had been beating against me within, with many a stormy, restless wave; so that the suggestion arose, am I a Jonah, to stay the vessel on its course? This temptation, however, left me, after a very interesting meeting in the large dark hold of the vessel, with the steerage passengers before

they retired to rest; many of them, indeed, being in their beds. The voice of prayer and praise arose vocally, I humbly trust with acceptance through the Saviour.

7th mo., 27*th.* I had much satisfaction last evening, in lecturing a third time, to most of our party, on the Evidence for religion derived from Science.

Sixth day morning, *lat.* 47 *deg.*, *long.* 45. We have been in the midst of a great fog since yesterday morning; and the bell at the head of the vessel was ringing ever and anon during the night, to warn any wandering vessel of our near approach. This sort of weather is very common in the neighbourhood of the banks of Newfoundland, and seems rather trying to the captain and most on board. It is calculated to make us especially feel the value of the guiding eye as well as the protecting arm of our God. The solemn sound of the bell during the night kept me awake for many hours. I felt both the singularity and the seriousness of my position, but, I trust, I was not mistaken in the belief, that the Master whose I am, and whom I desire to serve, quieted me with the gentle voice of his Spirit; giving me to believe, that as I had borne testimony to him, in the cities of my native land, so I shall have to do the same at Philadelphia. May I be bold, discreet, and faithful therein, seeking to be wise as the serpent, and harmless as the dove; above all seeking after the steadfastness and integrity which are in Christ.

8th mo., 10*th.* We have gone through some tedious navigation lately, having been compelled to make two long south-eastern tacks, in order to get clear of Newfoundland, and the fatal Virgin rocks. Notwithstanding these efforts, rather an awful degree of anxiety prevailed last night, lest our course, after all, might not be clear of them. However, a nearly fair wind carried us swiftly forward; we found ourselves past the danger this morning, and are now about 1000 miles from Cape Henlopen. Thus have we renewed cause for thankfulness to the Author of our being, and I retire to rest with a quiet and hopeful mind.

Next morning. What rapid changes are we exposed to on this restless ocean! Soon after I made the above entry, the

weather became stormy, the wind roaring, the night excessively dark, the lightning flashing, sails furled, the vessel drifting, the captain and his men all night in action and vociferation. My own mind was mercifully preserved in considerable quietness. This morning we have nothing left to alarm; though our portion is a head wind, with rain and fog. But Oh! the goodness of the Lord, in permitting a gale as from Araby the blessed for the cheering of our spirits. Solemn and sweet has been the meeting which we have just been holding in the cabin.

8th mo., 12*th*. We have now been five weeks on board this vessel. I had too readily given way to an impression, that this day would see us in port. May I be instructed by the disappointed hope! As it is, I prefer having a few more days at sea, that I may finish a little essay at Autobiography.

Evening. The day has been favourable and ends in peace. I have been enabled to take a calm view of home, and of the members of our family circle, with a degree of quietness and comfort.

8th mo., 22*nd*. At the Capes, and in harbour within Delaware breakwater. To Philadelphia we cannot go at present, the wind being adverse and strong; and no steamboat having come to our help. The entrance through the Capes this morning was very sublime; and in being in harbour in America, I have felt true quietness and peace, with much solemnity of feeling.

8th mo., 25*th*. We reached Philadelphia last night, at nine o'clock, after an interesting voyage up the bay and river of the Delaware. The first introduction to America has been fraught with lively interest; and my arrival at my peaceful abode, at John and Hannah Paul's, was marked by much comfort and tranquillity: my dear friend, Stephen Grellet, being here to receive me.

8th mo., 27*th*, *first day afternoon*. It is more interesting to me than I know how to set forth, to be at length engaged in the work in this land. My way has been rather remarkably made so far; and a general meeting for Friends is appointed for this evening at Arch-street Meeting House. The

meeting of the northern district attended this morning, was large, and favoured with much solemnity. I trust some hearts were touched. After meeting "a brook by the way" was most graciously bestowed at Samuel and Jane Bettle's. Oh! the privilege of living gospel fellowship with the Lord's children. I cannot express how thankful I am to find that, after all my conflicts and temptations, it is yet mine. Lord, what can I render?

After three days spent in Philadelphia, Joseph John Gurney's course was directed to Ohio and Indiana, where he was desirous of attending the ensuing Yearly Meetings of Friends in those parts.

TO HIS CHILDREN.

On board the canal boat, on the Pennsylvania canal,
between Philadelphia and Pittsburg, 8th mo., 29th, 1837.

My dearest John Henry and Anna — My last letter would bring you up to my first Sabbath at Philadelphia. It was a very good day, and I hope worth the preparatory discipline attending our long voyage. Strange was it to me, to begin my service in this land, and I cannot imagine any place more interesting for such service, than Philadelphia; the society large, and so many interesting things and persons amongst them. I attended one large meeting in the morning; a second in the afternoon; and in the evening a *general* assemblage of the Friends met me at Arch-street meeting house, about two thousand present; I believe the largest assembly of Friends that has been known there since the Hicksite separation. It was a noble sight, and proved a satisfactory meeting. It was particularly laid upon me to defend the character of the early Friends, with some reference to the original formation of the society here: "The memory of the just is blessed," it will not decay; but, in connexion with this subject, ample was the scope afforded for the plain declaration of the great truths of the gospel. Thus the day

ended well; the ice was fairly broken at Philadelphia; and at five o'clock yesterday morning, (second day,) I set off with an easy mind, with my kind friend John Paul for my companion, towards the next object, Ohio Yearly Meeting. The route lies through Pittsburg, which is about three hundred miles from Philadelphia. We travelled about one hundred miles to Harrisburg, (the seat of the Pennsylvania government,) by railroad, comfortably enough, passing through a well-wooded, fairly cultivated country, adorned with neat looking villages, farm-houses, and barns; not unlike the scenery of England, but on a larger scale; palings too, instead of hedges; the grain harvest quite finished, but the Indian corn still growing, in large quantities, and of a great height. Its appearance is beautiful. At Harrisburg we got into the canal boat, which last evening was much crowded, and at night we were bundled together, strangely enough to an Englishman. However, every one found some kind of berth to lie in. The canal passes through a delightful country, alongside part of the Susquehannah, then of the Juniatta. Both these rivers are highly picturesque; lofty and well-wooded hills rising from them, and the trees on the banks, rich and varied. The scenery is amongst the finest I have anywhere seen; but peculiar, not very like anything in England. As to natural history, I have observed the bald eagle quietly seated on a tall tree; the osprey floating over the river; abundance of small black and white woodpeckers with red heads; the "yellow bird," a tiny active creature, of bright yellow and black; the large green bull frog, (good to eat,) and the water snake of a muddy green; also a variety of beautiful wild plants; splendid specimens of lobelia, blue and crimson, œnothera, convolvulus, calceolaria, wild sunflower, &c.

We have a fine company of Americans, crowded together, and eating heartily at a long table, three times a day. The four judges of the supreme court of Pennsylvania are of the number; but appear to claim little supereminence. All are equal here, with the single exception of the *coloured*. The chief justice Gibson tells me that small crimes decrease, but that

heavy ones fearfully increase; which *he* ascribes to the determination prevailing amongst Americans, to do *what they please;* in short, to ultra-radicalism. Yet I am not unfavourably impressed by what I have seen of their temper, demeanour, manners, &c.; *quite the contrary.* There is more of a gentlemanlike civility, and less of that barbarous spitting than I expected. Every body seems good tempered, as if the degree of roughness which they undergo had rubbed off their corners. The American aspect is very much marked; persons slim and active; countenances thin, eager, and intelligent; with a peculiar air of independence. This independence, this practical oblivion of all distinctions of class, is less offensive than I should have expected; as there is no want of polish in those whom *we* should consider as constituting the upper class. These four judges are decidedly agreeable, especially chief justice Gibson, and judge Dallas; cultivated and intellectual men. They tell me that the English common law is maintained here, with the exception of a few changes introduced by American statute. These judges belong to the supreme court of Pennsylvania, in which law and equity are united; and which exercises an appellate jurisdiction over the local and inferior courts. Gibson seems to me, in point of information and mental force, very much on a level with our judge Alderson, of whom he has reminded me; but is paid only about £600 per annum, instead of £5000 as in England. It is, in my opinion, far below the mark.

Yesterday we passed over the Alleghany range of mountains, by a wondrous railroad, consisting of a series of levels and inclined planes, rising in all about 1400 feet from the first level. Along the levels we were drawn by horses; up the inclined planes by ropes and pullies and steam power; and are let down by similar ropes in the descent. It is a vast triumph of human art and enterprize. At Johnstown, on the western side of the Alleghanies, we again took the canal, and are now upon it, on our way to Pittsburgh, which we hope to reach this afternoon. The canal, on both sides of the Alleghany mountains, goes alongside of picturesque and beautiful rivers; in the ascent, our companions

(as before mentioned) were the Susquehanna and Juniatta; and now, in the descent, first the Conemaugh, now the Kiskiminitas, and we expect soon to reach the Alleghany. Sometimes we get on to the rivers themselves in our course; and, when this is the case, we are treated with magnificent scenery. O! could you have seen the interior of our boat last night; judges, merchants, mechanics, gospel ministers crowded together on the floor, the seats, &c.; very little air allowed. There was to me some suffering in it, and I was on the verge of real illness; but my mind was calm and quiet. This morning we are comparatively comfortable, though the more than four thousand miles, which now divide us, sometimes hang heavy on my heart. Ups and downs in feeling, I must expect; but, on the whole, *substantial* happiness is my portion, and I humbly trust yours also. We hope to be able to take the Ohio river at Pittsburgh, and to pass by steam-boat to Wheeling or Steubenville; we shall then be within a drive of two hours of Mount Pleasant, where the Yearly Meeting is to commence next seventh day. I have long looked forward to this service, and trust I may, through adorable mercy, be favoured with ability to accomplish it. May I be clothed with the armour of righteousness on the *right* hand and on the *left*.

At Mount Pleasant, he writes in his Journal:—

First day evening, 9*th mo.*, 3*rd*. After a voyage of uncommon interest, as to the grandeur of the scenery, but rendered trying by a variety of accidents and detentions, we arrived at Wheeling by a row-boat, (in the dark the last four miles,) about eleven o'clock on sixth day night; and, by a romantic road through the forest, came to this place while the meeting of ministers and elders was sitting. We entered while our beloved friend Stephen Grellet was engaged in prayer. I felt much sweet peace in the arrival, and met a warm reception from Friends. The meeting this morning was, to the view of an Englishman, very large; a very mixed company; the scene highly novel and interesting; carriages of various kinds, and numerous horses thronging, first to, and afterwards round

the meeting-house. It was an exercising and very solemn time.

A public meeting in the large house is appointed for the evening. The Lord has wonderfully condescended to me in the work, for which I trust I can bow in reverent thankfulness. May he pour forth his Spirit on the present occasion!

Second day morning. I am thankful to say, that this desire was remarkably fulfilled. We had a blessed meeting last evening, in which baptism into the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, was, I trust, unfolded. It is pleasant to be in good unity with Friends; but peculiarly needful to dwell deep.

Smithfield, Ohio, 9th mo., 9th. Yesterday, Friends gave me their return certificate, couched in full terms of approbation and unity; the current of feeling and expression was as full as on any occasion I ever witnessed. Very interesting conference in company with my beloved Stephen Grellet, who has been throughout a kind friend and father to me.

This morning we had a good concluding sitting; men and women being together; a weighty and dignified close. Surely the Lord in his infinite compassion has been eminently with us! In coming forward to this sweet spot this evening, I have much peace, being comfortably housed in my "prophet's chamber," at Benjamin W. Ladd's, the window overlooking a lovely scene.

TO HIS SISTER ELIZABETH FRY.

Zanesville, Ohio, 9th mo., 24th, 1837.

It certainly has been very relieving and sweet to me to find myself in full unity with Friends in this part, whose returning certificate was all that I could desire. Since the Yearly Meeting I have held numerous meetings in country places, which have been large and exercising, many "Hicksites" attending; and much service towards them. Considerable impression appears to have been made in some instances. John Paul was my agreeable companion, until after the Yearly Meeting in Ohio. Since then, Benjamin W. Ladd has taken me under his care, and is now driving me to Indiana.

I am greatly interested in the country. It is one of large scope every way. It is highly satisfactory to observe how the population is overtaken by the means of religious instruction and worship—greatly the better, as I believe, for the absence of the *incumbency* of an establishment. This town of seven thousand inhabitants, is a specimen—seven or eight commodious places of worship in it, and I hope, a considerable prevalence of serious religion. At the same time, I am too young in the country to form an accurate estimate at present. * *

"The country over which I travelled in Ohio," he writes in another letter "(chiefly in Jefferson county,) is very much of one character—a beautiful wooded wilderness of hill and dale, gradually coming under more and more cultivation—about half of it now cleared from wood, and very productive. Plentifulness and ease, on the sole condition of industry, appeared to be the universal order of things. At a cottage one morning, after a neighbouring meeting had been concluded, such a cottage as an English peasant might not unsuitably occupy, we were hospitably received by a small farmer and mechanic. There was no strong drink on his table, but the abundance and variety of the articles produced at dinner, all served up in the most simple manner, really astonished me. No servants, of course, in any such house. All people do all things for themselves. I heartily wished as I went along, that I might myself become imbued with some measure of this hardy independence. * * *

It is greatly to be regretted that the black and coloured people of this state are far from being on equal terms, in point of civil right, with the white population; and, by a late law, their condition, in this respect, has become even worse than before. Repeated appeals to the legislature have been made in their favour, by the Society of Friends. In the meantime, they have more appearance of respectability, and even ease here, than in some others of the free states of the union. I remember meeting three negroes one day on horseback. One of them was a farming man who had realized a little property; another a minister of the gospel, on his way to his con-

gregation; the third a female respectably attired, the wife of one of them. How happy will be the day when such scenes shall become general on the other side of the river, in the states of Virginia and Kentucky!

To return to the Journal:—

Jackstown, 22 miles west of Zanesville. We are stopping here for the noon meal, dinner for ourselves and horses. The meeting last evening at Zanesville was much favoured; evangelical and spiritual Christianity was, I humbly trust, set forth with some clearness, under the renewed gracious influence of our Holy Head; the assembly was large, and the quietness and attention great. Notwithstanding this favour, I was brought very low this morning, by the recollection of this time two years, when my dearest wife was in the depth of her fatal fever; and a stranger in a strange land, must not expect to be in high spirits. However, I am, I believe, content. I wish to be no where else, and a little enlivening hope dwells with me, that this pilgrimage is on my way to a better country.

May it be so, through the tender mercies of my God, in Christ Jesus!

Richmond, Indiana, 10th mo., 2nd. The Yearly Meeting, in its larger assembly, meets this morning. A week has passed since I made the last entry, and I am still well and in peace. The journey hither from Zanesville very interesting in parts; the great Western road, almost crowded with movers in that direction. Immigration seems the order of the day. The country wooded and flat, interspersed with natural prairies. At Columbus, the seat of government for Ohio, we held meetings with 370 prisoners at the state prison, and at the Lunatic Asylum, on the building of which 100 of them were at work. The silent discipline at the prison appeared carried to its highest pitch. I doubt its effects, though in some respects it is very good; the employments capitally arranged. Public meetings on the road at Jefferson, and Springfield, at which last place we were kindly entertained by Jeremiah Warder and family. We arrived here at the peaceful abode of

Elijah Coffin, on sixth day. On seventh day, the meeting of ministers and elders was large. The committee on Indian affairs, in the afternoon, very interesting. Yesterday, after deep and searching exercise of mind in private, was a day highly favoured of the Lord. We had a vast assembly in the morning, and a public meeting, by my appointment, in the evening. I humbly trust, a good impression was made. It is a comfort indeed to be again with my beloved friend S. Grellet.

10*th mo.*, 5*th.* I am thankful in feeling quiet and calm this morning. Oh! how graciously condescending is my dear Lord and Master to my great natural weakness. I cannot be grateful enough to him; and may I patiently wait and quietly hope for the clearing away of clouds and difficulties, in the hour of his own appointment! In the meantime, watchfulness, faithfulness, meekness, may they be mine! And may the Lord in his tender mercy grant, that whatever provocation to nature may fall to my lot, I may be so preserved in the meekness of wisdom, yea, in the very truth, and in the life and innocency thereof, as not to offend one of the little ones. I preach to others rather loudly of the necessity of getting rid of the idolatry of self, may I do it myself! Lord help me in this work, I reverently beseech thee.

10*th mo.*, 7*th.* All difficulties and clouds cleared away, and the Yearly Meeting ended with great solemnity, a time of unusual favour; solemn fervent prayer fell to my lot at the close. Friends have given me a good minute of acknowledgment. Thus I have abundant cause to set up my Ebenezer, to praise the Lord for his goodness, and to trust in him for the future.

After noticing a round of meetings in a district where some controversy had lately arisen on the subject of the Resurrection, he continues: —

Springborough, 10*th mo.*, 15*th.* The time past at Duck Creek was closely exercising. We had a large and good meeting in the morning, in which the truth was, I trust,

plainly preached; and towards the conclusion, I had to advert to the true scriptural view of the resurrection, first from dead works, and afterwards from the grave. In the afternoon, I held a select meeting with the dissentients, and spoke kindly and plainly to them, ending with prayer; it was a good time, and they appeared tender. The next morning a harder meeting at Clear Spring, in which the last great day of account was awfully before me. It ended with great solemnity, and after parting from Friends in love, we arrived, after nightfall, at the house of Joseph Cox, in the woods near Dublin. He is an honourable elder of a superior mind, and our visit to him and his family was very interesting to us. The next morning, a long drive of about twenty miles over bad roads brought us to Elijah Coffin's, at Richmond, and I devoted most of the evening to writing an epistle to Friends of Spiceland Monthly Meeting, in which the Scripture doctrines of the immortality of the soul, the new birth, the resurrection of the spiritual body, and the great day of judgment, are simply stated with an exhortation to peace, quietness, &c. I have left it for the judgment of the Committee of the Quarterly Meeting, and feel peace in having taken the step.

From Indiana, Joseph John Gurney proceeded to North Carolina; an arduous journey of six hundred miles across a region in parts but little settled or cultivated. It appeared at first, difficult to obtain a conveyance suitable for such a journey. "It so happened, however," he writes in one of his letters, "that a worthy member of the Society, was employed to drive me to a neighbouring meeting, with a pair of horses which he used in his business, and in a carriage borrowed from one of his neighbours. The animals were diverse in colour, but admirably matched in pace and quality; doubtless it was because of their suitability to each other that they bore the names of David and Jonathan. I soon

perceived that this was the man, and these the horses, which were to convey me from Indiana to Carolina; and had afterwards much reason to acknowledge that this was one of the many instances of a kind providence, by which my course in America was wonderfully facilitated. My friend and his horses suited me exactly, and continued to be my helpers through a much greater extent of country, than I then contemplated. I bought a humble, but convenient waggon, on wooden springs; an active young man accompanied us on horseback as our guide; and, our party being joined by three other Friends bound in the same direction, we set off on our journey in good health and spirits, at the rate of about four miles an hour, a rate which, though a slow one, was often exchanged for one still slower."

Gallipolis, on the Ohio, 10*th mo.*, 20*th.* My mind has undergone a good deal of conflict, but is much at peace after the meeting this evening; the close of my labours at present on the western side of the Ohio. They have been numerous and arduous, but the Lord has been wonderfully condescending and gracious to me, and abundant cause for thankfulness have I for the help vouchsafed in the needful hour. We expect to cross the Ohio into Virginia to-morrow morning. May my gracious Lord and Master go with us to preserve us in perfect safety, both of body and soul!

"We left Gallipolis early in the morning," he writes in one of his letters, "and having crossed the Ohio, we entered at once on the Virginian forest. Our journey was adventurous and difficult, the road winding through apparently interminable woods; in some parts rocky and hilly; in others deep with mud. As night approached, and night in these regions comes on with little notice of twilight, we were pursuing our journey

through the forest over a very high hill. By an almost precipitous descent, we arrived, just before total darkness, at a little farm house, where we earnestly hoped that we should find a lodging. But no such accommodation was there. We were instructed to go half a mile further to a more likely tenement. In the course of this half-mile, we were in great danger of being overturned in descending the steep bank of a stream which it was necessary to cross, though all was then darkness. I shall not forget the comfort of at length finding ourselves in shelter and safety beside a blazing log fire, though with rough fare, and in a very humble dwelling. Of the two little beds in the kitchen, one was occupied by an elderly friend of our company and his wife; the other was kindly reserved for myself. The rest of our company were lodged in a small garret. Want of cleanliness is the only real pain on such occasions."

Their journey through Virginia was continued for several days along the romantic banks of the Kenhawa.

"It is a curious circumstance," writes Joseph John Gurney, "that numerous fountains of brine are found within a few yards of the river. We were told that they bored for it, to the amazing depth of 6, 7, or 800 feet. The salt produced is excellent. The Americans are wonderfully eager and enterprising; but alas for the slaves, who are employed in these works!"

"We arrived at night-fall," he continues, "at a comfortable house of entertainment, kept by a notorious hunter, who, amidst the wild mountains and forests of this neighbourhood, had succeeded in destroying an amazing number of panthers, wolves, and bears. These animals are still frequent in a district which, with the exception of the narrow and fertile valley through which the river runs, defies all attempts at squatting or settling. Wild cats are also numerous here, and the deer abound. Not long previously, our landlord had killed two bears and three deer one morning before breakfast; at another

time, a panther which, from the tip of its tail to that of its nose, measured 10 feet 10 inches. The young panthers are spotted; the old ones of a light brown. One day when on horseback, he was carrying a dead deer across his saddle through the forest, and suddenly found himself surrounded by seven wolves. The foremost aggressor, on a rising ground, was ready to make his spring; but the hunter shot him at once, and the others immediately fled.

In the course of the following day, we left the romantic river, and wound our way at a slow pace into the high country, this being the course which the new Turnpike takes. As we were pursuing our journey in an uninteresting part of the road, and along-side of the forest, we observed on our right hand a small path running up a hill, through the wood. We had been advised to watch for it, and when found, to examine it for ourselves. We accordingly left our carriages, and after pursuing this sequestered path, on foot, not much more than fifty yards, we found ourselves, unexpectedly, on the flat top of a perpendicular rock, many hundred feet high. This was the celebrated "Hawk's Nest." We laid hold for safety on the bare boughs of a little cedar on the edge of the precipice, and willingly gave ourselves up to the silent contemplation of one of the most magnificent prospects to be found in North America. The New River, which afterwards, with another stream, forms the Kenhawa, is here seen winding its course first through a romantic dell, and afterwards along an open plain at the foot of a glorious chain of mountains covered with forest, amongst which it appears at last to lose itself. The beauty of the scene was much enhanced by the rich woods which lay immediately below the precipice, and covered most of the plain through which the river was flowing.

To be travelling through a population, a large proportion of which is in a state of slavery, was a circumstance very affecting to Joseph John Gurney's feelings. But he was desirous to form no hasty judgment of the state of things around him.

"It is impossible," he writes, "for a casual traveller to form an exact estimate of the real condition of the slaves in America. One thing is certain, that they are systematically excluded by law from all school instruction; and though, undoubtedly, there are many humane slave-holders, it follows from the very nature of the case, that great cruelties must often be perpetrated. I well remember that an ingenuous white lad who guided me, one day, to a bathing place on the banks of the Kenhawa, gave me an affecting account of the whippings with the cow-hide, (sometimes amounting to 200 lashes,) which are still often inflicted on these children of oppression. The best aspect under which I saw American slavery, was at the public meetings for worship, which were held, in the course of this journey, in numerous towns and villages of Virginia and North Carolina. The slaves often attended in considerable numbers, and generally occupied the gallery, while the body of the house was filled by the white inhabitants. I was glad to find that this liberty was allowed them in many places, though the practice is not universal. I felt it to be a privilege on these occcasions, freely to proclaim those grand principles of Christian truth, which are of equal application to bond and free; but which, nevertheless, when truly received and acted on, cannot fail to undermine the system of slavery. Although, of course, the subject of slavery itself could not, with propriety, be adverted to on such occasions, I was often surprised by observing that a close practical application of the principles of the gospel, was not only patiently borne, but even received with apparent cordiality.

Having arrived in North Carolina, he writes in his Journal:—

11*th mo.*, 2*nd.* We have journeyed along quietly to-day forty-five miles, and are come this evening to a very comfortable house. My mind is graciously kept in a state of much quietness; and in the review of this interesting journey of nearly 600 miles, I can indeed gratefully acknowledge the goodness and loving-kindness of the Lord. Some trials of

faith and patience have fallen to my lot; but I know not that the three weeks which the transit has occupied, could have been more desirably spent elsewhere. I feel the prospect of the Yearly Meeting for North Carolina, but humbly trust I may again be mercifully helped in the hour of need.

TO HIS CHILDREN.

New Garden, North Carolina, 11th mo., 8th, 1837.

It is an inexpressible pleasure to me thus to communicate with you, my tenderly beloved children; need I say, that you are the perpetual subject of my thoughts and prayers; my fervent desire being, that you may have abundant grace given you to serve the Lord in the beauty of holiness. * * *

You have heard of Nathan Hunt. He is now in his 80th year, brought up in humble life as a blacksmith, I believe, but a thorough gentleman in his manners, and his face shining with the "heavenly oil." It is delightful to be with the dear old man, to receive his unqualified tokens of hearty unity, and to hear his *outpourings* in the ministry. Perhaps about the best meeting I ever attended, was a public one held by appointment of the Yearly Meeting yesterday. I had been prepared for my share of it, by much lowness and trial of mind, and have seldom felt the same power in preaching the glorious gospel. Nathan Hunt's prayer at the close of the meeting, was an extraordinary effusion indeed.

I am staying at the boarding-school, an institution which promises well for the Society in these parts. It is under the superintendence of two valuable ministers; Nathan Hunt's daughter Asenath, and her husband Dougan Clarke. The house is lately built in a very picturesque situation in the forest, near the old Meeting-house. This latter is simplicity itself, and looks like a large old barn, but the woods around it are highly beautiful. The trees are more *spreading* here than in the far west, where they grow to a very great height, and have insignificant tops. The burial ground is quite beautiful. A vast spreading oak adorns its centre. Here rest the remains of many poor British soldiers, who died of

their wounds after Lord Cornwallis's victory at Guilford, in the first American war; the meeting-house having then served as an hospital. It is a real pleasure and satisfaction to be among Friends in these parts; and I think it probable that I may have to visit the subordinate meetings of this state, before I attempt returning to Philadelphia. If so, I shall be journeying about in my humble, but comfortable, conveyance for some weeks. I wish you could take a peep at me and my carriage, driven by my honest, serious companion, William Kenworthy, and drawn by those homely, lively, faithful "creatures," David and Jonathan, the former bay, the latter white. I cannot imagine a more suitable *set out*. Elizabeth Coggeshall, who visited England many years ago, is here, to my great comfort. She is a cheerful, pleasing Friend. I cannot picture to myself a more *wholesome* form of religion than she presents. Indeed, I may truly say, that abundant have been the confirmations which I have received since my lot has been cast in America, of the truth of those religious principles on which I am desirous of acting, and which, I trust, are increasingly precious to you. When the Lord's anointing is allowed its free course, without let, hindrance, or prejudice, fervent evangelical love of the Saviour prevailing in connexion with it, the effect is delightful. May you and I prize it more and more!

In another letter he says:—

After the Yearly Meeting was concluded, I set off with my kind friend William Kenworthy, and our excellent horses, with a young man on horseback for our guide, on a visit to a round of meetings in Guilford and Randolph counties. Our journey, which lasted nearly a month, though somewhat laborious, was to me fraught with interest. The people at whose houses we lodged from night to night, were in great simplicity in their mode of living; but the rough accommodation which often fell to our lot was amply compensated by unvarying kindness. I could not be otherwise than surprised and delighted by the flocking together of the people to the

meetings which were held, one after another, in the midst of these woods. On some occasions the numbers collected were so large, that, although it was now late in the eleventh month, we were obliged to hold our meetings in the open air. This circumstance, however, occasioned no material difficulty, as the weather was delightful, and the sky without a cloud.

"I have no wish for any more intimate companion," he writes to his children; "and enjoy my frequent and deep solitude. I wish you could see me walking alone in the woods, meditating on my darling children; and I hope also communing in some measure, with the glorious Fountain of light and life."

In his Journal he continues:—

11*th mo.*, 16*th.* [After alluding to the holding of several meetings.] They have all been favoured times, and though at seasons I have felt an inexpressible sort of solitary desolation, and a temptation to impatience in not getting on more quickly; yet on a calm review of these few days, I can with gratitude acknowledge, that all is ordered aright. The Lord be praised for his matchless goodness! The truth is simple and changeth not; I have no new doctrines to proclaim in my ministry; but the Lord in his great goodness has been pleased to clothe it with considerable variety; and, I believe, his precious anointing has not been withheld. It has been my earnest desire, and the frequent and fervent petition of my soul, that I may be preserved from speaking in the name of the Lord, otherwise than under the immediate putting forth of this precious influence. I deeply feel I can do nothing without it; and, with it, there is a life which man cannot command.

Never was I more sensible of this truth, and never did I feel more bound in my spirit to exalt that holy principle of grace in the heart, which will not make any compromise with evil; and will, as it is followed, lead into all righteousness. May multitudes be turned to it, saith my soul! and may the

Lord graciously enable me to maintain my integrity in the truth, in humility, simplicity, and godly sincerity!

11*th mo.*, 21*st.* I have been remarkably low every morning before the approaching exercise of my gift; but I believe this experience is needful to prepare for a purer and more powerful service than would otherwise be attained to. I cannot express how kind and liberal the Lord has been to me in bestowing his own blessed anointing. Never did I so fully feel its value; and never was I more alive to the comfort, as well as safety, of keeping under it; dependent upon it, and within its limits. May this graciously continue to be experienced! I am remarkably little disposed to any kind of subordinate service, just now; my simple business seems to be to preach the everlasting gospel of my Holy Redeemer, to the sinful, the weary, and the faint.

Having returned to New Garden, North Carolina, he spent a few days at the boarding school for Friends' children at that place; with the view of encouraging the pursuit of scriptnral knowledge upon the principles which had been so beneficially acted on at Ackworth. Thence he proceeded on a visit to the southern and eastern parts of the state, intending afterwards to go northwards to Richmond in Virginia. This journey by the same mode of conveyance occupied another month.

Thomas Thompson's, Eno. Fifth day evening, 12*th mo.*, 7*th.* We have arrived at this comfortable shelter after nightfall; our journey from Greensborough, over very indifferent roads in part, having been thirty-eight miles. I have enjoyed and prized the quietness of this day, passed in travelling; the Bible and Comstock's familiar work on Philosophy having been (in addition to William Kenworthy, and Horace Cannon) my acceptable companions. Yesterday was a favoured one. After holding a very solemn farewell meeting, we cleared off

happily from New Garden. Tranquil were our feelings, though the parting from our beloved aged prophet* may be regarded as final. We proceeded to Greensboro', where we were favoured with a good public meeting; the academy and their "professors," being present.

12*th mo.*, 9*th.* We continue to be mercifully helped on our way. The meeting at Eno was satisfactory, and our intercourse with our friends there, was, I trust, of some advantage to them. A drive of thirteen miles this morning brought us to Chapel Hill, the seat of the North Carolina University. In the afternoon we held a meeting with the students: more than 100 out of 140 were present, besides two of the Professors, and the President, Governor Swaine. It was to me a very relieving time, the internal evidence of Christianity opening before me with great force and clearness, and utterance, and at last, I think, entrance being graciously given.

12*th mo.*, 12*th.* Our time at Raleigh was unusually productive and interesting. The meeting on first day large, and much favoured; both white and black present. Yesterday social and religious visits to many rather interesting people in their families—Judge Saunders, Judge Cameron (to tea,) Freeman (the Episcopal Minister,) Lacey (the Presbyterian,) Wadsworth (the Methodist,) and in the evening we held another very solemn meeting in the Presbyterian Meeting House; parting in much peace from the inhabitants. The subjects of slavery, and the internal slave trade, which abound here, have deeply oppressed and affected my mind; but I have felt quite clear in restricting my public labours to the faithful preaching of the full gospel.

12*th mo.*, 31*st.* The last day of 1837! A precious solitude is now permitted in my comfortable chamber at John Hare's, Summerton Meeting House, Virginia. We arrived near here last evening, after a journey of thirty-six miles, from our friend Nathan Winslow's, near Piny Woods. The fallow day was useful to me, after a week of closely successive exercises, which closed memorably with a visit to the Quarterly Meeting

*Nathan Hunt.

School, at Piny Woods, (about forty children,) when the Ackworth system of scriptural instruction was instituted there. The love and openness of Friends, very precious.

I have now done with North Carolina, perhaps for ever; and look back on the eight weeks spent in that state, with a remarkably peaceful and unclouded sense of the goodness of the Lord, who has led me along safely, guided my steps, put his word into my mouth, and at times poured forth his anointing in a remarkable manner. "What shall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits towards me? I will take the cup of salvation and call upon the name of the Lord; I will pay my vows unto the Lord, now in the presence of all his people." On a calm review of this period, ought I not, above all, to thank him for those very low states which have been so frequent during its course, and which have never failed to lead the way to a fresh supply of his unction and grace?

In commencing with Virginia, and in looking forward to arduous service at Richmond, Washington, Baltimore, &c., I trust I am made deeply sensible of my own unworthiness and unfitness for the work. O Lord, in the plenitude of thy mercies, undertake for me, and let thy own glorious works abundantly praise thee!

It is a solemn thing to me to close the present year; and a cause of unutterable thankfulness, in looking back upon past conflicts, that I am permitted to close it in peace. Never, I believe, while memory lasts, shall I forget the "ringing in" of this year, by the West Ham bells, as I lay on my bed, in the midnight hour at Upton; it seemed almost like the knell of death to me; but surely America was at the bottom of it, though I then knew not the cause of my suffering. Praise the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me bless and hallow his glorious name!

CHAPTER XXXI.

ÆT. 50. 1838.

JOURNEY FROM RICHMOND TO WASHINGTON; INTERVIEWS WITH THE PRESIDENT; HENRY CLAY; JOHN QUINCY ADAMS; &c.; MEETING AT WASHINGTON; BALTIMORE; ARRIVAL AT PHILADELPHIA; EXTRACTS FROM JOURNAL AND LETTERS; NEW YORK; RHODE ISLAND; MASSACHUSETTS; JUSTICE STORY; DR. CHANNING; REFLECTIONS ON COMPLETING HIS 50TH YEAR.

After spending rather more than two weeks in Virginia, part of which was occupied in a visit to Richmond, the principal city of that state, Joseph John Gurney proceeded to Washington.

"During a week's journey from Richmond to Washington," he writes in one of his letters, "we came to a considerable settlement of Friends at Cedar Creek. One of the principal of them, a person of high respectability, had been distributing some time before, an excellent address against slavery, which had been issued by the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia. This was an offence, which, by the law of Virginia, was punishable with two years' imprisonment and hard labour in the penitentiary. The case was brought before a court of justice, and our friend was certainly in great peril. But his known respectability called forth the better feelings of the gentlemen of the district, with many of whom he was familiar; and, greatly to their credit, the grand jury ignored the bill. I believe that his influence and labours in relation to this subject, were by no means fruitless: improving sentiments respecting it were diffusing themselves in the neighbourhood;

and in our public meetings for worship, at Cedar Creek, some close practical remarks, which were fully understood as applying to the evils of slavery, were listened to with great attention." * * *

After holding a meeting at Fredericksburgh, a considerable town, pleasantly situated on the Rappahannock, we took the steamer the next morning on the river Potomac, and enjoyed a delightful voyage of sixty miles, to the city of Washington. The river is of a magnificent breadth, the banks generally low and woody. Both the Virginia and Maryland shores, as we were informed, had been once highly cultivated; but the blight of slavery has now rendered them comparatively unproductive. Shad and herring are caught in abundance in this river; the finest oysters are also found here; and during the cold of winter, its surface is sometimes half covered with thousands of ducks. We saw considerable numbers of them, of a black and white plumage.

On the south bank of the stream, not far from the city of Alexandria, is Mount Vernon, a lofty wooded bluff, on which stands the elegant but simple villa where Washington lived, died, and was buried. We had no opportunity of visiting this interesting spot; but as we passed by it, we could not but pay a cordial mental tribute to the genius, as well as political and private virtue of that extraordinary man. To think of his having been both a soldier and a slave-holder, was indeed a subject of deep regret. But we nevertheless knew that he was a man of prayer, and his qualities of mind were peculiarly calculated to obtain for him the warmest affections of America, and the respect of the world. I was a good deal interested afterwards in examining a copy of his pecuniary accounts, in his capacity of commander in chief. They were written in his own bold, clear hand, and displayed an astonishing accuracy of detail. The union of this minute care with the most comprehensive opinions and designs, constitutes a singular feature in his character. He is generally regarded as having been the most religious of the American presidents.

The aspect of the city of Washington under the bright

sunlight of a winter afternoon, as we glided over the vast sheet of water, (into which the river here dilates,) partook rather largely of the sublime and beautiful. The Capitol, which stands on a considerable elevation, and is built of white stone, was the most conspicuous object in the scene. It is the restoration of the building which the British army so wantonly set on fire in the last American war; and might be considered exceedingly handsome, were it not for its leaden, heavy dome, which is sadly out of proportion, and mars the beauty of the edifice. We landed on the wharf at nightfall on the 17th of the 1st month, 1838, and found very comfortable accommodation at Brown's Hotel. There our company was soon joined by some of our friends from Baltimore and Philadelphia.

On the morning after our arrival we went up in good time to the Capitol, and were introduced to several of the senators, particularly to Colonel Preston, from South Carolina, a gentleman of remarkable urbanity of manners, and endued with what may be justly described as the silver tongue of eloquence. I also enjoyed a short interview with Daniel Webster. His forehead is of remarkable prominence and breadth, his eye penetrating; and the little which I heard of his public speaking was strong, clear, and fluent. With Henry Clay, of Kentucky, we conversed for some time in private. He is the Brougham of America, as it relates to his ready wit and powers of fervid declamatory argument; but is doubtless his inferior in literary and scientific attainment. His figure is tall and slender, and there is an expression of humour and benevolence in his countenance, which, in connexion with his marked politeness, is very winning. He expressed kind feelings and good principles on the subject of slavery, as well as on that of the wrongs of the Aborigines. But he complained bitterly of the abolition movement, and was evidently, like other slave-holders, under the influence of some very strong prejudices.

In the evening we spent a very agreeable hour with John Quincy Adams, once the President of the United States; and almost the only anti-slavery advocate in congress, though, on

several points, himself differing from the abolitionists. He is now an old man, yet full of mental vigour and animation, and probably more fraught with learning and information than any other man in America. He received us with great kindness and cordiality. On a subsequent morning, at the early hour of nine o'clock, we were introduced to Martin Van Buren, the President, a gentleman of great affability and ease of manner, with much acuteness, and I think, benevolence also marked on his countenance. During our short interview, the subjects of our conversation were the African slave-trade, and the claims of the native Indian tribes; on both which topics he spoke with a good deal of firmness. It was my endeavour to impress on the mind of the President, the vast importance of the cordial co-operation of America with the European powers, in the suppression of the slave trade, on the perfectly reasonable principle of a mutual right of search, a principle which surely ought not to offend the pride of any one nation. But the Americans are a community of kings, every man his own ruler, and they shrink from the very notion of indignity. Thus I fear they are but too likely to persist in sacrificing the interests of humanity, to what is falsely regarded as national honour.

The principal object which I now had in view, in visiting Washington, was the holding of a meeting for worship with the officers of government and members of congress. My mind was attracted towards these public men, under a feeling of religious interest; and far beyond my expectation did my way open for accomplishing the purpose. Colonel Polk, the speaker of the representative assembly, granted me the use of the legislative hall; the chaplain of the house (a respectable Wesleyan minister) kindly surrendered his accustomed service for our accommodation; public invitation was given in the newspapers; and when we entered the hall, on the following First day morning, we found it crowded with the members of congress, their ladies, and many other persons. The President and other officers of the government were also of the company. It was to me a serious and critical occasion. One of my friends sat down with me in the

speaker's rostrum; a feeling of calmness was graciously bestowed upon us; and a silent solemnity overspread the whole meeting. After a time, my mind became deeply impressed with the words of our blessed Redeemer, "I am the way, the truth, and the life." Speaking from this text, I was led to describe the main features of orthodox Christianity; to declare that these doctrines had been faithfully held by the Society of Friends, from their first rise to the present day; to dwell on the evidences, both historical and internal, which form the credentials of the gospel, considered as a message to mankind from the King of heaven and earth; to urge the claims of that message on the world at large, on America in particular, a country so remarkably blessed by Divine Providence, and, above all, on her statesmen and her legislators; to advise the devotional duties of the closet, as a guard against the dangers and temptations of politics; to dwell on the peaceable government of Christ by his spirit; and finally to insist on the perfect law of righteousness, as applying to nations, as well as individuals, to the whole of the affairs of men, both private and public. A solemn silence again prevailed at the close of the meeting; and after it was concluded, we received the warm greetings of Henry Clay, John Quincy Adams, and many other members, of whom we took our leave in the flowing of mutual kindness. Thus was I set free from the heavy burden which had been pressing upon me. In the evening we met a large assembly in the Methodist Chapel, in George Town, a populous place almost adjoining Washington; and the next morning pursued our journey forward to a small settlement of Friends, in the state of Maryland.

In his Journal he writes: —

Baltimore, 1*st mo.*, 25*th.* A drive of twenty-four miles, over poor roads and a poor country, brought us hither. The view of the Patapsco river, Chesapeake bay, and the city, as we approached it, under the light of the bright evening sun, was striking and beautiful. I have a truly comfortable home;

and we have been favoured with a very relieving meeting this morning, half public; many Hicksites. I have ventured to appoint two public meetings, and am about to engage in a family visit to the interesting flock here. My way seems remarkably made amongst them, to my humble admiration.

2nd mo., *2nd.* My work has been arduous, and I hope is now done. I have gone through the families, in much feeling of poverty and humiliation; upwards of sixty visits. Large meeting of coloured people, on fourth day evening; and, yesterday, meetings at the jail and penitentiary.

From Baltimore Joseph John Gurney proceeded to Philadelphia.

"The distance between the two cities," he observes, in one of his letters, "is about one hundred miles; and one circumstance on the journey is well calculated to interest a stranger. It is the conspicuousness of the line (though without any natural division) which separates the slave-wrought lands of Maryland from the free territory of Pennsylvania. The sudden transit from inferior to superior cultivation, and from impoverished soil to fertility, is extremely striking, especially at the more advanced seasons of the year; and certainly it speaks volumes for the instruction of statesmen, in proof of the impolicy of slavery. One can hardly imagine on what grounds this perpetual visible evidence can be long resisted."

Joseph John Gurney continued in Philadelphia and its neighbourhood upwards of three months. The Society of Friends in that city is still a numerous and influential body. Besides attending the Quarterly and other meetings of Friends there, and in some of the adjoining districts, as well as the Yearly Meeting, in usual course, he was closely engaged in paying religious visits to the families of Friends in three out of the four "Monthly Meetings"

into which the city is divided. A minister of the gospel, more especially one engaged as he was, must not expect to have a course free from difficulty. Great is the trial, to the servant of Christ, of being misunderstood and misinterpreted by those who sincerely love, and desire to serve, the same blessed Redeemer; but he may surely be consoled by the reflection, that from age to age such has been the portion of many faithful believers. This, in a remarkable degree, was the case with the early Friends. Their views were misunderstood and misinterpreted by other professing Christians, and frequently were the motives and course of action of the more eminent amongst them not comprehended even by the members of their own Society. Separated as the human family is, by an almost endless variety of disposition and circumstances, and very imperfectly, if at all, acquainted with one another's motives, impressions are often received of the conduct of others, which further acquaintance and more exact investigation prove to be wholly unfounded, or greatly mistaken and exaggerated. It is possible that some of the readers of these pages have already discovered that their acquaintance with Joseph John Gurney (and perhaps also with their own hearts) was at this time too imperfect to enable them to form a just estimate of his character; and now, perhaps, in the cool of the day, they may be, at times, led to look back with some sadness at the misconceptions which then, to a limited extent, prevailed.*

"The dispensation, trying as it is," he writes, in

* See *infra*, ch. xlvi.

one of his letters, in allusion to this subject, "has been, as to myself, seasonable; a wonderful defence against undue exaltation; bringing me, from time to time, low and prostrate before the Lord. I thank God for the wholesome discipline; and earnestly do I desire and pray that not a single unchristian feeling towards my opposers may enter into my heart. With all their mistakes, I give them credit for much sincere love to Christ."

The following are from his Journal of this period :—

2nd mo., 4th. The Quarterly Meeting of ministers and elders, yesterday morning, passed off quietly and well; various calls and interviews with Friends in the after part of the day. A long one with my dear friend ———, kindly intended to prepare me for conflict and impediment. I have felt it a good deal during the night; but I think my chief anxiety is, that the Society and, above all, the cause of truth may not suffer; and I am mercifully favoured with precious quietness of mind this morning. O Lord, I most earnestly and reverently beseech thee, that, surrounded as I am by some opposing influences and some share of perplexity, I may be enabled, by thy grace, to keep a conscience void of offence in thy sight, and in the sight of my fellow-men, avoiding even the appearance of evil. O for a holy integrity and independence in the truth, united with the wisdom of the serpent, the meekness of the lamb, and the harmlessness of the dove!

Third day, [*2nd mo., 6th.*] Yesterday the Quarterly Meeting; a good time; the ministry which fell to my lot was close and searching; but it is evident that I have a course of some difficulty and tribulation before me. May I accept it with all cheerfulness and submission! To-day, at the Northern Monthly Meeting, (dear Stephen Grellet present,) I laid before Friends my concern to visit the families; much unity, but some little opposition appeared. This was over-ruled, and

I suppose that John Paul will commence the work with me to-morrow morning. May the Lord graciously sustain me in patient resignation!

Fifth day evening. We have passed through two days of family visiting; and I believe the gracious anointing oil, which can alone qualify for the service, has not been withheld; eight visits yesterday as a beginning; ten to-day.

First day night. We have again been favoured with a good Sabbath. The meeting at Arch Street, in the afternoon, satisfactory; and a very large one there this evening; a noble, solemn assembly indeed. One would hope that the truly searching work of this day must have done something towards quelling opposition; and I hope also towards the confirmation of our faith, as Christians and as Friends. The Lord alone be praised!

2nd mo., 16th. The public meeting at the North Meeting House last third day evening, notwithstanding pouring rain, was large, and very solemn and relieving. I was greatly comforted by it, and ended the day in peace. Fourth day, industrious family visiting; drank tea at I. Lloyd's. Fifth day, Woodbury Quarterly Meeting, over the Delaware, in Jersey; a good open time; Friends very cordial. To-day, filled again with family visits; dear S. Grellet with us at dinner; Thomas Evans this evening; both to my comfort; so that, through mercy, I retire to rest quiet and relieved in mind.

2nd mo., 18th. Good series of visits yesterday; drank tea very agreeably at Ellis Yarnall's. A quiet mind is mercifully bestowed this morning. Earnest are my breathings to the Lord, that I may be preserved from uttering anything this day in public, except under the "anointing;" and that in and under this, I may be gifted with a holy boldness in the truth. I humbly trust that ground has been gradually gained.

22nd. To-day, Philadelphia Monthly Meeting at Arch Street. I laid my concern before Friends for visiting their families, which was acceded to. Only one opposing voice. Five family sittings since. I have felt much peace in having

taken this further step with Friends; and it is evident that, through mercy, my way is opening among them.

Second day evening, 3rd mo., 5th. [After attending the Quarterly Meeting at Burlington.] The visit to Burlington was an occasion of encouragement and comfort. It is delightful to enlarge the boundaries of gospel fellowship. Rebecca Grellet, John Cox, Susan Smith and her children, Julia Clarke, and Abigail Barker, with many others, were then added to my list of Friends, known and loved. We returned as we came, by the rail-car and ice-boat, on fourth day morning, and pursued our family visits with quiet diligence during the remainder of the week. Yesterday was a favoured day. Something like the closing of the commission at the North meeting in the morning; a very searching time, but I trust the power of the Lord accompanied the word. To-day, we have been again quietly pursuing our visits. My mind, through adorable mercy, is clothed with much peaceful quiet. Can I be too thankful?

3rd mo., 16th. Deep and close are the exercises of mind which have fallen to my lot since the last entry. Seventh day last, spent in calls, &c., was a very happy one; sweet was the flow of peace after the conclusion of the northern visits. First day, one of much conflict and exercise; opened my commission at Arch street in the morning. At Orange street in the afternoon, much in the cross; a few faithful sentences respecting not limiting the anointing either in ourselves or others. Very large evening meeting, in which Christ, the Word of God, in his several gracious offices, was largely preached.

The family visit in Arch street, with dear Thomas Stewardson as a companion and elder, has hitherto sped well; though the work has been very humbling. Good meeting yesterday; my subject, "the practical fruits of true Christianity." On the whole, I am thankful and cheered; blessed be the name of the Lord. Now for the deep and watchful indwelling in Christ!

3rd mo., 25th. On fourth day I attended the Western Monthly Meeting. Many Friends, not of the district, were also there. It was a weighty time. I was much engaged in

ministry. "There is a middle path which is the way of safety; and there is a middle path which is the way to death." My concern to visit the families was warmly united with.

30*th*. *Seventh day noon*. I am favoured to end my arduous labours in Arch Street District in peace, with a good sitting at Samuel Bettle's. The public meeting last night was very searching and solemn.

4*th mo*., 3*rd*. Arrived at my dear aged friend Thomas Wistar's, at ten o'clock yesterday; and we have spent two days together in family visiting, (in the Western District,) I hope and believe satisfactorily. Great watchfulness and weightiness of spirit are surely required in this work!

First day evening, 8*th*. The meeting with the young people this evening very large. I was led to unfold the doctrine and discipline of the cross, as it applies both to worship and conduct. I never get on so comfortably in religious service, as when I have no anticipation whatever in my own mind of its nature. This pointing of previous exercise cannot, as I well know, always be avoided; yet it is much more consoling and refreshing to my own spirit when the concern comes upon me, as it did this morning, at the instant. I wish to be preserved from anticipatory exercise as far as possible, and (to adopt an old Friend's image) "go to meeting as a blank sheet."

4*th mo*., 16*th*. Since the last entry I have been favoured to realize divine help, from day to day, through no small variety and depth of exercise of mind. I have abundant cause for gratitude in the retrospect of the Western family visit. A large public meeting on sixth day evening, very relieving. The Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders, on seventh day, a time of close exercise of mind. I am very thankful for close unity with such men as Stephen Grellet and John Cox. And, under the difficulties and discouragements which still remain, I desire to be very meek, quiet, patient, fearless in the Lord. My mind is remarkably tranquil.

4*th mo*., 22*nd*. Great are thy mercies, O Lord; my soul desires to commemorate them with humble gratitude. The week has been passed through wonderfully; and I am at

ease and peace, ready to praise my God and Saviour. The first sitting of the Yearly Meeting was very trying, from the manifestations of a hard, over-bearing spirit; but, from that time, truth and liberty began to arise and spread. The several sittings were large — larger than known since the Hicksite separation, and increased towards the end. I was twice engaged in solemn prayer; and in the last sitting, particularly, was somewhat enlarged in preaching. I also clearly unfolded my views of American Slavery, and paid a visit to the women's meeting, where there was evidently a very open door for service.

4th mo., 29*th.* Since the last entry I have been chiefly at Thomas Wistar's, engaged in finishing the Western family visit; also attending in succession the Northern, Western, and Arch street Monthly Meetings, and delivering in the reports of my visits. The elders who accompanied me bore strong testimony in favour of them; and the respective meetings were times of great solemnity.

5th mo., 12*th.* On second day, [Philadelphia,] Quarterly Meeting. In the evening, laid before the men-elders my concern for a concluding young people's meeting; all of them there. I was much exercised in mind, during the hour and a half which they occupied in discussing the proposition, fearing lest I had involved myself and the cause in difficulty; but notwithstanding the strong opposition from a particular quarter, it was decided that the meeting should be held. This result afforded me great relief; and I afterwards spent a cheerful evening at Moses Brown's, with the Wistar family. Third day, visit to the penitentiary, which is admirable; good meeting in one corridor; visit to the alms-house in the afternoon; good meeting there. Fourth day, to Germantown, (Abington Select Quarterly Meeting,) which passed off pretty well. Spent the afternoon at Deborah Logan's old mansion, built by James Logan, William Penn's secretary. Public meeting in the evening at Germantown, much crowded. Fifth day, Abington Quarterly Meeting; larger than I expected. I was much engaged in the meeting for worship. In the subsequent meeting, leave to open the shutters (to unite men

and women in a closing opportunity) was refused; the first instance of the actual obstruction of a religious service which has ever occurred to me. I have desired that, in the humiliation of self, it may operate beneficially. Sixth day, visit to the president and directors of the bank of the United States; inspection of the mint. Two meetings at the Moyamensing prison in the afternoon; and in the evening, the farewell meeting of young people; very large, solemn, and relieving. "We preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord, and ourselves your servants, for Jesus' sake." This morning, breakfast with J. Vaughan, at the Philosophical Rooms; met Duponceau, the president, a lawyer and linguist of rare attainments. Since, many calls; and now I am once more at B. Cooper's peaceful country residence, in a good degree of peace and comfort. "Bless the Lord, O my soul!"

After describing a round of country meetings, in which he was accompanied by his friend Israel W. Morris, and in one or two of which he met with some trial, he writes:—

5th mo., 21*st.* * * Where influential persons are watching for one's halting, the *life* cannot arise in its fulness, unless the Lord be pleased to put forth pre-eminent power. These are rough things in my course, to which I am little accustomed. I never met with the like before, but I have no doubt they are permitted for good purposes; and I feel thankful for the humiliation thus allotted me. May I, through infinite mercy, be clothed upon with the integrity, patience, meekness, and quietness of Christ! I have been enjoying a solitary wander of an hour or more—O how deep the solitude of the fields and woods!—and was enabled to pour forth my heart in solemn, fervent prayer for myself and for my children. Much internal tranquillity is, through adorable mercy, my portion.

5th mo., 24*th.* We had an excellent Quarterly Meeting at Concord, notwithstanding all discouragements; and my visit and services were recorded as satisfactory. Both Israel

Morris and I feel that the Lord has dealt very graciously with us. I am on my return to Philadelphia, with the prospect of leaving it to-morrow in peace.

Whilst in Philadelphia and its neighbourhood, Joseph John Gurney took the opportunity of visiting several of the hospitals, prisons, and other public institutions. He was particularly interested with the Eastern Penitentiary, in which he found the separate system of prison discipline "admirably conducted" under the care of Samuel Wood. In his letters he also alludes with much pleasure to his visits to the schools at West-town and Haverford.

"The former is situated," to use his own words, "in a healthy and picturesque part of Chester County. The landscape around it of woods, hills, valleys, and here and there a little stream, is beautiful. Here about 230 of the children of Friends, of both sexes, receive, under judicious care, a guarded and religious education, on a somewhat higher scale than in the public schools belonging to our body at Ackworth and Croydon. The Holy Scriptures are daily read, and the children instructed in their contents. I have every reason to believe that the moral and religious influence of this institution is at once powerful and extensive. * * * *

"A drive of fifteen miles from West-town, across a 'rolling' country of much picturesque beauty, brought us to Haverford, where there has been lately established an academy, or rather college, for the education of an older and more opulent class of lads. Repeatedly, and always with great pleasure, did I visit this institution. At this time there were seventy boys and young men accommodated in the house, which was built for the purpose, pursuing a course of classical and scientific study, under well-qualified teachers. Each of them is provided with a neat little

chamber, in which may be found his Bible, a few other books of his own selection, and the requisite articles of furniture. This separate lodging I hold to be a most important provision for the moral and religious welfare of the young. There was an appearance of order and sobriety to be observed in these young persons, accompanied by an obvious infusion of American independence, which pleased me greatly. In many of the young people whom I saw in different parts of the Union, after they had left this school, I was able clearly to trace the effects of that Christian care, under which they had been placed at Haverford. The beauties of nature are not neglected. The house, which stands on an eminence, is in the midst of a pleasure ground, laid out after the English fashion. The boys had just been raising, among themselves and their friends, a purse of 2000 dollars, which has since been expended on an excellent conservatory. I look back on my visits to both of these seminaries, with peculiar gratification. Long may they flourish for the intellectual and spiritual benefit of our young people!

"During my stay in Philadelphia," he elsewhere remarks, "several circumstances transpired of a public nature, which were by no means calculated to impress me favourably on the subject of democratic institutions, though I am well aware that those of America are not without their great advantages.

"One of these was the want of public virtue manifested in Congress, on the occasion of the fatal duel between Graves and Cilley. These combatants fought with rifles, fired repeatedly, and (as I was informed) drew ten paces nearer to each other at each fire, until poor Cilley, the father of four little children, fell and died. This murderous affair was suffered to pass with impunity; the murmurs in Congress on the subject soon died away; and the members attended the funeral of Cilley, who was, of course, just as guilty as his antagonist, with every mark of respect. It seemed to me that this was partly the result of the general notion, that every citizen of the state is left at almost unlimited liberty to do as he pleases.

"Another circumstance which gave me a similar impression was the combination of a large company, called the "Pre-emption company," to deprive the Indians of the Seneca nation, in New York, of their reserved lands; and, under the pretext of a false and surreptitious treaty with some of their chiefs, to drive them into the western wilderness. Many Friends in Philadelphia have long been zealously engaged in the endeavour to stave off this act of unrighteousness, by personal applications to the officers of state, and other influential persons at Washington; but the corruption of members, who were set upon seizing the property of their neighbours, has prevailed over the simple dictates of justice, and thus this shameless treaty has at length been ratified.

"A third circumstance was the change in the constitution of Pennsylvania, which had at this time just been carried *en masse*, by the votes of a majority of the people. The judicial office was reduced, by this change, to a state of entire dependence on the government and legislature of the day; and, by the introduction of that single word, "white," the whole coloured population, 40,000 in number, were at once deprived of their citizenship. This affecting act of degradation was received by the coloured people with deep sorrow. I was told that a white boy was observed seizing the marbles of a coloured boy in one of the streets, with the words, "you have no rights now." The coloured boy submitted in silence.

"Shortly after my visit to Philadelphia, an event occurred which corresponded in its nature and principle with the circumstances already mentioned; but was of a more frightful and violent character. I mean the conflagration of the Pennsylvania Hall, at the time of the anti-slavery convention, after the assembly had been compelled to leave the room by violent and abusive conduct. The work of destruction was effected by an uncontrolled and uncontrollable assemblage of the people, including many persons dressed like gentlemen. True, indeed, it is, that no small provocatives to popular fury were administered on the occasion by the imprudence of some zealous individuals; but nothing, of course, could, in the least degree, justify this lawless attack,

not only on the personal safety, but on the undoubted civil rights of a respectable part of the community. Nevertheless this tremendous outrage was permitted to pass over with perfect impunity.* The ruins of the hall still present to the view of the stranger a most significant memento, that there is no tyranny so bad as that of a mob; no government so dangerous as that of a self-willed and licentious populace."

Joseph John Gurney left Philadelphia for New York, on the 25th of the 5th month.

"The journey from Philadelphia, of about one hundred miles," he writes, "was the easy occupation of a morning. The time of the Yearly Meeting for this state was come; and Friends were collecting in considerable numbers, not only from the immediate vicinity of the city, but from distant parts of the country; and more than a few from Canada. The followers of Elias Hicks are here the more numerous body, and have taken possession of the large old meeting houses belonging to Friends. Our own meeting was composed of about 1000 persons, men and women, and was very agreeably conducted, the members being much united in their endeavours to maintain the cause of sound primitive Christianity. * *

"There are two large buildings in New York which may be hired for public meetings either of a philanthropic or religious character. The Tabernacle, in Broadway, which is large enough to contain 4000 people; and an old theatre now converted into a chapel, in Chatham street, which is said to hold more than 3000. Meetings for worship were appointed at my request, in each of these buildings successively. These were attended by a multitude of Hicksites as well as Friends and persons of other denominations, and I had reason to believe that the doctrines of Christianity, as plainly unfolded in the New Testament, were then listened to with attention and good will, by many who had been accustomed to neglect or oppose them. I have no doubt that religion, under various administrations, is bearing with great force

* The County subsequently paid for all damages done by the mob.

on the stirring and intelligent population of this great city. * * * *

To recur to his Journal:—

Sixth day; 6th mo., 8th. Last second day morning early, started by steamboat for a voyage up the Hudson for Albany, the seat of the state legislature; the weather fine, the scenery novel and delightful. I greatly enjoyed it, and took several sketches; arrived at Dr. Sprague's in the evening, and met a cordial reception. Third day, spent with him at Albany, much to my satisfaction; the day ended with a good public meeting, in which the ever blessed truth was freely proclaimed. Fourth day, returned to New York; a wet stormy day; spent the evening at Henry Hinsdale's. We took boat on fifth day evening, (H. Hinsdale and myself, with Richard Mott and many other Friends,) for Newport, in Rhode Island, a voyage of 200 miles up Long Island sound, round Point Judith, &c. We were favoured with a fine voyage, and reached Mary Williams's comfortable boarding house this morning, at an early hour before breakfast. The sunny fresh morning, the bays of the sea, the harbour, the billows in which I have been bathing, a drive with Charles Jenkins in his chaise, have all been very pleasant, and my mind has been much clothed with quietness and peace.

After attending, at Newport, the Yearly Meeting of Friends in New England, he writes:—

6th mo., 16th. I look back on the week, now drawing to its close, with a degree of humble gratitude. There have been times when I could indeed say, "I am desolate and afflicted," but the spring of divine love and power has arisen from season to season; and the glorious truth has been in good dominion during the course of the Yearly Meeting, and at its close yesterday morning. There seems a good work going on among the young people in these parts; many of them are interesting and intelligent.

"At Newport," he observes in one of his letters, "I had the opportunity of making the acquaintance of Judge Story, who was presiding over the circuit court of the United States, then in session at that place. I called upon him at his lodgings, and was received with that easy urbanity which distinguishes the public men of America. His manners and appearance are remarkably lively, his conversation fluent, his information varied and extensive, and his legal lore almost unrivalled on this side the Atlantic. He invited me to take a seat by him on the bench; but although my stay did not allow of my accepting his offer, the short time which I spent in his court, afforded me an evidence of his good sense and acuteness in his capacity of a judge. He was then engaged in trying a case of mutiny, which had occurred among the seamen of an American merchantman. We could not wait the issue of the trial."

The journey from Newport to Providence, by a somewhat circuitous route, occupied about a week.

"On our way," he writes, "We called upon another celebrated citizen of New England, Dr. Channing, who resides during the summer months in a sequestered villa, on the island of Rhode Island. The place is embosomed in trees, and the garden is carefully laid out in green walks and flower beds like those of England.

"He is a man of slender frame and small stature; his countenance as completely intellectual as any I know. His manners, in the first instance, appeared to me to be reserved, but he soon became free and animated, when we conversed on the subject of slavery. Every one knows that his pen is distinguished for felicitous vigour. His expressive portraits of John Milton and Napoleon Bonaparte are well known in England; and his useful little work on the internal evidences of Christianity, might lead one to suppose that the leaning of his mind is in favour of evangelical truth. His pamphlets on slavery, on the annexation of Texas to the Union, and now lastly, on emancipation, are full of just sentiments, expressed

in a lively, pointed, and spirited style. Most heartily do I desire that he may at last find his rest in the fulness which is in Christ."

Providence, 6*th mo.*, 25*th.* The round of meetings allotted for last week has been well got through. It was an interesting journey, and through an interesting country. The meeting at Providence crowned the whole, so that I have much cause for reverent gratitude; and further letters from my dearest children, up to the 30th of 5th mo., are decidedly comforting. We were favoured with help from the sanctuary yesterday, both in our morning meeting, and in a very large public one in the Baptist House in the evening; in which the Evidences of Christianity and the Divinity of our Saviour were much before me. It was one of the most favoured public meetings which I have held in America; Dr. Wayland, the President of the College, the professors, clergy, &c., were there. My writings are popular among them, and I appear to be personally so; but the Lord is laying me low, even in the dust. I am about to hold a meeting with the students this evening, and have appointed a third public meeting for to-morrow. May I be graciously helped with that outpouring of the Lord's anointing, to which I bear such frequent testimony, and which such occasions so peculiarly require.

New Bedford, 7*th mo.*, 1*st.* The meeting with the students at the college, after a tea visit at Dr. Wayland's, ended well. It was given to me to lead them to the internal evidence and practical bearing of Christianity. I was afterwards informed, that a considerable impression was made on them. On third day, a precious visit to John and Elizabeth Meader, in the country; afterwards a truly baptizing meeting at Providence institution—the Friends' boarding school, which is admirably planted, but lacks more pupils. I returned thither in the afternoon, for a talk with the children, and established the Ackworth plan of scripture instruction. In the evening, another large public meeting at the Baptist House, which was,

to my own feelings, inexpressibly solemn. The president, professors, &c., united with many Friends in a party at William Jenkins' the next evening; when, in the course of conversation, to which the party listened with lively attention, I was enabled to unfold the doctrine of the anointing; we afterwards read a Psalm, and Anna Jenkins prayed.

Sixth day. A touching parting sitting with the Jenkins' family, at the late William Almy's mansion, and a truly solemn parting meeting with Friends, at eleven o'clock. Dr. Wayland, and many others not of our Society, present. A quiet steamboat voyage of thirty miles refreshed me a good deal in the afternoon, and brought me to Fall River, in time for a public meeting, which was well attended, but rather overwhelming to my own spirit.

Yesterday, seventh day; I called on a few families; held two good meetings at Newtown; and arrived at my very pleasant home (George Howland's) at New Bedford, last evening. Here peace has been spread over me, a most acceptable and timely "token for good."

Nantucket, 7th mo., 4th. Somewhat strange is the feeling of being on this island so often heard and read of, so entirely out of the way of my own things and people. Yesterday, we were favoured with a safe and agreeable voyage by steamer, to this place. Friends are still numerous here. Some interesting calls last evening, and a bird's-eye view of the town and island from a church steeple; the weather of the hottest. My mind has been mercifully favoured with tranquillity, though I do not feel matters to be altogether smooth or flowing. "The Lord is my light and my salvation, whom shall I fear?"

7th mo., 7th. On fourth day, meeting for ministers and elders at Nantucket, some painful exercise in consequence of the state of things. The Quarterly Meeting large and interesting. R. Mott's ministry a great enjoyment to me, lively and Christian indeed! In the evening a large public meeting, and so relieving, that I was set quite at liberty (in tender mercy) for returning, yesterday morning, to New Bedford, by steamboat. We were favoured with a fine voyage. A

precious concluding opportunity with R. Mott, at John Howland's last evening.

Joseph John Gurney continued for several weeks to be engaged in a course of religious labour in the state of Massachusetts. In allusion to the various opinions prevalent in New England, he remarks:—

The Unitarians chiefly consist of the more refined and educated classes. They appeared to me to form in Massachusetts an aristocratic caste, quite as much as a religious sect; as if it were inconsistent with the claims of polished intellect, and especially with the functions of public life, (to which many of them are devoted,) to be trammelled by what *they* regard as the superstitions of orthodoxy. As to Universalism, it may be described as a sort of heretical Methodism, in which an appeal is made, with no small measure of success, to a less cultivated part of the community. I have reason to believe that many low free-thinkers are embraced in this sect; and I fear that the leading tenet on which they are accustomed to dwell is spreading among the people. It is that the doctrine of eternal punishment forms no part of Christianity; that good and bad will all be ultimately saved. Thus the scriptural view of human responsibility is dangerously undermined, and the foundation of Christian morals shaken. Amongst too many the very notion of retributive justice in a world to come seems to be discarded, and the evil passions of human nature are let loose in proportion. The diffusion of this line of sentiment is one of the worst features of the present state of society in New England.

On some other topics also there has arisen, of late years, an uncontrolled wildness of sentiment, which, were it to prevail, would soon be found to be utterly inconsistent with the fundamental principles of civil, social, and domestic order. When male and female itinerant lecturers are heard declaring that women have, in all respects, the same civil and political

rights and duties as the stronger sex — that no resistance ought to be made. even by peaceable legal proceedings, to the violence of the thief or the murderer—that no allegiance is due from the Christian to any civil government whatsoever—that children are at liberty to follow their own courses, and that it is unlawful for a parent to punish them—that wives and husbands may lawfully separate, when they are weary of each other's society — and that the agrarian law of olden times ought now to remodel the whole affair of property,—when all these anomalous ideas are let loose, each in its turn, on an imaginative public, one cannot but tremble in the view of the consequences. One is brought home more than ever to the conclusion, that "it is not in man that walketh to direct his steps:" that, unless he comes under the restraining influence of Christian principle, the imaginations of his heart will be only evil continually in the sight of God. * * *

In the houses which I visited in New England, I seldom met with any kind of fermented liquor; and it was evident that the practice of abstaining from all such beverages was increasingly prevalent throughout the more thoughtful part of the community. The air in those regions is so stimulating, that I found little difficulty in falling into the general practice; and cordially did I rejoice in the temperate habits which distinguish so large a proportion of the rising generation in America. But I confess I had no pleasure in observing the social cup of tea or coffee exchanged for the glass of cold water; and I was really grieved when I saw fine young people, of both sexes, undermining their constitutions, (as I believe,) by resolutely restricting their diet to vegetables. It seems to be one of the favourite devices of the great adversary of mankind, to accompany every virtue with its shadow in caricature, for the purpose, I suppose, of turning the virtue itself into ridicule, and of thus diminishing its legitimate influence.

Lynn, Massachusetts, 7th mo., 15th. [After noticing meetings at several places.] Yesterday an interesting journey to this place; stopped for a few hours at Boston, of which we had a magnificent view from the top of the state house.

Another week's labour has been, through great mercy, comfortably accomplished. I trust my mind is grateful to the bountiful Author of all good, and especially for that measure of precious and holy quietness which is my portion this morning. O may the Lord condescend to permit its continuance!

Fourth day morning, 18*th*. I found myself bound to a family visit, [to Friends of Lynn and Salem,] and proposed it to Friends yesterday morning. It met with unanimous concurrence, and we have made a good beginning. Henry Hinsdale my acceptable companion in the work.

Salem, fifth day afternoon, 7*th mo.*, 26*th*. I hope that, so far, the week has brought some blessings in its course. The family visiting continued satisfactorily on second and third days; and on third day evening we collected a numerous assemblage of young people and others, to whom I related anecdotes, leading them to the principles of Friends. It was a refreshing evening. Yesterday, the usual meeting for worship was public, and attended by Friends in a large body. It was a closely exercising, but open time; and I had to unfold the character and the danger of the divers and strange doctrines, religious, moral, and civil, which are afloat in America in the present day. I believe considerable impression was made.

7*th mo.*, 30*th*. Yesterday, public meetings; here in the morning, and at Boston in the evening; the latter peculiarly exercising and fatiguing; but I am mercifully favoured with peace and quietness this morning, and have comfortable letters from home.

The following are some of his reflections on completing his fiftieth year:—

Amherst, New Hampshire, 8*th mo.*, 2*nd*. H. Hinsdale and Samuel Boyce are with me on my way to Weare; and we are stopping at this sweet village for a public meeting this evening. I deeply feel the completion of my half century, only nine years younger than my loved father was when he died. Deep and numerous causes have I of humiliation in looking back on my past life. Satan has done much to perplex, grieve,

and buffet me; and sore, beyond expression, have been the tribulations at times appointed; but the Lord has assuredly been very graciously with me, and has abundantly helped me by his good Spirit. I have been twenty-one years engaged in the ministry of the gospel, and all my works have been written within the last twenty years. I am permitted to look back on these labours of love with a considerable degree of satisfaction and peace; and I "trust I have a good conscience," as to not having intentionally baulked the cause of truth at any time, by not faithfully witnessing for Christ. The very perplexing transactions at Manchester, in regard to the Beacon, often bring me into thoughtfulness; but sure I am, that I did not knowingly let down the precious cause of truth at that time, on either side. I am aware that the seceders say and think hard things of me, but I could not sacrifice the doctrine of the immediate and perceptible guidance of the Spirit, as I think they have done, practically. That precious doctrine has since been abundantly confirmed to my feelings and experience; and truly in this land it has been my constant refuge. It is my quietly settled, and deliberate desire and intention, to devote the remainder of my days, be it shorter or longer, to the service of my holy and ever-blessed Redeemer; fixing my eye singly on him, without undue reference, in any direction, to my fellow-men.

The present separation from my son and daughter, so deeply, so truly loved, is a trial of faith and patience, such as has never before fallen to my lot. But my mind is at this time quiet, in the believing hope that they and their pilgrim father will be preserved, and that this trial will have a happy issue.

Thus the termination of my fiftieth year finds me calm, quiet in spirit, though in no small degree broken before the Lord. Notwithstanding the deep infirmities to which I am liable, I believe it is not too much to say, that through infinite mercy, I feel a peaceful assurance that the Lord will preserve me, give me the victory over all my spiritual enemies, guide me with his counsel, and afterwards receive me, yes, *even me*, to glory! Be it so, most gracious God and Father, I humbly entreat thee for Jesus Christ's sake.

CHAPTER XXXII.

1838. ÆT. 51.

VISIT TO THE SEMINARY AT ANDOVER; CONVERSATION WITH MOSES STUART; ANTI-SLAVERY; YALE COLLEGE; PROFESSOR SILLIMAN; JOURNEY TO CANADA; CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE EARL OF DURHAM; ENGAGEMENTS IN LOWER CANADA; RETURN TO BALTIMORE YEARLY MEETING; VISIT TO FRIENDS AT NEW YORK; EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS AND JOURNAL.

On his way to Amherst, Joseph John Gurney paid a visit to the well-known Theological Seminary at Andover, where he enjoyed a few hours' conversation with the late Moses Stuart, some particulars of which he has preserved in the following letter:

TO HIS SISTER CATHERINE GURNEY.

Amherst, New Hampshire, 8th mo., 2nd, 1838.

My dearest Catherine,

One sometimes arrives at a deep pause in life, as if its pulse stood still; and this is my experience this afternoon, at a neat country village, where I am stayed in my course, for a few hours, in order to hold a public meeting. It is an afternoon of bright sunshine without, (and sunshine in this country is doubly bright, from the transparency of the atmosphere,) and of solemn gravity within; not without a touch of happiness, on the accomplishment, this day, of half a century spent in this vale of tears. * * *

My last letter was forwarded on second day from Salem, a

large town on the sea-coast of Massachusetts. I completed my family visit there on third day, and concluded with two successive meetings in the evening; the first, a familiar one in a Friend's house, with the young people, to whom I related anecdotes of our sister Fry, Wilberforce, Legh Richmond, and Daniel Wheeler, by way of illustrating the important consequences of *individual conversion to God*. Afterwards a public meeting was held, attended by a large and miscellaneous assembly, including the ministers of the various sects, and the intelligent aristocracy of the city. It was one of those *worth-while* meetings, which repay for a great deal of mental conflict. A full development of truth, addressed to both head and heart, was peculiarly wanted in the place, and was listened to with profound attention. The silence at the close of the meeting was remarkable. On fourth day morning I enjoyed a farewell swim in the sea-water, and afterwards visited the Museum, which contains a celebrated collection of East India and other tropical rarities, contributed by the merchants and sailors of the place; no person being admitted a member of the institution who has not sailed round the Cape of Good Hope, or Cape Horn. Warm affection had been excited towards me among the Friends of the place, some of whom are very pleasing and interesting, especially the Chase family, who had provided most kindly for my every want. Thus our parting was a good deal felt when I went off to Andover, the seat of a theological seminary, open to all Protestants. Here the celebrated professor, Moses Stuart, (who re-published my book on the Sabbath, with a preface and notes,) has for many years carried on his almost unrivalled Biblical researches. He is a man of sixty or upwards; of singular cordiality and simplicity of manners; and pours out his information in a most agreeable way. I held a meeting in the evening with the president, Dr. Edwards, the professors, and upwards of one hundred young men. It was to my feelings an unusually critical occasion; the discourse into which I found myself led being a mixture of science, literature, and religion; the subordination of the two former to the last being the subject before me. I was mercifully helped through the service, and the meeting

ended in a very refreshing and impressive silence. Visits to the colleges or universities of America form an interesting part of my present engagement, and I had a decided view to them before I left England. I have now held meetings in three of them, and hope to find my way, in due season, to several others. With the single exception of Cambridge, near Boston, which is under Unitarian sway, they may be regarded as Christian and religious institutions. I had heard of neology in them before I came; but have not, as yet, found any trace of it. Nearly every tenth man educated at Andover becomes a missionary to the heathen.

I must now try to give some account of Moses Stuart's conversation, which I consider to be worth preserving, as a part of my journal. We were sitting together under the shade of some fine elms, in front of our hotel, he being a person with whom one feels immediately at ease. Knowing him to be deeply versed in German theological literature, I asked him whether neology was on the increase or decrease in Germany.

"Decidedly decreasing; and it is a curious circumstance, that the profound researches of their infidel critics have led to the development of many facts which confirm the evidences of the Divine authority of Scripture, and illustrate and establish an orthodox interpretation of its contents. Many valuable commentaries have lately been published by the industrious and learned Germans, which throw great light on Scripture, and in the right direction. To be sure, the Germans are prone to take an occasional flight into the air; and this is the case even with the soundest of their theologians. They plod through the mud with intense diligence; and then by way of change, give wings to imaginative speculations. Their novels are the Arabian Nights' tales renewed, and their theology partakes of the same romance. The sternest fagging is a joyous thing with them. One of their great scholars, who, after the labour of twenty years, has produced the best of Greek Lexicons, observes at the end of his work, that he might be expected then to recur to the intense labours which he had undergone, the unrivalled tax on his patience, &c.; but all he could say with truth was, that while he was engaged

in the composition of his Lexicon, he had been swimming for twenty years in an ocean of pleasure."

What dost thou think of Kuinoël and Rosenmüller's Commentaries on the New Testament, as books to be used by young men?

"Young men require the judicious care of a good tutor in the use of these books, although, as you know, the writers are essentially orthodox; but in giving instruction to my theological students, I make use of no reserves. I freely inform them of any neological objections to Scripture, and explain to them how they are met."

Dost thou not find that the sceptical doubt sometimes lays hold of the mind, instead of the answer to it?

"I find about one student in fifteen, who has five doubts to one reason; but on the whole, my method answers well. I am careful to do no harm."

What is thy opinion of Neander's Church History?

"He is a great writer; but not always perfectly sound in his views! for example, he denies the validity of the Christian Sabbath. He unfolds his subjects with great exactness; my students call him, in joke, Dr. Entwickelung, Dr. development."

Is Hebrew much studied in America?

"All the students at Andover study both the Hebrew Bible and the Greek Testament as a matter of course. As an evidence of the general attention paid to Hebrew by theological students in America, my Hebrew Grammar has gone through six editions. I have lately been engaged in a controversy with Dr. Norton, a Unitarian divine, who has published a very excellent book on the four Gospels, but pretends that the Gospel of Matthew was originally written in Hebrew, and that our Greek copy is only a translation. I consider this notion to be disproved by the Peshito Syriac version, the date of which may now be regarded as ascertained to be somewhat before the middle of the second century. I have lately compared it, word by word, with the Greek of the Gospel of Matthew; and the correspondence, even with respect to the smallest particles, is so perfect, as to afford a

demonstration that it was the Greek, as we now have it, and not any supposed Hebrew copy, from which the translation was made. It was therefore the Greek, and not the Hebrew Matthew that was current in those primitive times."

What part of Scripture is now occupying thy attention?

"I am now lecturing on the Apocalypse; and, at the earnest request of my pupils, am intending to publish a work on the criticism of that book. The book interests and delights me more than I can express. Not that I have any taste for speculations on unfulfilled prophecy. ——— was here some time since, giving proofs, as he called them, from the Hebrew Scriptures, that the Jews would return in a body to re-possess the land of Canaan, and that Christ would come to reign over them in person, in the year 1860. Nothing could be more puerile and inconclusive than his arguments. I see nothing in Scripture to warrant the opinion that our Saviour will come again to reign personally upon the earth."

That surely is a Jewish notion?

"Yes, indeed it is. With respect to the Revelation, it has been said, by persons who wish to disparage its claims to authenticity, that there are no books of that peculiar style which belong to the first century. The more I have examined this point, the more I have discovered the fallacy of the assertion. The Book of Enoch, the Epistle of Barnabas, the Shepherd of Hermas, the Vision of Isaiah, with many others, are all of the same class in point of style and construction, and were all written in the first century; and yet they fall immeasurably below the Revelation in point of weight and excellence. There is nothing, in my opinion, that more clearly evinces the apostolic origin of the four Gospels, than the comparison of those writings with the spurious Gospels which followed them. So nothing can more clearly establish the authenticity and scriptural character of the Revelation, than a comparison of its contents with those of the unspeakably inferior productions of the same kind, which were circulated even in the first century. The apostolic date of the book is capable of being proved beyond the shadow of

a doubt. The only question which can fairly be raised respecting it, is whether it was composed by John the apostle, or by *some other John;* but for my part, I have no idea that there was any John in the first century, except the apostle, who could have addressed the seven churches of Asia, as they are addressed in the Apocalypse."

Art thou acquainted with Dr. Mede's work on the Revelation?

"I have him by me; but I consider Mede, and *id genus omne*, essentially mistaken in the plan of their *exegesis.* They attempt to explain every successive conflict described in the book, as relating to some particular event in history; but I consider these descriptions *generic;* a succession of pictures, intended to represent that one great conflict between Christ and his enemies, which will finally result in the absolute triumph of the religion of Jesus. As a key to the exegesis of Revelation, I refer my students to the 18th Psalm, which David wrote in his old age, in commemoration of all his victories and deliverances. He probably won 100 battles. A tyro in sacred literature might interpret the lively picture presented to us in the Psalm, to be the representation of some particular battle, and might so interpret it; but the picture is generic, and equally relates to the 99 others. The Apocalypse was written for the encouragement of the martyrs, and doubtless during some noted persecution. I believe during the persecution of Nero, which was before the siege of Jerusalem. The whole tendency of the book is to arm their courage, confirm their patience, and animate their hopes. It cheers them with a description of the happiness of their associates, who had already bled in the cause, and with a promise of a part in the first resurrection; and brings to view the final victory of their religion over the two great persecuting powers—the Jews, described under the name of spiritual Sodom—and the Romans, under that of Babylon."

Then has Babylon, after all, nothing to do with Popery?

"Yes, I think it includes Papal Rome, and her persecutors."

Is your theological seminary well endowed?

"It has been endowed by individuals to the extent of 400,000 dollars; but such institutions are springing up in

other parts of the Union, and its operations are now confined chiefly to Massachusetts. We have sometimes 140 students."

Thou art a Congregationalist, I think; or, as we say in England, an Independent?

"Yes, but we have more of a regular church government than the Independents in England. We also send a deputy to represent us in the Synod of the Presbyterians, but merely as an act of brotherhood."

Now, Professor, the carriage waits, I must leave thee.

"Well," said he, shaking hands warmly, "you know there is but one Lord, one faith, one baptism." The baptism of the Holy Ghost, I replied. "Yes, to be sure," he added, "I do not think much of any other;" and so we parted, in much love.

Having pursued his journey from Amherst, by way of Weare, to Concord, the capital of New Hampshire, where, besides holding a meeting for worship, he had an interview with the prisoners in the State Penitentiary, Joseph John Gurney returned into Massachusetts, holding large meetings on his way at the "busy manufacturing towns" of Nashua and Lowell, both on the Merrimac. In allusion to the Monthly Meeting of Friends at Lynn, which he subsequently attended, he writes in one of his letters:—

A lively discussion arose on a question by which the Friends of New England have been a good deal agitated, whether it was desirable that the members of our religious Society, and especially the young people, should join the public anti-slavery associations of the day, or whether it was not preferable that Friends should pursue their own course of duty, in promoting the abolition of slavery, in their select capacity, as a distinct religious body. Several individuals eagerly advocated a union with the public associations, but

the generality were in favour of the more prudential line of conduct in this respect. Stranger as I was, I took no part in the discussion, with which it did not appear to be my province to intermeddle; but I plainly saw that it was one of considerable difficulty and perplexity. On the one hand, I was fully prepared to admit the rectitude of the general principle of the union of Christians of all denominations in the pursuit of philanthropic objects which compromise the principles of none of them. On the other hand, it was impossible for me not to perceive that the public movement in this cause in New England, was intermingled with collateral points and circumstances dangerous to the character of the Christian and the Friend. I believed, therefore, that it was my duty to call upon all present, to seek after that depth and maturity of religious experience, and that humility, meekness, and forbearance, in which alone our most interesting concerns, whether public or private, can be rightly conducted. I also expressed on this, and on many other occasions, a heartfelt solicitude that the difficulties which impeded the union of many Friends in the public abolition movement, might not lead them into any coolness or indifference of feeling, on a subject respecting which the Society had so long borne a conspicuous Christian testimony; and that all might be watchful to perform their religious duty in reference to this vital topic; and move forward in the cause of justice and mercy, as the Lord and giver of truth might be pleased to guide them and open their way.

From Lynn Joseph John Gurney proceeded to Newhaven, in Connecticut; his principal object being a visit to the students of the University in that place. This University, the largest in America, was founded in the year 1700, and has long maintained a high reputation. On his way he passed through Worcester in Massachusetts, where the Lunatic Asylum especially attracted his notice; an institution, he says, "in every way creditable to that

State." It was night, at the close of the week when he and his companion arrived at New Haven, 8th mo., 11th.

"Late as was the hour," he writes, "I called at the house of Dr. Jeremiah Day, the president of Yale College, with a letter of introduction from the professor of Theology at Andover. The president had retired to rest, and his lady requested me, if I wished to make an arrangement with him, to call the next morning before the college prayers, which are at half-past five. Such are the early hours of the presidents and students of American colleges. Accordingly, at the appointed time I presented myself to the president in his college rooms, and told him of my wish to hold a meeting with the students in the evening. He is an elderly gentleman of pleasing appearance and grave manners. I remembered that Connecticut had long been celebrated for a greater degree of puritanical strictness, than any other state of the Union, and did not feel sure that the application was the more acceptable for coming from a minister of the Society of Friends. The Doctor, however, after a little consideration, allowed the meeting to be appointed, and proposed that it should be held in the 'theological chamber,' at eight o'clock in the evening. In the mean time we were closely engaged during the day; our own meeting being held in the morning with a few friends who met us from New York, in one of the chambers of the hotel, and the public being convened, at our request, at the Methodist meeting-house in the afternoon. In the course of the day we called on Professor Silliman, whose assistance we needed, with respect to some of our arrangements for the evening. He lives in a beautiful spot on the outskirts of the city, where he received us with great cordiality. He holds the first position amongst the men of science in America, and has all the appearance of strong sense and ready talent. I thought he would class well with the Jamiesons, Whewells, and Sedgwicks of Great Britain. He is greatly beloved and respected by the students, and happily unites the two characters of the philosopher and the Christian.

"At the appointed hour we repaired, not without feelings of fear and diffidence, to the theological chamber at the college, which was soon nearly filled with young men who came flocking to the meeting. Their respectable president joined our company, which soon gathered into silence, and we were favoured with a time of great solemnity and refreshment. We were reminded of our Saviour's words, 'One thing is needful.' To lay hold of that one thing, to become possessed of the pearl of greatest price, seemed to be the desire of most, if not all present. At the conclusion of the meeting the students overflowed with kind feelings towards us; and if the president had appeared somewhat reserved in the morning, he did not now hesitate to express his cordial good will. His government of the college, which contains upwards of 400 students, is said to be distinguished for ability and prudence, and he is greatly respected by the young community under his care."

Being desirous, if possible, of visiting Canada, taking the states of New Hampshire and Maine on the way, before the Yearly Meeting at Baltimore in the 11th month, Joseph John Gurney's stay in Connecticut was very short.

Seventh day, 8*th mo.*, 18*th.* [Last second day our] journey began at three o'clock in the morning, from New Haven to Northampton; call on Lydia Sigourney; delightful drive by the Connecticut river; kind reception from Judge Dewey, at Northampton; lodged at his house. Next day, (third day) very interesting visit to Professor Hitchcock, and to the young men of Amherst college; and a pretty large public meeting at Northampton. Fourth day. Long journey by stage, railroad, &c., to Lynn, Massachusetts. Fifth day. Large and interesting Quarterly Meeting, in which I was much engaged on the true nature of charity. Yesterday we were employed, successfully I hope, for the prevention of discord; and, in the evening, we held a peaceful public meeting at

Nahant. We left Lynn before breakfast, for Salem, where we were favoured with a good religious opportunity with the Chase family circle, and others. My arduous service in those parts is now concluded, and I am permitted to enjoy the tranquil feeling of unclouded peace. What a rich and undeserved mercy!

I have now a long and varied journey before me, and scarcely know whither I may be led. I feel the deep obscurity of the future, but am in some degree enabled to lie quietly in the arms of infinite wisdom, strength, and mercy.

After various engagements in New Hampshire and Maine, Joseph John Gurney set out from Augusta, in the latter state, on his way towards Canada, on the 22nd of the ninth month.

Our route, (says he, in one of his letters,) lay by the side of the beautiful Kennebeck, and the first day's journey was of fifty miles, to a picturesque village called Anson. Here the stage rested for the Sabbath—a circumstance very agreeable to ourselves, and an example which might be followed with great advantage in our own country. To us it was a day of peace and quietness. Several Friends came from a great distance to sit down with us in our morning worship. In the afternoon the public were assembled, and some romantic rocks over a tumbling stream afforded me, in the interim, a grateful opportunity for solitary reflection. At so great a distance from my home, and now about to enter on a new region, and on fresh scenes of interest and duty, I could not but feel my situation very seriously; and it was delightful to remember that no distance or difference of circumstance can divide the love and fellowship of those who are endeavouring, however weakly, to serve the Lord.

Having arrived at Quebec, he writes:—

9th mo., 29*th*. The journey, from Anson to this place, was one which I shall not soon forget; some difficulties in it; but

all well surmounted by time and patience. Second day, from Anson to the forks of Kennebeck, where we held a little meeting. Third day, to Hylton's, near the Canada line, where we were sadly disappointed by the failure of the regular mail conveyance, which had brought us so far; but a one-horse waggon conveyed us a tedious day's journey of twenty-eight miles, to Cathcarts; and thence, a two-horse waggon, (a great prize,) on fifth day, sixty-six miles, to Point Levi, opposite to Quebec. We crossed the noble St. Lawrence before breakfast on sixth day, and have since passed two days of no small interest. Pleasant acquaintance formed with Dr. Cook, of the Presbyterian Church; and a meeting held last evening in the Methodist House, which was a very good one. To-day, breakfasted with Dr. Cook, and visited the Jail; the men and women prisoners, (far too numerous and not at all classified) were separately addressed, and appeared attentive.

Canada was then in a very disturbed state, and Joseph John Gurney believed it his duty to seek an interview with the late Earl of Durham, at that time the Governor General, with whom he had a slight previous acquaintance; in the hope of inducing him, if possible, to remain in a position in which his great talents and enlightened views were likely to be eminently serviceable at this critical juncture.

"He received me," says Joseph John Gurney, "with much kindness, and I afterwards dined and spent the evening with him, his lady, and family. I had a great deal of conversation with him of a highly interesting character, and was much struck with his extensive information and superior talents. Though I had no reason to suppose that he agreed with me in my view of the paramount importance of evangelical religion, it was evident that he was a person of conscientious feeling, impressed with a lively sense of a superintending providence; and full of good designs for the intellectual and civil improve-

ment of the people under his care. His government was steady, calm, and peaceable; and, as I have every reason to believe, impartial. Certainly he was called to rule in troublous times; for nothing then could be more uneasy than the juxtaposition of the two races which composed the population of Lower Canada. Lord Durham was utterly opposed to the shedding of blood, by the hand either of the soldier or of the executioner. He had put a stop to capital punishments in Upper Canada; and, above all, he was daily manifesting to the citizens of the United States, that liberal and kindly feeling, and that just appreciation of their character and circumstances, which greatly tended to the removal of misunderstandings, and to the insuring of permanent peace between the two nations. Nothing could appear more ill-timed than the differences which had just taken place between himself and the British Parliament. He seemed to be extremely chagrined; and not less mortified and disappointed were many enlightened members of the community under his care, of both parties. I believed it right to devote several hours to the object of laying before him, in writing, the reasons why I thought he ought to refrain from giving up his government.

TO THE EARL OF DURHAM.

Quebec, 9th mo., 30th, 1838.

Secluded as I am from the politics of the world, and engaged in this country on a simple religious errand, I cannot with a safe conscience quit this city, (which I expect to do to-night,) without throwing before thee a few considerations on the point which so closely occupies the public mind here at the present time.

I am strongly convinced that thy retirement from these provinces is likely to be productive of two results—the prevention of great good; and the infliction of greater evil.

From the conversation which has passed between us, I conclude that the improvement of the prisons, the building of hospitals, the suppression of vice by a good police, and the

general education of the people, are all of them objects which occupy thy attention; and to these must be added the far larger points of the softening down of dangerous asperities in the colony, and the strengthening of good feeling between our country and the United States of America, services in which thou hast been already so successful.

With regard to the infliction of evil, the giving up of thy government appears to me to have a strong *tendency* to the renewal of discord, and possibly of open hostilities; and who shall say that in the back ground may not lie one of the worst political calamities which could befall the civilized world, war between Great Britain and the United States of America?

Wilt thou kindly excuse my freedom, when I remark that no personal considerations, or views of etiquette, however fortified they may be by custom, seem to be sufficient to justify a course which may probably lead to such results? I know that thou wilt feel that downright *duty* alone can justify it.

* * * *

I am quite sure that the question of moral responsibility in this great affair, must press with vast weight on thy highly conscientious mind, and I trust I do not exceed the bounds of propriety, when I venture to suggest the inquiry, whether, notwithstanding all provocation, the responsibility of his secession, and of its probable consequences, must not be still regarded as resting mainly on the Governor General himself? May the Almighty be pleased to guide thee to such a final decision in the present emergency, as will best promote thy own peace of mind, and the welfare of these provinces! Heartily do I unite in the desire, that an even-handed, bloodless, and efficacious government, may not give place to a merely military rule, and to its various distressing consequences.

With great respect and regard,

I am thy sincere friend,

J. J. GURNEY.

FROM THE EARL OF DURHAM.

Government House, Monday, Oct. 1st, 1838.

DEAR SIR,

Accept my warmest thanks for your kind letter. I can well appreciate the excellent motives which dictated it. Rest assured that if I saw within my reach any means here of doing good, no personal feelings would induce me to quit this country. But, I am sure that the place where alone evil can be prevented and good effected, is the British Parliament.

In Canada, all civil authority is nullified; and I cannot reconcile it to my conscience to govern by military power alone.

Believe me, yours very truly,

DURHAM.

Lord Durham, as is well known, retired from the government of Canada, and returned to England. Subsequent events confirmed Joseph John Gurney in his views as to this step. "I thought I perceived many evidences," he writes, in allusion to it, at a later period, "that the publication of his manly and able report was premature."

From Quebec, he now proceeded up the St. Lawrence to Montreal, with the view of obtaining a convenient passage to Farnham, one of the eastern townships of Lower Canada, where he had been informed that the Monthly Meeting of Friends in that district was about to be held. On his arrival at Montreal, however, he found that the meeting in question was to assemble at Ferrisburg, in the State of Vermont.

"There was no time to be lost," he writes, "and at an hour's notice we were again on our journey. We first availed ourselves of the only railroad in Canada, in order to traverse

a flat wooded country to St. John's, a considerable town on the Richelieu river. Here we took the daily American steamboat, and soon found ourselves on the noble expanse of Lake Champlain. Our voyage was delightful. There are many richly wooded islands on the bosom of this water, and the distant mountains of the state of New York, on the western shore, and of Vermont on the eastern, give a Welsh character to the picture. We arrived at Burlington, in Vermont, at nine o'clock in the evening. The next morning we drove sixteen miles to Ferrisburg, attended the Monthly Meeting, and were afterwards entertained at the dwelling of two aged Friends of a very primitive character, the father and mother of many sons and daughters. We spent two more days in attending some other meetings in the neighbourhood, and, at the close of the week, returned to Burlington.

"This city is the seat of the State University. Here we spent the first day of the week much to our satisfaction. Several Friends from the country joined us in our quiet morning worship at the hotel. In the afternoon a public meeting was held at a neighbouring manufacturing village by the falls of the Winooski; and in the evening a much larger one in the Methodist meeting house in Burlington. We drank tea with Dr. Wheeler, the president of the college, who has travelled much in Europe, and is remarkably well informed. Professor Marsh, the teacher of Moral Philosophy, was also of the company, and spoke in high terms of our late friend Jonathan Dymond's book on Ethics, which I was glad to find in great repute in the seminaries in America. The Americans are not suited by Paley's notions of expediency." * * *

Being still desirous of seeing the Friends in the eastern townships of Lower Canada, Joseph John Gurney again directed his course Northwards.

St. John's, 10*th mo.*, 11*th*. Our visit to Farnham yesterday was remarkably favoured and satisfactory, and seemed to afford ample repayment for the exertion of getting there.

We were cordially received by the very interesting community of Friends; the meeting was largely attended by them and their neighbours, and was a time of much solemnity. After the meeting, Henry Miles introduced the subject of an address to Lord Durham, which was very cordially agreed to and generally signed. In the afternoon, I held another meeting with Friends, in which I had to encourage them warmly, in the faithful maintenance of their testimonies and religious standing; which may probably be put to the proof. I sat down yesterday morning with many Friends, in order to discuss the difficulties to which they are exposed, from the disturbed state of the province. The meeting was satisfactory. We then proceeded about twenty miles to Bedford, where we held an excellent public meeting in the evening. Twenty miles more of travelling have brought us hither; where I have been quietly engaged in writing the necessary letters introducing our friends to the authorities of Quebec; and we have appointed a meeting for the evening.

Montreal, First day, 10th mo., 14th. Notwithstanding discouragements, we had a pretty large and very relieving meeting on fifth day evening, at St. Johns; several soldiers being present; and a pleasant journey hither on sixth day morning. Our Friends went off by a boat to Quebec, on their mission to the Governor. I made several calls, and held a good, though very small meeting in the Wesleyan house, in the dark wet evening. On seventh day I was much occupied and exercised, in again writing to the Governor General.

Joseph John Gurney now proceeded by a somewhat rapid course to Baltimore.

10th mo., 15th. The meeting yesterday morning, at Montreal, was greatly to my relief. In the afternoon, we were occupied by an affecting visit to the wretched prison; an interview with thirty-three good-looking soldiers, sentenced to transportation for desertion, was to our satisfaction. Then a

visit to Thaddeus Osgood's Bethel for seamen and first-day school, where a solemn little meeting was also held; and in the evening a very favoured meeting in the Congregational house; so that I trust a blessing rested on the day. I am now on my way again up the Lake Champlain, with a view of holding meetings at Peru, and afterwards proceeding towards Baltimore Yearly Meeting. It is a rainy and gloomy day, but I am favoured with a degree of tranquillity, in committing myself and my concerns to the Lord, who knows that it is my desire, weak and unworthy though I be, not to run counter to the gracious intimations of his blessed will. O Lord, cast me not away from thy presence, I beseech thee, and take not thy Holy Spirit from me. Let me be clear of the blood of all men; "Deliver me from blood-guiltiness, O Lord, thou God of my salvation; and my tongue shall sing aloud of thy righteousness."

11*th mo.*, 11*th.* The Yearly Meeting of Baltimore began and progressed favourably. We had an excellent time over the state of the Society; and, on the whole, though the body was small,—not larger than many Monthly Meetings,—there was much of the weight of a Yearly Meeting in it. The meeting for worship on fifth day was a good one; and the conclusion, on sixth day morning, very solemn. John Meader held a good meeting one evening with the coloured people; and I had to instruct some large circles of the young; a service in which I was graciously helped.

After attending the Yearly Meeting at Baltimore, Joseph John Gurney was closely engaged for several weeks, in various religious services, in Maryland and the adjacent parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania. He then returned to New York; and, with the concurrence of Friends there, entered upon a visit to the families of Friends in that city and its neighbourhood, in which he was diligently occupied to the conclusion of the year.

TO HIS DAUGHTER.

New York 12th. mo., 11th, 1838.

My dearest Anna,

I have a mind to write thee a few private lines, being much drawn forth in ardent paternal love towards thee, and feeling the lengthening chain that separates us not very easy to my natural mind. But let us be of good cheer; the time of absence is gradually lessening, and if we each keep to our line of duty in the tenderness, meekness, and patience of Christ, we shall, I reverently hope and believe, be permitted, in due season, to meet again in peace and joy. I feel an anxious solicitude, that nothing may move thee from the quiet, unobtrusive path of consistent Friendliness. I believe thy principles in these matters are fixed and settled; but I like to give thee a word of encouragement to persevere. I own I am sometimes fearful lest thy association with some who are pursuing a less restricted course, should in the least rub off the tender bloom of retiring piety; that piety which leads thee at times to sit alone and keep silence, bearing the yoke upon thee; yea, "to put thy mouth in the dust, if so be, there may be hope." Be very watchful, my dear child, as if thou wast in thy father's presence. Remember that the eye of the God and Father whom *he* desires to serve is always upon thee. Dwell very low before the Lord; shun self complacency as thou wouldst a serpent. Indeed, my darling, my feelings are not sectarian, but I do see, that the quiet self-denying path, which I wish thee to continue to walk in, is a safe one for the immortal soul. It is a path, that I am myself constrained to walk in, by principles of the highest and most comprehensive nature; and, whilst I yield myself up to these principles, my heart glows with love towards the whole Church of Christ, and the whole family of man. I know it is a humbling thing to be a plain Friend, but I wish thee to bear this humiliation. The Lord will reward thee for it. "Be faithful unto death, and a crown of life shall be given thee."

TO HIS BROTHER SAMUEL GURNEY.

New York, 12th mo., 19th, 1838.

* * * The prevalence of a worldly spirit, and of the love of money in this city, and the opportunity which has been afresh given me of observing how these things dry up the very sap of life, and also how sure they are to increase, as money accumulates; *i.e.*, as the only possible excuse for them *decreases*, make me feel deeply anxious, my dearest brother, that thou and I, and our dear children, may be taught of the Lord, to continue, or yet more to abound, in *diffusing* in proportion to our means. It is an absolutely needful safety-valve for us in a spiritual point of view. Of this I am increasingly persuaded; and yet I know it must all be in the ordering of best wisdom, under the government of Him for whom we are stewards.

* * * I was much grieved at the failure of my appeal to Lord Durham, though I believe it cost him two days' reflection. His leaving the province, was, in my opinion, a very unhappy circumstance; and I am extremely afraid lest the military penal executions which are now going on in Canada, should bring upon our people there a terrible retribution. It is a foolish game to arouse the sympathies of the United States in favour of the rebels, and most heartily do I crave that general warfare may not be the ultimate result.

The warm and affectionate letter from which the following is an extract, was addressed to the grandchildren of his aunt Jane Gurney, on the anniversary of the decease of his beloved uncle Joseph Gurney.

New York, 12th mo., 25th, 1838.

* * * I am now fifty years old, and have seen a good deal of the world,—my acquaintance with the religious public, and with serious persons of various names and classes, has been extensive,—and it is my testimony that I have not seen a

better way to walk in, than that into which *he* was led. I mean simple, sincere, *living quakerism*. I think it is under no sectarian feelings, that I find myself penning that word *quakerism*. I have reference chiefly to the well known views always entertained by our Society, respecting the supreme, immediate, and perceptible government of Jesus Christ over his church, *by the influence of his Holy Spirit*. I wish you to understand in what sense I use the word "*perceptible*." The distinct whisper of some private counsellor is perceptible to the ear; but not more so than the still small voice of the Spirit of Christ in the heart, saying to every one of you, "This is the way, walk ye in it." The light of the sun, which reveals the objects of nature, is perceptible to the eye; but not more so than the light of Christ, which makes manifest moral truth to the consciences of all men, and which shines on all those *particular duties*, to which we are individually called, as living members of the Church of God. Thus with me the light has shone on a religious visit to America; and on many a specific labour and service in that land. The gentle breeze which blows from the south, is perceptible to the feelings; but not more so than the gentle constraint of a divine influence which impels the Christian *onward* in his race of duty. When every wind ceases to blow, the very stillness is perceptible to the nerves of the body; but not more so than the holy tranquillity of soul which the Spirit imparts to the man of a good conscience — "the peace of God which passeth all understanding."

Now, my dearly beloved ones, abide and walk under this all effective government of a righteous Saviour. Let every desire that would lead to transgression be checked; every rebel thought subdued; every undue conformity to the world and its vanities surrendered; and be ye *all* that the Lord would have you to be. Imitate the example of Moses, and make all things according to the pattern showed to you in the mount, even to the least pin of the tabernacle. This is the true secret of Christian perfection; a standard hard to reach, but always to be followed. "Know ye not that your bodies are the temple of the Holy Ghost, which is in you, which you have of

God, and that ye are not your own, but bought *with a price?*" Oh, that costly glorious price; the atoning blood of Jesus Christ, the one propitiatory offering for the sins of the whole world! Meditate on the infinite loving kindness of that Saviour who came down from the glory of his majesty, to live and die for sinners—who bore your sins in his own body on the tree; and lose not an hour, you dear elder ones, in devoting yourselves, body and soul, to his service.

And now a few sentences on the word *immediate*. Friends hold the immediate influences of the Spirit in contrast with those who, while they allow the inspiration of the sacred writers, imagine that their writings are the *only* guide with which we are now favoured in the way of truth and righteousness. "The Scriptures," say such persons, "were given forth by the Spirit of God; all, therefore, who believe and obey the Scriptures, are, *through that medium*, taught by the Spirit." We, on the other hand, assert that no man can savingly believe in the truth declared in Scripture, or truly obey its precepts, unless his understanding is illuminated, and his heart touched by the *immediate* or *direct* influences of that Spirit, who is himself the divine author of the book; and further than this, while we expect no revelation of the peculiar *facts and doctrines* of Christianity, except through Scripture, we believe that the *moral law* is, to a certain extent, immediately revealed to all men, *independently of the book;* and also that, with respect to their individual callings in the church, Christians cannot ascertain them from Scripture. Here they have no other guide to look to, but the voice of the Spirit of Christ, who condescends to speak *immediately* to his people, and to show them what are the services into which he is pleased to call them. May you, beloved ones, ever be attentive to his immediate teachings; they will guide you in the way of truth and righteousness, virtue and peace. From these remarks it is evident that there is nothing in the view taken by Friends, of the immediate influences of the Spirit, (a view which is, I believe, increasingly opening on sound Christians of every name,) which has the least tendency to discourage a

diligent use of those *means* which God has appointed for our edification and growth in grace. Do not neglect these means, as you value your immortal souls! Be fervent and instant in *prayer;* seek after retirement; reverently wait upon God; pour forth your hearts before him. He is a prayer-hearing, prayer-answering God. Never pass a day without reading a portion of Scripture in *private;* "meditate on these things;" give yourselves "wholly to them." Be faithful and diligent in attending all your meetings, both for worship and discipline. Your pilgrim cousin charges you, in the name of his Master, *never* to *subside* into carelessness in these matters. Let him more especially advise you to be regular in the attendance of your *week-day meetings.* I believe I could say with truth, that the most profitable and happiest part of my life has been spent in these very meetings. It is both good and pleasant to retire from the whirl and hum of a money getting, pleasure hunting world, to wait upon our glorious Creator, in the "silence of all flesh." How many were the happy hours which I spent with your beloved grandfather after this sort! How many the calm and cheerful walks which we afterwards took together from the meeting to the bank! Well, my dears, to conclude this long, and to me unexpected appeal, be strong in the Lord; persevere; press onwards in the path of self-denial, in the race of holiness; give up all for Christ; be faithful unto death; and no man shall take your crown. Bear, however, a short postscript on the subject of plainness of speech, behaviour, and apparel. Your grandfather adopted these things under deep convictions of duty. He knew they were *right;* he found that they *worked well;* he adhered to them faithfully to his life's end. Will you not follow his example? If you will, of one thing I am assured, that you will never have occasion to regret your decision, either in this world, or in the world to come.

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I must conclude with a message of dear, faithful, and tender love to your parents, and above all to your revered grandmother. May they have the delight of seeing you walking in the truth!

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1839. ÆT. 51—52.

CONCLUSION OF LABOURS AT NEW YORK; ILLNESS AT FLUSHING; PAMPHLET ON SLAVERY; SECOND ATTENDANCE OF YEARLY MEETINGS AT PHILADELPHIA AND NEW YORK; LABOURS IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK; AND IN UPPER CANADA; SING-SING PRISON; FENIMORE COOPER; TONAWANDA INDIANS; BALTIMORE YEARLY MEETING; PROSPECT OF VISIT TO WEST INDIES.

DURING Joseph John Gurney's stay at New York, he formed an acquaintance with several interesting characters.

"I called one morning," he writes, "on W. C. Bryant, the first of American poets. He bears about him the expression of acute intellectual power, and somewhat reminded me of Southey. I was pleased to converse with him about his brethren in the art, the living poets of our own country. One point may be stated greatly to the credit of this man of genius—he is a consistent and unflinching advocate of emancipation. Another leisure evening was agreeably spent at the house of Colonel Stone, who is well known for his extensive literary acquirements. He is a person of ready wit, and, what is far better, of serious religious principle. At his house I met Dr. Spring, the minister of a large Presbyterian congregation. I was also glad to renew an acquaintance with Dr. Milnor, who is indefatigable in his support of the Bible and Tract Societies, and other similar institutions. I was much interested by visiting the office and warehouses of the American Bible Society. The business of that institution is there conducted on a large scale; and although I had no op-

portunity of attending its public meetings, I was rejoiced to hear of its continued activity and prosperity. It surely is a work of which no man can deny either the propriety or the importance.

"The state of New York," he remarks in another letter, "is divided into upwards of 10,000 educational districts, in which more than 500,000 young persons receive an elementary education free of expense, being at school, on an average, for eight months during the year. These schools are supported, partly by the funds of the state, and partly by local rates. They probably form, as a whole, the most generalized machinery for popular education to be met with in any country in the world. There is one point connected with these schools, in which a large proportion of them differ from the British schools in England. It is that neither the Scriptures themselves, nor extracts from them, are used as daily reading lessons.* This I consider a lamentable defect, and one which can scarcely fail to be injurious in its consequences. Happily the exception does not apply to the schools in New York itself, which are ably superintended by a committee of gentlemen, and are conducted, as all such schools ought to be, on the basis of Scripture.

"The friends of education in this city were much indebted to the late Joseph Lancaster, whose plan they adopted, and who, personally, very materially assisted them in the formation of their schools. I often saw him while I was in America, and much regretted that his want of care and prudence was so constantly involving him in difficulties. In the Autumn of 1838, he was repeatedly heard to say, that his work was finished, that he had now nothing left him to do but to *die*. Soon afterwards he was knocked down, in the streets of New York, by a runaway horse in a waggon, and died in a few days. Notwithstanding all his infirmities, there is reason to believe, that, through the mercy of that divine Saviour, in whom he trusted, his end was peace.

*Some alteration, it is believed, has taken place in this respect, since Joseph John Gurney's visit.

During the whole of my stay in America, New York, as a commercial point of view, was in a state of considerable depression. The enormous losses occasioned by the great fire, in 1835, were by no means fully recovered; and, since that event, frequent conflagrations to a less terrible extent, have taken place in the city. But the main cause of suffering was the unequalled course of speculation and gambling, which disgraced the mercantile annals both of England and America, in the years 1836 and 1837. The amount of accommodation paper which was then in circulation between the two countries, probably formed a larger bubble of that nature, than the world had ever before seen; and when it burst, in the spring of 1837, the desolation which it produced, in New York particularly, was extensive and overwhelming. One indication of the altered state of things, was afforded by the comparative prices of land in the immediate neighbourhood of the city. During the flood tide of prosperity, large lots were purchased at Brooklyn, on the opposite side of the river, and in other places near the city, in order to be laid out for houses and streets. Enormous prices were given; in many instances 2000 dollars for an acre. But when the delusion was dissipated, the speculators in land were in distress, and it was found impossible to sell the subdivisions, from which vast profits had been expected, without incurring a formidable loss. * * *

Speaking of the towns of America, I cannot think that the population derive any substantial advantage from the multiplication of their daily newspapers. Scarcely a village is to be found, of any considerable size, in which one of these periodicals is not published, whilst in the larger towns and cities they are very numerous. I often regretted that so much time is occupied by American citizens in poring over these often flimsy productions. This practice, together with that of reading novels, which are published in great numbers and at a very low price, has a material tendency to lower the tone both of intellect and of moral feeling. In making these remarks, I do not forget that newspapers, well conducted, and in moderate numbers, are of essential service to the community.

Soon after completing his visit to the families of Friends in New York, Joseph John Gurney, in consequence of exposure to cold and wet, was seized with a violent attack of illness, which prevented him from pursuing his labours for a period of nearly three months. During the greater part of this confinement he was hospitably cared for at the house of his valued friend Joshua Kimber, at Flushing, in Long Island. "It was a time," he writes, "of suffering from bodily indisposition, but there was much in it both to instruct and to enjoy. The Friends under whose roof I was are the parents of an interesting family; and both they and their children were ever ready to minister to my comfort."

Writing to his children, in the early part of his illness, (under date 1st mo., 16th,) evidently under a feeling of some uncertainty as to the result, after sending warm messages of love to his numerous friends, and expressing his earnest desires respecting themselves, he thus concludes:—

Above all things, my most beloved children, keep in mind your stewardship; that giving yourselves freely up to the softening, melting power of divine grace, and suffering it to work in you, and through you, as it will, you may neither of you miss of the glorious "well done" at last! Be sure to be faithful Friends; persevering workers in the Bible Society; and circumspect, living, liberal members of the universal church of Christ.

The following are from his Journal:—

1*st mo.*, 20*th.* My mind has been generally preserved in a state of quietness, not without a little lively faith that the

Lord will bring me through this illness. "I shall not die, but live, and declare the works of the Lord." The experience of this sickness has brought sweetly home the reality of the truth, as held by Friends, and has been much to the confirmation of my faith. To take a fresh look at death, and to find that my Saviour is above its terrors, is a great benefit.

2nd mo., 1*st.* Beginning the new month still in confinement has been rather discouraging to my natural feelings. Last evening very sweet was the calm spread over me; and a prayer from dear E. Coggeshall, who is now paying us an acceptable visit, was most precious. "Why art thou cast down, O my soul, and why art thou disquieted within me? Hope thou in God; for I shall yet praise Him, who is the health of my countenance and my God."

First day afternoon, *2nd mo.*, 10*th.* I have been most mercifully dealt with, and I desire to be enabled to make some record of the gracious dealings of my Lord with me; wholly unworthy as I am of the very least of his mercies. It was, I believe, in a measure of the obedience of faith, that I left my all to come to this country; and, perhaps, since I left home my faith has never been put to a closer test than during this illness; but there is that which is in us which we have of God, that does, at times, arise into a degree of blessed predominance over all our fears and temptations. May I be gathered to this holy power and influence more and more!

Fifth day morning. I have been attending our little week-day meeting this morning; a very precious time, wherein a concern was expressed that we might be gathered to the Lord's own washing, and feeding, and teaching; and I believe I am, through mercy, unhurt by this effort.

2nd mo., 19*th* [At Westbury, Long Island.] I have been favoured with a night of enjoyable repose, and greatly feel the benefit of change of air. A precious time after the reading this morning. Surely the Lord condescends to be with us here, and praise is most abundantly his due. I am living a day at a time, more than ever before perhaps.

Evening.—Pleasant visit to Jericho; passed by the house once occupied by Elias Hicks. Visits to Thomas and Phebe

Willis, and their daughter Anna; and in the afternoon, two or three hours at William and Anna W. Willis's. Bodily infirmity is prevalent with these Friends, but they are of the right kind indeed. We had comforting opportunities of a religious nature in each house, and here again this evening with Stephen and Phebe Rushmore. Thus the Lord is bestowing freely of his goodness upon us out of an inexhaustible treasury.

After visiting the few families of Friends at Westbury and Jericho, he writes:—

Seventh day, 3*rd mo.*, 16*th.* We have been graciously favoured to get along comfortably with our work, though, on my part, through much fear and weakness, and some close trial of faith. All the families well got through, and a remarkable meeting with a large company of Hicksites and others, at Jerusalem, yesterday. Some of them hard and restless; but I trust truth was over all opposition.

3*rd mo.*, 19*th.* Deep and various are the exercises of mind which I have gone through since last seventh day. The afternoon meeting on first day, held at Jericho, in the Hicksite meeting-house, large, and attended by the Hicksites in a body. It was a very exercising and ciritical occasion; the first Friends' meeting there since the separation; and there, in the place once occupied by Elias Hicks, I was enabled to proclaim the glorious *contrary* to all his notions. I have seldom felt more helped, and there was evidently a considerably open door. We spent a highly satisfactory evening afterwards with William and Anna Willis.

During his convalescence he had been occupied in writing a few Free and Friendly Remarks on a Speech lately delivered in the Senate of the United States, by Henry Clay, of Kentucky, on the subject of the Abolition of North American Slavery. In

this little tract, after dwelling upon the startling fact, admitted by Henry Clay, that there were in the United States three millions of intelligent and immortal beings condemned by law, without a crime proved or even alleged against them, to an ignominious and perpetual "servitude," all the more embittered and agonizing by being "involuntary;" and liable to be bought and sold "like pigs, sheep, and oxen," Joseph John Gurney briefly but powerfully exposes the monstrous inconsistency between such a fact and the theory on which the independence of the United States is founded, that "all men," (without distinction of colour,) "are created equal; and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights;" among which "are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." He then proceeds, in a strain of clear and unanswerable argument, to show that the abolition, by the federal government, of slavery in the districts of Columbia and of Florida, and of the internal slave-trade throughout the Union, would be in perfect accordance both with the letter and the spirit of the constitution of the United States; and, in conclusion, powerfully urges the claims of righteousness, mercy, and truth, as loudly calling for the adoption of these measures. The whole spirit of the tract is calm and Christian; and though published anonymously, was too characteristic of the mind of the author to admit of his being long concealed. "And so you are a writer too," said Henry Clay, addressing Joseph John Gurney, when they met at Washington in the following year, "I read your pamphlet and discovered the author immediately.

Of the various reviews of my speech upon Slavery, including Channing's, I consider yours the best." It was read extensively, and its conciliatory tone obtained for it a wide circulation even amongst the slaveholders in the southern states.* Referring to its publication, Joseph John Gurney writes, in his Journal: —

3rd mo., 25th. I have been this afternoon brought fervently to desire, that if this extra service of mine be not of the Lord, it may be stayed in its course; but if of the Lord, that it may go forward; and in the latter view I am again permitted to feel peace. O, I would not break or lose the golden thread which can alone bring me safely through this labyrinth of tears, for all the fame, the honour, the riches, the adulation of this fallen world. Lord, suffer me, I most ardently beseech thee, to have my portion (deeply unworthy as I am) in the language, "We have the mind of Christ." Having that mind, and being sure of it, I think I could bear the consequences. Lord, give me more faith, more conquering faith in thy own eternal wisdom and power!

In the fourth month of this year Joseph John Gurney again attended the Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia.

4th mo., 22nd. I have many mercies to record in the recollection of the last ten days. The meeting of ministers and elders on seventh day, the 13th, passed off quietly. On second day the Yearly Meeting commenced; long acceptable silence; equally acceptable prayer from Daniel Wheeler. The meeting for worship at Arch Street on fifth day, much favoured; Elizabeth Robson more powerful in testimony than I ever before heard her; and "anointing" in prayer was

*It will be found reprinted in the Appendix to J. J. Gurney's Winter in the West Indies, pp. 253–282.

afterwards as graciously given me. On sixth day Daniel Wheeler was very acceptably engaged in ministry.

Just as the Yearly Meeting was closing that evening, I rose and said; "In the fear of the Lord, and in ardent love to all now assembled, I feel constrained to express my conviction, that the noble testimony always borne by this Society to the universal and independent influence of the Spirit of God upon the minds of men, and to the primary character of this influence as the very spring of all true knowledge of divine things, will never perish or fade away from among the children of men; and I have the same conviction respecting the immediate teaching, guidance, and government of Jesus Christ, by the Holy Spirit, in the church; which I regard as the root of all these practical testimonies, respecting worship and conduct, into which our forefathers were led. May we maintain these views and testimonies with one mind and one accord, remembering that they are in perfect accordance with the corresponding doctrines of the full divine authority of the Holy Scriptures, and of the propitiatory sacrifice of our Lord Jesus Christ, as the sole ground of our hope of acceptance with God, and of everlasting salvation! May we, by the intelligible language of a devoted and consistent life and conversation, show forth our adherence to the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, as it is in Jesus!" The meeting closed in much solemnity.

Whilst thus engaged in a distant land, Joseph John Gurney was cheered by receiving the following encouraging account of the beneficial effect, under the Divine blessing, of some of his earlier labours.

FROM ROBERT HANKINSON.

Hampstead, April 4th, 1839.

* * * * Some months ago I called on a lady with whom I had a slight acquaintance, and whose inquiring state of mind had previously interested me. I found her very anxious about a near relative, who was in a declining state of health.

His religious views were very unsatisfactory, and it was evident, from her account, that he had drunk deeply of the poison of Socinianism. When I went home I put a copy of your Letter to a Friend on the Authority, Purpose, and Effects of Christianity, as published by the Religious Tract Society, within the volume of your Essays, and sent them to her. About a fortnight ago they were returned with a short note, and I have since called on her. Striking indeed was her report. After earnest prayer she went with the books to her father's bedroom, not knowing in what way to introduce them, nor how far they were suited to the turn of his mind She determined, therefore, if possible, to induce him to disclose to her his religious sentiments; and, after much urgent pressing, he told her that many years ago he had been in the habit of associating with the Friend to whom your letter was addressed, and some others who lived in ———, and that from them he had taken his religious opinions. He had not wished that they should bias his family, and therefore had refrained from communicating with them on the subject, but he was one who did not believe in the Divinity of Christ. The opportunity had come; his daughter told him that she had, in the room with her, a letter which had been addressed to his friend, and which had been the means of inducing him to change his opinion. He was incredulous about it, but said he should like to hear it. She began to read, and, with growing interest, he listened. The letter was read again and again, and again; and from it they went to the Essays, reading those portions that particularly interested him; and so was it all over-ruled and blessed, that it ended in his complete acknowledgment of the Saviour. The day before his death, when his family were around him, he said spontaneously, "I wish to make this acknowledgment to you: I feel myself to be a miserable sinner, but my entire trust is in Christ my Saviour." May we not, my dear friend, be thankful for such a testimony, and may we not humbly believe that in his 85th year he was turned from his error, and is a monument of the all-saving power of Christ! It will not be less interesting to you to know that this individual was the late Sir ———.

The interval between the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia, and that of New York at the close of the fifth month, was occupied by Joseph John Gurney in various religious engagements, in the State of New York, principally in West Chester, Dutchess, Putnam and Columbia Counties, on the East of the Hudson, and in Ulster and Orange Counties, on the Western side of that river. At Nine Partners, in Dutchess County, he visited the public boarding school under the care of New York Yearly Meeting. He describes it as "a very comfortable place, and remarkably well managed; though the number of pupils is seldom large." At the conclusion of his labours in Dutchess County, he spent part of a day at West Point, on the Hudson, where there is a military academy. Whilst there, in the prospect of holding a meeting on the ensuing day, he gave vent to his feelings in the following lines. They are copied from his Journal under date 5th mo., 16th:—

AN EVENING'S REST AT WEST POINT.

The pulse of life stands still—a pause is come—
Though mute, its meaning cannot be denied:
"Cease from thyself, and commune with thy God,
The Maker and the Saviour of the world."
In solemn silence, far below my feet,
Flows on the wondrous river; and the rocks
On either side impending, clad in green,
The brightest and the loveliest blush of spring,
Fling their dark-pointed shadows—types of Him
Whose strength immutable and fostering care
Invite me to repose. Behind them rise
In mutual near approach, and loftier far,
Yet not so lofty as to mock the eye,
The mountain peaks and domes and pyramids.

Waving with forest; in the distant north
The Katskill, towering high above them all,
Draws her pale outline on the azure sky.
The mingled foliage of the sloping woods
That mantle the deep glen, and kiss the wave,
What brush can paint? The maple filled with juice,
The oaks of various leaf, chisell'd and glazed,
And the light willow weeping gracefully;
The sycamore, and poplar, tulip gemmed,
And blossomed chesnut of the darker hue,
Or brighter green and flowerless, elm and ash,
Display, in all the fulness of their charms,
The utmost vigour of the rising year.
Sloop after sloop comes dancing o'er the wave,
Each sail expanded to the prosperous breeze,
Now white with sunshine, and now dark with shade,
And changed from form to form, at every turn.
Thought roves amid these scenes unchecked, and the young town
That glistens on yon green and distant slope,
Too softly slumbers in the evening beam
To indicate "the busy hum of men,"
Or mar the peaceful solitude of thought.
Here will I meditate, unheard, unseen,
Not joyless, though in tears; and breathe my prayer,
Deep, fervent, frequent, for my best belov'd
Whom ocean severs from their pilgrim sire.

The Journal continues: —

5th mo., 18*th*. Yesterday, (at West Point,) was a day to be recorded for the confirmation of my faith. Every way to a meeting seemed closed. The commandant refused an interview with the cadets; the landlord could not prepare a room at the hotel; my friends and I seemed paralyzed. I got down at last to a willingness to be nothing, and invited a few individuals to sit with us at eight o'clock in private. Without notice on my part, we had Major Delafield (the commandant) himself, several of the professors, about thirty of the elder cadets, besides the episcopalian clergyman and others, and were favoured with an excellent meeting.

Canterbury, 5th mo., 24th. The public meeting here last evening, with Friends, Hicksites, and others, amply repaid for much labour and exercise, and was a crown to our whole excursion. I have now been favoured to make a pretty general visit in Ferrisburg, Saratoga, (both last autumn,) Westbury, and New York, Purchase, Nine Partners, Stanford, and Cornwall Quarterly Meetings, all in this Yearly Meeting. We propose taking steamboat for New York this afternoon. May the Lord continue graciously to go with us, protecting and guiding us in all our ways! On the retrospect of the four weeks since leaving Philadelphia, my health better, my mind relieved, I feel that I have abundant cause for gratitude to the Author of my life, and for renewed and more entire dedication to his service. Be it so, be it so, saith my soul!

New York, 6th mo., 2nd. I have now to commemorate, with humble gratitude, one of the most open and agreeable Yearly Meetings I have attended in America which ended in great solemnity on sixth day evening. We had an excellent discussion on slavery, and my pamphlet is in the way of satisfactory circulation. I have been very comfortably united with Daniel Wheeler and T. and E. Robson. The Yearly Meeting has been large, and I trust the state of the society may be regarded as hopeful.

New York, 6th mo., 12th. Just returned from an excursion of great interest in New Jersey. Started on fourth day last, with M. Day, and arrived at Princeton at noon. We had an excellent public meeting that night; collegians, professors, &c., generally present. Sixth day to New Brunswick; meeting there with collegians, &c., in the evening. Seventh day, journey (forty miles) to Shrewsbury; much oppression and indisposition at night. Wonderfully helped through the meetings the next day. Came to New York this morning in time to attend a large meeting, with two marriages. To Flushing this evening. I have, during the last few days, been passing through untold and inexpressible exercise of mind, with some considerable oppression of body; but have been most graciously helped through the meetings, and faith has been renewed from season to season that I shall be carried through.

O Lord! give me more faith, more strength, more unreserved submission, more of the patience of hope, for thy mercy's sake, and for thy cause sake, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Bless and keep my children; and permit us, if it please thee, to meet in peace; yea, in the fulness of the blessing of the gospel of Christ.

TO J. AND H. C. BACKHOUSE.

Samuel Parsons', Flushing, 6th mo., 15th, 1839.

* * * If Christ be not accepted in *all* his gracious offices, and, as ability is afforded, set forth in the same, the sure consequence is a gradual lapse into heresy—an observation which applies with equal force to those who disregard his coming in the flesh as the Revealer of truth, and the Propitiation for sin, and to those who think lightly, and dwell very cursorily, (if at all,) on his appearing in the heart, by his Spirit. It seems impossible that anything can be more striking than the lessons which have been read to us, on both these points, of late seasons. My very soul is penetrated with the conviction of the excellence, beauty, and perfection of pure primitive Christianity as held by Friends. The evangelical foundation; the spiritual superstructure; what a delightful harmony between the two; what a unity in the glorious whole! Who shall dare to mar it either by diminution or addition?

I do not mean that the whole should be brought forward in every sermon; but the whole should be *deeply* deposited in the mind of every preacher of the gospel, and be brought forth from the treasure house as the state of the hearers may require, under the immediate influences of the Spirit of Truth. So be it with you, and with me, my dearly beloved fellow workers in the cause of Christ.

Opposite the hospitable abode, at Flushing, where Joseph John Gurney was now staying, stood two venerable oaks, under which George Fox, nearly two hundred years before, held a large and

impressive meeting with the inhabitants of Long Island.*

"Under these oaks," writes Joseph John Gurney, "I had long believed that it would be my duty to hold a meeting, there being no suitable place of worship in the village, large enough to accommodate the people. It was now the middle of the sixth month. Notice had been given of the meeting to be held at five o'clock in the afternoon of first day, and seats had been provided in the open air for about 1000 people. The day was windy and lowering; and, as one dark cloud after another moved rapidly across the sky, I could not but feel considerable anxiety. My powers of voice also appeared nearly gone. But just before five o'clock, the sky cleared, the wind abated, and a multitude of people were seen flocking to the spot; large numbers of the upper class, and many of the labouring inhabitants of the district, including the coloured people, and Irish Roman Catholics. The mixed assembly soon settled into silence, and I was enabled to speak to them for upwards of an hour, so as to be heard by all present. We were reminded that God is 'manifest in his Son,' and great was the attention which prevailed on the occasion. After the offering of prayer, we again fell into silence; and the meeting concluded in much order and quietness. It was indeed a good meeting. George Fox might, perhaps, have applied to it his epithet 'glorious.' Immediately afterwards a slight shower fell, which, had it occurred a few minutes sooner, would have robbed the meeting of its best and most solemn moments."

He now left the neighbourhood of New York, with the view of visiting the settlements of Friends, and of holding meetings with the people

*See George Fox's journal, vol. 2. p. 192, edition 1709. The precise spot is not indicated in the journal, but the remembrance of it has been preserved by a local tradition. Since J. J. Gurney's visit, one of these oaks has been blown down by a violent storm.

at large, in the north-western parts of the State, and in Upper Canada. "Sweet and solemn," he observes in his Journal, "are the feelings which mark the commencement of this new pilgrimage; very much like those on leaving Liverpool. O Lord, in the plenitude of thy mercy and of thy love, undertake for me!"

His first object was a visit to Sing-Sing, a town on the eastern banks of the Hudson, about thirty miles north of New York, where he was desirous of examining the state penitentiary. In his Journal he briefly records the result of his observations.

6th mo., 18*th*. We have thoroughly inspected the prison this morning; a scene of wondrous industry, but the stimulus, alas! is that of the whip, in the arbitrary hands of overseers or underkeepers. I should like to see the stimulus of a share in their wages tried as a substitute. The prison much more than pays its way. Proportion of blacks one in five. A meeting with the prisoners is appointed for this afternoon.

The following letter, addressed three days later, from "the Mountain-house," on the Hudson, to the Governor of the prison, more fully explains his views: —

* * * When I consider how much there is of what is desirable and excellent in the Institution, especially that full and constant employment of the prisoners which is so striking and cheering a spectacle, I feel the more solicitous that the system should be carried to as great a perfection as circumstances will admit, and be divested of all its unfavourable features.

Supposing it to be necessary, with very hardened offenders, and on very particular occasions, to make use of the cat, (which, however, I doubt,) it must surely be allowed that the

frequent use of it, at the arbitrary pleasure of the overseer, or under-agent, is a prodigious evil, liable to great abuse. I know the law seems to allow it, but the law might easily be altered at the suggestion of those interested in the good management of the prison. The more I reflect on this subject, the more I deplore this mode of government, which cannot possibly fail still further to harden and degrade those who are subjected to it. Taking the decrease of crime to be the true object of punishment, the reformation of the criminal ought surely to be the leading tendency of every system of prison discipline. I cannot believe that there is any such tendency in the system of the whip. I think we ought to bear on the better parts of the human mind, to act upon honourable hope rather than upon terror or dread. In this point of view, I am deliberately of the judgment that the best antidote for the whip, would be the more legitimate stimulus of *wages*. The giving up to the prisoners of a small portion of their wages, would leave the punishment of imprisonment and hard labour quite sufficiently severe; and the very trifling diminution which it would occasion in the profits of the institution, would be abundantly repaid by its moral effects. Even on the most degraded of mankind, no law works with so much efficacy as the law of Christian kindness, grounded on real, serious, religious principle.*

Pursuing his journey, he now spent several weeks among the numerous little settlements of Friends within the Quarterly Meetings of Butternuts, Scipio, and Farmington, in the north-western counties of the State of New York. After a "large and

* Referring to the suggestion here made, Joseph John Gurney remarks several years later, "Whether it has been acted on or not I cannot say; but I am glad to observe the following passage in an abstract of the message of the Governor of the State addressed to the legislature at the beginning of 1841:—'The discipline of the prisons has undergone a thorough reform; and the happiest effects are anticipated from the present wise and philanthropic system.'"

remarkable" meeting at Butternuts, in Otsego county, and another at Burlington, on the following morning, he came to Cooperstown, the county town, situated at the southern extremity of the Otsego Lake, where, at his request, a meeting of the inhabitants was appointed to be held that evening.

"This town," he writes in one of his letters, "derives its name from the late Judge Cooper, whose son and heir occupies the stone mansion, which, although of no great antiquity, here goes by the name of the Old Hall. I called upon him in company with our guide, who had long been acquainted with the family, to invite him to our meeting; and we afterwards found that he had broken away from a gay party in order to attend it. The town was much filled on this day with judges and lawyers; for it was the time of the sessions, and the court adjourned at an earlier hour than usual, for the purpose of affording those gentlemen an opportunity of attending the Friends' meeting. I trust that their obliging behaviour to a stranger was not useless to themselves. The cause of Christianity was pleaded on the occasion, in opposition to some of those insidious forms of unbelief which are not uncommon in America. We afterwards found that a highly gifted lawyer, who entertained these sentiments, formed one of the party. On our return to the hotel, I found our friend J. Fenimore Cooper, in his white jacket, ready to row me in his little boat, that I might examine the beauties of the lake to the greatest advantage. I was pleased with the opportunity of his company, and although his great talents have been employed in a direction which I by no means approve, I ought to acknowledge that his conversation was interesting and instructive. Yet I could not but desire that the strong and well informed mind of this man of genius, might be brought under that sanctifying influence which can alone enable us to devote all our faculties to the welfare of our fellow men, and the glory of God."

At Hamilton, in Madison county, "the seat of one of the principal theological seminaries of the Baptists," a large meeting was held in the Baptist meeting-house which was attended by the Professors of the college, and about one hundred and fifty of the students.

"It was an interesting audience," he writes, "and our Saviour's words were, I trust, not remembered in vain, 'This is life eternal, to know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.' Before leaving the place next morning, I rode up to the college, which is well placed on a commanding hill, about a mile from the town, and had an interview, in the chapel, with the young men and their teachers; the elderly president, Dr. Kendrick, being also present. It was a memorable occasion, during which many of the young men were brought into great tenderness of feeling. Several of them were about to engage in the work of the missionary; nor could I doubt that they were under the preparing hand of that Saviour, whose name they were desirous of proclaiming in far distant lands. Certain it is that unless He sends them forth to their field of labour, and qualifies them for their work, their ardent wishes to serve their fellow men will all be in vain."

After various engagements of a similar nature at New Hartford, Clinton, Westmoreland, Utica, and Rome — the last "a handsome busy village, destitute of all ancient reminiscences, but, like Utica, teeming with hope for the future;" he writes in his Journal:—

Near Hector, Tomkins county, 7th mo., 13th. Reached Skaneateles on seventh day; two meetings there on first day. Second day, ride by the side of the lake; return by railroad to Syracuse; good public meeting. Third, to Auburn by

railroad; memorable time with 650 prisoners; public meeting in the evening. Fourth, fifth, and sixth days, meetings at Scipio; all remarkable times, the last especially so. Many visits paid to families. Last evening, an excellent public meeting at Aurora. This day concluded my service at Scipio; and a ride of thirty-five miles of rare beauty in parts, round the head of Lake Cayuga, and by Ithaca, has brought us hither.

Seneca Falls, 7th mo., 16th. [At Hector] we had two open, searching meetings, morning and afternoon. Yesterday, a delightful ride with a company of Friends, to the falls of the Tekennie, a mountain stream, which has forced its way through wondrous chasms of clay-slate, into Cayuga lake; the Fall is 210 feet high. In the early evening to Ithaca; poorly in body, and much discouraged about myself; but, notwithstanding this state of things, and pouring rain, we had, through mercy, a large and good meeting. We rose at half-past four this morning, and a delightful voyage by steamboat, of forty miles down the beautiful Cayuga lake, brought us within three miles of this large village, where we find ourselves stopped for a public meeting.

After spending a few days among the Friends in the village of Farmington, and in the adjacent district, he writes in his Journal: —

Rochester, first day, 7th mo., 28th. After passing through times of deep discouragement, I find myself not slain, but alive to a little blessed hope. The week has been one of great and varied exercise of mind; rendered the more difficult by a continued measure of indisposition, and some anxious thoughts and feelings as to my bodily capacity for getting through the work before me. Last first day, at Farmington; a memorable time; two large overflowing meetings; that in the afternoon, from pressure of the multitude, held in the Hicksite meeting-house. I think they were good times; truth being triumphant, and Christ fully preached.

"In the city of Rochester," he observes in one of his letters, "we spent two days, including the first day of the week, in the midst of a small and agreeable society of Friends. The Methodist meeting-house here is of great size, and was thronged at our public meeting in the evening, by an orderly but promiscuous multitude. There are, in Rochester, upwards of twenty convenient places of worship, affording at once accommodation for the whole population, and resistless evidence of the energy of the voluntary system. The number of inhabitants is now about 20,000. The falls of the picturesque Genesee river are very grand and striking, and afford the vast water power which has produced the prosperity of the city. Thirty years ago, this place was a wilderness. It is now a large town of remarkable beauty and prosperity; and what it will be thirty years hence, if its present rate of progress be continued, it is difficult for any one to conceive. The prospect which is enjoyed from Mount Hope—a wooded hill two miles distant, now used as the public cemetery—of the city with its numerous spires; of the Genesee, winding its way through a rich valley; and of Lake Ontario, in the distance, has left a vivid picture on my mind, not easily to be effaced. It is that of a country richly favoured by nature, and bursting into prosperity.

"Before we left Rochester, we held a meeting with the prisoners in the jail. Amongst them was William L. Mackenzie, one of the restless authors of the late rebellion in Canada. He conducts one of the newspapers at Rochester; and, being a citizen of the United States, had been condemned by the supreme court of the Union, to eighteen months imprisonment, for the breach of his neutrality. He appeared an acute and intelligent person; his spacious forehead betokening the great mental power which he has at his command, either for good or evil. I could by no means approve the exertions which were then making for his deliverance from a confinement which he described as being intensely irksome to him."

On leaving Rochester, Joseph John Gurney was engaged for several days in attending the few

scattered meetings of Friends, to the north and east, at Elba, Selby, Hartland, and Somerset. From Selby, he visited the neighbouring settlement of Tonawanta Indians.

TO HIS CHILDREN.

Michael Robson's, Hartland, 8th mo., 3rd, 1839.

Our public meeting at Selby, on fifth day morning, was as large as we could expect, considering that all hands are occupied in the abundant harvest. We spent the remainder of the day in calls upon some of the Friends, including a dying widow, who was quietly anchored in the hope and faith of the Christian. Late in the evening we came to the house of some Friends from Yorkshire, who, with their interesting sons, have flourished in America, both temporally and spiritually; but they have, like others, to work for it with their own hands. This is an indispensable condition. We started, after an early breakfast, yesterday morning for Tonawanta, twelve miles, partly through a vast wooded swamp, with corderoy roads, for about two miles. Then we were obliged to walk, and regaled ourselves as we went along, with wild raspberries, which grow there in great profusion. The swamp is gay with the very pretty wild rose of this country, quite a noble shrub; I observed one bush thirty feet in circumference.

Two Friends had preceded us the evening before, to prepare our way; and when we arrived at the Indian village, we found that the chief had held a council, and formally agreed to their proposals for a meeting; runners being sent out to summon the people. The reservation is ten miles in length and two broad; a pretty fertile tract of country, and fairly cultivated. The Tonawanta Indians live entirely by farming; and we saw many fine fields of wheat, oats, and corn, and a good many beautiful cows; but their habits are somewhat indolent, and nothing under their hands bespeaks our advanced condition of civilization. Their dwellings, sometimes log and sometimes frame, (you will understand the difference, the former of

unsawn timber, the latter of boards,) are scattered about over the lands, which they hold in common, not in severalty. They are far superior to Irish hovels, and more cleanly than I expected. Our first call was at the house of the "Black Chief," a comfortable abode; a large vessel in which they pound the Indian corn was standing at his door. He was absent, but his squaw and her family looked much at their ease, and took but small notice of us. The squaws glided away whenever our carriage approached them, seeming quite devoid of curiosity and averse to being seen. I made entry, however, into one of their cottages, and quite enjoyed nursing a noble little brown baby, which one of them had in her lap. The mother and grandmother of the child were there; cleanly, and of fine stature and features; with their lank, black, glossy hair neatly bound about their heads. But few of these can speak any English. We then drove through a picturesque wood to the peaceful abode of the Baptist missionary, who, on the edge of the reservation, (no white man is allowed to settle on it,) keeps a school for the Indian children, where they are educated, boarded, and clothed at the expense of the Baptist Missionary Society. There were only fourteen in the school, but during the winter they had forty under their care, and I have no doubt these pious people have been useful; though the effect produced is far from being all that could be desired. They have the care of a farm of 120 acres, and we sat down with them and their labourers, including some well-behaved Indians, to their humble fare. Nothing drunk by these hard labourers but water; the Indians working at a dollar a day in harvest time, (the same rate as the whites,) and half a dollar at other times. At ten o'clock we proceeded to the missionary meeting-house, where they had agreed to hold the meeting. It was a curious scene. Johnson, (said to be the principal chief of the six nations,) the Black Chief, and some other of these princes of the earth were there; many other men; and a company of squaws, neatly attired in their white blankets, thrown somewhat gracefully over their persons. Most of the men were dressed like the Americans; but a few in the Indian costume. The

meeting was begun by a handsome young chief, who spoke with great seriousness, to advise the people (as we were told) to behave with due attention and decorum. Then rose the venerable looking Black Chief, a swarthy old man, to communicate the decision of the council, and to give us their welcome. Soon afterwards I rose, the interpreter standing beside me, and was enabled to preach Christ to them, I trust, with plainness; the interpreter translating sentence by sentence. About an hour was thus occupied; and though I felt the peculiar difficulty of addressing such uncultivated beings, yet I was mercifully helped through, and the meeting ended comfortably. Some of them were very attentive, and expressed a good deal of pleasure; but the general demeanour was on a par with the unemphatic monotonous sound of their language; displaying but little excitement of any kind. On the whole, I left them with rather affecting impressions, with the fear that, in most respects, they have suffered grievously from their association with those who call themselves Christians.

The American spirit-shops on the very borders of the settlement, (they seem to have none of their own,) are sources of irreparable injury; and now there is every probability that they will be cheated out of their reservation, and driven into the far West. Alas! for the treachery and iniquity of our species! What a base creature is man without grace! I heartily wish Friends may continue their attentions to them, as they have the highest respect for the "descendants" of William Penn.

After visiting Niagara, Joseph John Gurney proceeded to Buffalo, where he held a large meeting in one of the principal chapels. It is here that the Erie canal joins the lake, a circumstance which gives to Buffalo much of its importance. The canal is 360 miles in length, uniting the waters of Lake Erie with those of the Hudson; and was formed

under the auspices of the late De Witt Clinton, Governor of the State of New York. This extraordinary work, observes Joseph John Gurney, "may be in great part ascribed to the unceasing exertions of two excellent Friends, the late Thomas Eddy and John Murray, both of New York. It is found to be of constantly increasing importance; so much so that the present width of the canal is wholly insufficient for the traffic upon it."

Having attended the Quarterly Meeting of Friends at Lockport, Joseph John Gurney and his companion went forward on their journey towards Upper Canada. The rebellion that had recently taken place in that province had left the population in a very unsettled state. "In consequence," says Joseph John Gurney, "of the premature publication of Lord Durham's able report, the disaffected party had adopted his name, and were availing themselves of the circumstance in order to keep up a continued excitement. The spirit of many, on both sides, appeared lamentably bad; and wherever we went we found ourselves constrained to plead for the cause of good order and Christian moderation." Taking the steamboat to Hamilton, at the western extremity of Lake Ontario, they went forward a distance of sixty miles westward to Norwich, "a fertile country district, pretty well cleared and cultivated," where there is a numerous settlement of Friends. Thence, by way of Toronto, they proceeded to Yonge Street, a journey of 130 miles, where the Half-year's meeting of Friends of Upper Canada was about to assemble.

Brantford, 8th mo., 22nd. We have passed a good time at Norwich. Two large meetings on first day, in which I had to proclaim Christ and his peaceable reign against all tumult and factions. I afterwards found that many of the rebels were present; I also prayed for the Queen. Greatly overdone at night. Second and third days spent in quiet and satisfactory family visiting. Fourth day, another large meeting; and a very plain address to Friends on several practical points, especially education. This morning, with a company of Friends, we started (three wagon loads) on our journey to Yonge Street; and are now, after a few family visits by the way, stopping at a quiet tavern here, for a public meeting in the evening.

Second day, 8th mo., 26th. I am favoured this morning, in some good measure, to go on my way rejoicing; trusting in the Lord. The public meeting at Brantford last fifth day was small, but passed off comfortably. Seventh day; delightful voyage by a good steamer to Toronto. Arrived about noon, at that large, and not very thriving town of 10,000 inhabitants. Yesterday was rather a remarkable Sabbath. Our company sat down together in the morning for religious worship, to our refreshment; then a call on Sir George Arthur, the Governor; very satisfactory conversation with him, and a correction of some misapprehensions respecting Friends. At three o'clock a large public meeting; very attentive. I had to unfold the constitution, government, and laws of the "kingdom of heaven," as revealed to us in Scripture, against all factions, broils, and contentions. I spent the evening pleasantly with the Governor and his family. We were favoured with a solemn Scripture reading. I was much pleased with their simplicity.

"At Toronto," he writes in one of his letters, "I was glad to form an acquaintance with Hiram Wilson, the excellent agent of the American Anti-slavery Society, who was watching over the interests of the negroes in Canada. About 100 slaves *per* month were at that time making their escape into this land of freedom. It gave me pleasure to aid him in

promoting the formation of schools for the Christian education of their children. The Friends of New York Yearly Meeting had already subscribed a considerable sum for the furtherance of this object.

* * * * * *

"The half year's meeting [at Yonge Street] was held in a large rustic meeting house; it occupied parts of three successive days, and was an occasion of much interest. The sincere and simple hearted people of whom it was composed, excited my regard and sympathy. They had been exposed to many troubles during the late political excitement. An earnest desire appeared to prevail that the members of our society, throughout the province, should keep clear of all the jarring and tumults of political parties; that they might 'study to be quiet and mind their own business.' This indeed was already their general habit; yet every one felt that it was a day of temptation and difficulty. Two of their young men had been thrown into jail at Hamilton, and detained there for sixteen days in consequence of their being unable, on conscientious grounds, to serve in the militia. The subject was respectfully urged on the attention of Sir George Arthur, as it had been previously on that of Lord Durham; but I did not hear the result of either application.

"The attention of the Friends, at this meeting, was also closely directed to the subject of education; and it was determined to take immediate steps towards the establishment of a boarding school. The subscriptions made for the purpose, throughout the province, were aided by funds from New York and England; and before we left Canada, an excellent house and farm on the borders of Lake Ontario, admirably adapted for a manual labour boarding school, were purchased for the purpose."

In his Journal, after recording a few details of his engagements at Yonge Street and the neighbourhood, he concludes:—

9th mo., 1*st.* * * * O thou most gracious preserver of

men, be pleased to keep me in perfect safety, both of body and soul, as in the hollow of thy hand; and let me not move a single step out of thy pure wisdom, I humbly beseech thee. Enable me to maintain my integrity through good report and evil report. Let my words and works be all of thee, and therefore all thine; and for a purpose of thy own glory. Let my robes be washed white in the blood of the Lamb; calm my natural irritability; allay and subdue my fears; renew, confirm, and increase my faith. Let me ever realize thy power, thy love, thy presence; let me live, and walk, and rest in Jesus; restore me in due season, I humbly pray thee, if it seem good in thy sight, to my family and friends. Give more abundant grace to my precious children; guide us all by thy counsel; and afterwards receive us into thy glory, for Christ's sake, Amen.

After some weeks of diligent exertion, Joseph John Gurney completed his labours in Upper Canada; and, crossing Lake Ontario, spent a few days, previously to returning southwards, at Oswego, in the State of New York. Whilst here he writes in his Journal:—

9th mo., 29*th.* [I have been] much occupied by finishing two important documents. First, an epistle to Friends of Michigan. I hope and believe I had a little of the true unction in preparing this document; but it has cost me some close exercise of mind.* Secondly, long letter or report to Sir George Arthur, respecting various points in Upper Canada. We had hoped to sail for Sackett's harbour, with a view to Friends at Le Ray on fifth day; but have been impeded by the continued rough and stormy weather, together with an apprehension that my service was not complete in this place.

* The object of this Epistle was to point out the scriptural accuracy and practical importance of the views of Friends, especially on worship and the ministry; and their accordance, and necessary connexion, with the fundamental truths of the Gospel.

The mournful news has here reached me of the unexpected death of my long loved and truly faithful and loving friend, Sarah Buxton. Oh how I feel for dear Anna Gurney! And it is a true affliction to myself. Would that there were less of selfishness in my sorrow!

He was now looking forward to the prospect of spending the winter in the West Indies, for which purpose he expected to sail from New York in the 11th month. The intervening time was principally occupied in various engagements in the neighbourhood of New York and Philadelphia, and in attending, for a second time, the Yearly Meeting at Baltimore: —

Albany, 10*th mo.*, 1*st.* We are here at the Temperance house, after a fine journey through the valley of the Mohawk; my friend Dr. Sprague being absent. I called on his dear children; and felt happy in the house of "the good man," though its master was away. I have been tried a good deal during the day with doubts and fears, lest I should in any way have unduly turned my back on the Lord's work. But this evening I am at rest, in the renewed, humble, and consoling belief that all is well.

New York, 10*th mo.*, 7*th.* On sixth day, down the Hudson, to this city, where, in the house [of my faithful companion] Henry Hinsdale, our cup of peace overflowed. Yesterday was deeply interesting; two good meetings; between them read my Michigan Letter to Richard and Anne Mott, to their entire satisfaction; after the afternoon meeting, a precious time in William Waring's family in the sweet recollection of dear Sarah Waring; and after tea at E. Coggeshall's, a time of prayer and intimate intercourse, never to be forgotten, with her, Richard Mott, and Samuel Parsons. It was a most sweet and confirming taste of heavenly things.

On the steam boat in going from New York to

Philadelphia, he again met with Martin Van Buren, the President of the United States.

"He kindly recognized me," writes Joseph John Gurney, "and I was glad of the opportunity of conversing with him on a variety of interesting topics. He fully agreed in my view of the importance of the daily use of the Bible in the common schools, as well as on the subject of mildness in prison discipline; listened with pleasure to a description which I gave him, (in answer to his inquiries,) of Wilberforce and Buxton, and spoke with feeling on the subject of the African slave trade. He allowed me, at the same time, to press upon him the claims of the afflicted slaves. When the voluntary system in religion was mentioned, he justly observed that 'no other system was possible in America.' He was without any attendant except his son; but neither the simplicity of his mode of travelling nor that of his manners, interfered with his maintaining a certain dignified demeanour corresponding with his station. On parting, I presented him with the daily text book, published by my sister Elizabeth Fry. He was well acquainted with her character and objects, and received the gift with the easy politeness for which he is so remarkable."

Referring to his attendance of the Yearly Meeting at Baltimore, he writes in his Journal: —

11*th mo.*, 9*th.* [From] second day (the 28th ult.,) to fifth day inclusive, the Yearly Meeting; a really good time. My returning certificate passed in the meeting of ministers and elders with full unity. Meeting for worship on fourth day; a very open time; the doctrine of the supper fully developed. Meetings interspersed with good visits to Friends, and on the whole I had ample cause for believing that I had been again favoured to find my right place.

"As I continued," he remarks in one of his letters, "to

feel a lively interest in the welfare of the Hicksite community in those parts, and could not obtain the use of the meeting-house which they occupy, for the purpose of a public meeting with them, I thought it right to spend a day or two, during this visit to Baltimore, in writing a Christian address to that body. My object was to explain to the young people and others, the difference of sentiment, on points of the most fundamental character, which subsists between their leaders and the Society of Friends; and to call upon them to accept the Saviour of men in all his gracious offices: showing them, that it is by faith in him that we obtain the glorious gift of everlasting life. This address was approved by the Friends, printed, and extensively circulated; and I venture to entertain the hope, that it has been blessed to some at Baltimore, and in other parts of the country. Sure I am that it was written under feelings of Christian affection, and with a hearty desire for their spiritual and eternal welfare.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1839—40. ÆT. 52.

DEPARTURE FROM NEW YORK; VOYAGE; ARRIVAL AT SANTA CRUZ; ST. THOMAS; TORTOLA; ST. CHRISTOPHERS; ANTIGUA; DOMINICA; LETTER FROM THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON; JAMAICA; RESULT OF INVESTIGATIONS; ADDRESS TO THE PLANTERS; HAVANA; RETURN TO AMERICA.

ACCOMPANIED by his friend Mahlon Day of New York, Joseph John Gurney sailed from that city, in the Camilla, for Santa Cruz, on the 22nd of the 11th month. So many of the details of this voyage and of his visit to the West India Islands, are given in the volume which he subsequently published,* that it seems unnecessary to add much to the comparatively brief outline contained in his Journal.

11th mo., 22*nd*. Under a bright sun, with a favourable breeze, and with peace and ease of mind, we sailed about ten o'clock, and have since quite enjoyed the day. The scenery of the Bay, and in passing through the Narrows, beautiful; then the highlands of Jersey; and now, the sun having just set in splendour, we are fairly at sea, out of sight of land.

Many warm and dear friends have I left in America, but have no feeling on my mind, of having permanently parted

* See Winter in the West Indies.

from them, though for the present, my service there is closed.

With regard to the objects now in view, there are three, which severally in their distinct degrees, and very fully in their combination, seem to justify the devotion of the coming winter, to these "Isles afar off." The first is health—for I believe it is desirable, if not needful for me, to avoid another winter in North America. Secondly—slavery, a view for myself of the working of emancipation, with the design of subsequently reporting it; and, I hope that there will therein be a full answer to my dear sister Fry's prayer, that my mission might be blessed to the cause of liberty, as well as to that of religion. Thirdly, and above all, the gospel mission. May it please the Lord to preserve me in safety, and to bless the mission to all these objects! I have earnestly prayed, that he would be pleased to deliver me from all fears, and from all cares. It is indeed an affecting farther recession from home, and from my children and family circle. I have heartily committed them and all my concerns to the Lord. Deeply and inexpressibly unworthy as I am, I now and then catch a *glimpse of glory to come*. The truth of these prospects is wonderfully confirmed to my mind, by the realizing of the touches of his holy hand in this pilgrimage. I can and do pray, that he will permit and enable me to bring the whole of this transatlantic mission to a sound and satisfactory conclusion. Hitherto he has wonderfully helped and guided me. I must not, will not, distrust him.

12*th mo.*, 1*st*. We have sped along finely on our voyage, having been favoured with an uninterrupted fair wind, being now in 22 deg. north latitude, enjoying a delightful trade wind; the sky clear, the sea quiet, and the temperature delicious. It is cause for true thankfulness that we have been permitted to hold our meetings to-day to our comfort. That in the cabin this morning, with our whole company of passengers, very satisfactory and relieving to me. Then with the sailors; and, in the afternoon, Scripture reading, &c., on deck. This evening has been one of quiet leisure. I hope a degree of thankfulness clothes my spirit. The Lord be praised!

TO HIS CHILDREN.

12*th mo.*, 3*rd.* At sea; on board the Camilla. We are moving along very slowly this morning, perhaps at the rate of two miles *per* hour; the weather delicious; but our expectations of seeing land have not been realized; I question whether they will be before to-morrow or next day. I trust it is in the ordering of a gracious Providence that I am now enjoying a delightful, settled summer, instead of the capricious beginnings of a North American winter. May we be enabled entirely and unfeignedly to put our trust in the "Shepherd of Israel!" I rose between four and five this morning, being called by the captain to take a view of "the Cross," the favourite constellation of the southern hemisphere. The sight which I obtained of it, before a cloud obscured it, was too transient to allow of my saying much for its beauty; but the four stars of which it is composed were not very striking to my eye. I enjoyed a finer spectacle when I turned towards the east; the almost expiring Moon, Venus, and Mars, were in all their splendour; and the profusion of azure, lilac, ultramarine, pea-green, orange, and crimson, which mantled the sky about half an hour before sunrise, I certainly never saw equalled. One of our sailors displayed symptoms yesterday both of thievishness and mutiny, and after a pretty violent conflict, was tied up to be flogged. The execution of the sentence, at our intercession, was remitted; and the spirited conduct of the captain, ending with an act of clemency, seems to have worked well.

Fourth day afternoon, 12*th mo.*, 4*th.* About noon yesterday we caught our first sight of land, viz., of the Virgin Gorda, a rocky island, of two cones, of considerable elevation, uninhabited, and like the rest of the Virgin Islands, evidently of volcanic origin. Soon after, Tortola, St. John's, and St. Thomas, came into view, but at a great distance. The first sight of the West Indies could not fail to be very interesting to my feelings. In the afternoon we were entertained by the appearance of a "sea lawyer," *i.e.*, a shark of noble dimensions,

which followed the vessel for a long time; the first I ever saw; his broad head, agile body, and flapping green fins, were quite a spectacle; and I saw his little myrmidon fishes which accompanied him on his journey; little blue creatures, striped with pink. Various attempts were made to entrap him; but though evidently attracted by the bait, he seemed to have a perfect notion of the hook within, and refused to be caught. It is his known discernment and cunning that have imparted to him the name of Lawyer. The scene on early rising this morning was lovely; the sky was again gloriously adorned, and the southern Cross, which I found I had not truly seen before, shone forth beautifully; four stars thus arranged ⁘. The islands of Virgin Gorda, Tortola, St. John's, and St. Thomas, with their peaked volcanic tops full in sight, at the distance of about twenty miles; the extreme clearness of the atmosphere producing an apparent nearness. They were seen in the west. In the far distant east were just discernible the lofty mountains of Porto Rico, where, alas! slavery exists in its worst form.

Sixth day 12*th mo.*, 6*th.* We have just landed at the little town of West End, Santa Cruz, two weeks from the time of weighing anchor at New York. The approach to this beautiful island was singularly interesting; fine conical hills and mountains cultivated to their tops, partly red where the hoe had been at work, and partly bright green with the sugar canes. Cocoa nut trees, with their strange looking but elegant deciduous branches scattered over the scene. Neat settlements of the planters visible in different places, consisting of a handsome dwelling, a mill for grinding the canes, sugar boiling houses, and neat-looking negro huts in the distance. I have made several sketches on board ship, and fear I shall fill my sketch-books somewhat too rapidly. We have obtained excellent accommodation at Rebecca Rogers' boarding-house, where our dear friend Mary Parsons died last year, and are greeted on our arrival by Samuel Parsons, jun., who is here on business; he intends sailing to-night for New York, which affords an excellent opportunity for my sending this despatch.

Santa Cruz, it will be recollected, is one of the islands belonging to Denmark. "The slaves," remarks Joseph John Gurney, in the volume above alluded to, "form about four-fifths of the population, and are in number about 19,000. Time was, when the treatment to which they were exposed was harsh and severe; and then their numbers were constantly declining. Of late years, however, the Danish government has instituted various restrictions which have ameliorated the condition of the slaves. * * * [Yet] the degradation occasioned by slavery in the Danish islands—the low physical, intellectual, and moral condition of the slaves, as compared with those of the liberated negroes of the British islands, is obvious and unquestionable."

Santa Cruz, 12*th mo.*, 8*th*. We have been holding a good meeting in the airy hall of our lodgings, this morning; about forty present; there seemed rather an unusual opening for service among them. The black servants of the house present, and the boarders from some other houses. I must, with all gratitude, acknowledge that I feel no inconsiderable comfort and happiness in being here; wonderfully divested of anxiety, and enjoying the indescribably balmy breezes. There is a fanning of the nerves in it, which is certainly very pleasurable; but I humbly trust, that the sources of my happiness lie deeper. My companions, in their respective places, are truly valuable. I think I could not be better suited than by Mahlon Day, a friend and brother indeed.

12*th mo.*, 11*th*. We held good and relieving meetings on first day; at our own quarters in the morning; and at Elizabeth Boyle's in the afternoon. In the evening read the Scriptures at Captain Godwin's. We had obtained, as we supposed, the sanction of the Judge (Anderson) for these comparatively private religious services. But the next day great difficulties were made about them by the police, and a formal

order sent to each of the boarding houses to prevent them. This was very trying to my feelings, but I could not accuse myself of having acted otherwise than prudently. Yesterday, we went to Bassin, the other end of the island—a fine drive; and were introduced by our friend David Rogers, the American consul, to Governor Söbötker, who received us civilly; but after expressing that he had no objection to our meetings at the boarding houses, subsequently confirmed the Judge's order; so that our way is so far hedged up, but some opening seems to arise for our using the Episcopalian chapel.

12*th mo.*, 19*th.* Last first day was one of much quietness; and we have since formed several interesting Christian acquaintances. Our proposal for holding public meetings is acceded to by the Government, and we look to next first day for the accomplishment of the object. I feel the weight of it very much. May we be graciously helped through! Last evening I attended a religious meeting held by Luccock with Sabbath-school teachers. It was large. I spoke freely on several points, especially "waiting;" and prayed at the conclusion of the meeting. This was much to my relief.

12*th mo.*, 29*th.* It is not easy or familiar work to be engaged, as I now am, in these tropical regions; and I sometimes feel my total separation from all my friends more than a little. Yet I have great cause for thankfulness that my way has hitherto been graciously made, and that we are favoured with the rich blessing of health. Last first day, the 22nd, we held large meetings at West End and Bassin, and afterwards enjoyed some very pleasant intercourse with our friends on the island, especially with the many kind and zealous ones in the neighbourhood of West End. Our parting seemed without a cloud.

After a visit of nearly three weeks, Joseph John Gurney left Santa Cruz, and proceeded to St. Thomas, an island which also belongs to the crown of Denmark.

St. Thomas, 12*th mo.*, 29*th.* We left West End on fourth day, 25th, in a schooner for this place, where we arrived on fifth day morning. The beauty of the scenery here is great, but commerce and pleasure seem to engross and absorb the population of this emporium of the West Indies. We have been kindly treated by Edward Simmons and his family, from Philadelphia; and have enjoyed some pleasant hours with them, including his son-in-law, Frederick Peniston, and his wife. Abraham Lebagh, the Dutch Reform minister, has been very obliging, and lends us his place of worship for our public meeting, giving up his own service for it. Thus our way is again open. O that grace and power may be given to me, to make known the everlasting riches which are in Christ, for the benefit of some immortal souls!

Referring to Tortola, the island next visited, he remarks, "we could not but feel an intense interest in making our first visit to a British island, peopled with emancipated negroes. Out of a population of nearly five thousand there are scarcely more than two hundred white persons; but we heard of no inconvenience arising from this disparity."

Tortola, 1*st mo.*, 5*th*, 1840. Again I have to record many mercies. Our meeting at St. Thomas', on first day, was held to our satisfaction, and apparently to that of the people. On third day we set sail, from that island, and reached this port on fourth day morning to breakfast. We have spent an uncommonly pleasant and interesting time here, having been warmly received by our friends Isaac Thomas, William Rogers, Judge Wigley, Dr. Dyett, Dr. Stovo, R. V. Shew, J. Dubois, and many others, including Drummond Hay, the young president. We have ridden about this romantic island in every direction, and have enjoyed the high pleasure of finding the cause of free labour going on well, without a single complaint. The evidence of this fact has poured in upon us.

To-day we have been blessed with excellent meetings. In

the morning at the Methodist chapel; large attendance of black labourers, all well dressed; the gentry also there. This afternoon at the African settlement, under a tamarind tree, we met a community of free Africans, taken out of slave-ships: a most willing-hearted and attentive audience, 200 or 300. Thus we have abundant cause for thankfulness, and I feel much relieved, and favoured with sweet peace.

In the volume above noticed, he observes:—

Tortola was once the seat of a little society of Friends, and one of our most eminent travelling ministers of former days, Thomas Chalkley, found there a field of labour, and a grave. There are no members of the Society now on the Island, but there is a small community of black people settled as tenants in common, on an estate once belonging to Samuel and Mary Nottingham, Quakers of high character. About sixty years ago they liberated their slaves from conscientious motives, and gave them their estate at Longlook, on the eastern coast. A letter of Christian advice, addressed to their predecessors, by these pious persons, then living at Bristol, is still cherished by the Negroes on the property, about sixty in number, and held as a sort of title-deed to the estate.* We had great pleasure in visiting them. Their land is on the brow of a mountain, and a considerable part of it is well cultivated with yams and other vegetables. We held a religious meeting with them, in the largest of their cottages, and were entirely satisfied with their respectable appearance and behaviour.

Having pursued their voyage to St. Christopher's, Joseph John Gurney writes:—

Second day, 1*st mo.*, 13*th.* We arrived safely at St. Kitts on sixth day morning, after a noble sail by Anguilla, St. Mar-

*See a copy of this letter in the Appendix, at pp. 233, 234, of the Winter in the West Indies,

tin's, Saba, St. Bartholomew's, St. Eustatia. The approach to St. Kitts magnificent; the Monkey Mountain, 3600 feet high, covered with wood; and the appearance of prosperous cultivation in the plains, very cheering, eleven vessels in the harbour waiting for sugars.

On our landing we soon found that dangerous bilious fever pervaded the town, Basseterre, and were greatly disappointed at learning that Charles Cunningham, the governor, was absent. Finding no lodging in the town, we took up our quarters at the delightful government house, on the invitation of the Secretary and the President of the Council. There we continued, kindly cared for by the steward, until this morning, and three interesting days we have had.

Seventh day. Ride before breakfast; call on Robt. Claxton, the Solicitor-General; spent the morning in a ride with A. Burt, over the hills to Cayon, where I had much satisfaction in visiting the Moravian settlement under the care of brother Münzer. In the course of this day I obtained much important and highly encouraging information respecting the free labourers, and the general prosperity of the colony. The Methodists and Moravians are doing great things on this island, their labours tell on vast masses of the population.

Yesterday was, I trust, a favoured sabbath. Large meeting at the Methodist meeting-house at eleven o'clock. Spiritual religion declared to an intelligent and willing-hearted audience. Afterwards called on R. R. Cleghorn, stipendiary magistrate, who was ill with the fever; very interesting communication with him on slavery. In the evening we had a good meeting in the Moravian chapel, which was filled to excess; great numbers about the house. It left me tired, but easy in mind. This morning we have enjoyed interesting seasons with the household at the Governor's; with the lively, intelligent children at the Moravian school; with A. Burt and his wife; and finally with a company of sailors on the sea-shore. We are now embarked for Antigua, and may probably call at Montserrat.

Antigua, 1*st mo.*, 16*th*. After a favourable voyage of two

days and nights, we landed here yesterday morning, and have renewed cause for humble gratitude for the protection and loving-kindness of our Lord. Soon after our arrival, James Cox, the exemplary Methodist minister, kindly granted me the use of his chapel for a public meeting in the evening, at their usual time. A large number of persons attended, and I think it was a quiet satisfactory meeting. I feel a great desire that in these successive services I may be preserved on the true ground, and that I may be graciously favoured with yet more of the true anointing. This morning, a precious time of prayer followed our morning reading, in our retirement in my own chamber. Kind calls from James Gordon, once of Runcton, and from Archdeacon Davis.

At Antigua Joseph John Gurney was detained several weeks, partly by indisposition. The evidence there afforded him of the beneficial effects of emancipation was very satisfactory. Amongst other interesting and benevolent individuals with whom he became acquainted, he enjoyed frequent opportunities of intercourse with the Governor, Sir Wm. Colebrooke, who "seemed," he remarks, "to derive pleasure from freely imparting his just and admirable views of Colonial policy, founded on the immutable basis of Christian principle."

Writing at Dominica, the island next visited, he says:—

2nd mo., *2nd.* Finding myself much recovered, I fell to work again; and on fourth day (the 29th ult.) visited the jail and house of correction, and held little meetings in each, accompanied by Chief Justice Nanton, W. Marshall, Dr. Wood, &c. Then the endowed grammar school; then the Moravians and their school, pleasant and satisfactory interview; then, after an early dinner, to the Solicitor-General, Robert Horsford, at Dewitt's, a pleasant call; and, in the evening, a long

call from Sir William Colebrooke, and further documents to look over.

On fifth day morning, sailed for this island, which, after a rough, sea-sick, but otherwise favourable voyage, we reached on sixth day night. We landed before breakfast yesterday morning, and were comfortably housed and boarded at Maria Dalrymple's. There we found some interesting coloured brethren, with whom we took sweet counsel in the Truth, enjoying a precious solemnity after breakfast; the regular ministers absent at their conference at St. Kitt's. Called on Major Macphail, the Governor; and afterwards, with our young energetic coloured friends, rode about the luxuriant romantic country until night overtook us. In the evening, spent a very agreeable hour or two at the governor's. Nothing can well exceed the beauty of this island, both on approaching it by sea and in the interior. Nature is here fertility embodied; and freedom is working admirably, notwithstanding the obstructions interposed in some matters by self-will and old prejudices.

FROM THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON.

44, Via Condotti, Rome,
January 6th, 1840.

How passing strange it is that I should write from Rome, addressing you in Barbadoes! I wish we could change places for a few days. Neither St. Peter's, nor the Capitol, nor the dying gladiator, nor Apollo himself, all beautiful as he is, are so interesting to me as would be the sight of the negroes, working for their own benefit, and sheltered by law from the lash of the cart-whip. It is a sight I pant to behold. * * * *

I have enjoyed both the country, and the wonderful works of art in Rome, more than I had any notion that I could. Rome is, in truth, a wonderful place. There is hardly anything more remarkable than the profusion of its treasures. You go to a villa of which you have heard next to nothing, and you see scattered in all directions a quarry of beautiful cut marble. What must Rome have been in its glory, when

its relics are so surpassing? It must be remembered that there is now only what the Goths, and the Dark Ages, and the various conquerors have left. Everything bespeaks wonderful intellect. But then—the base, cruel, cowardly ruffians—the whole population pouring into the Coliseum to see two poor captives hew one another to pieces; and finding infinite delight and merriment in such a holiday! There too—close by the theatre of their entertainment—is the dank prison in which, according to a tradition which has some warrant, Paul prayed and shivered. I wish the conquerors could have known that more true and lasting renown would cleave to that despised prisoner than to the chief of their immortal heroes.

From Dominica Joseph John Gurney proceeded, by way of Santa Cruz, to Jamaica. He had, at one time, contemplated a visit to Barbadoes and Trinidad. "There is, I confess," he writes in his Journal, "a disappointment to the natural feelings in not going forward; but as, when Paul 'assayed to go into Bithynia, the Spirit suffered him not;' so I think it is with me in the present case, as in former instances during this pilgrimage."

Santa Cruz, 2nd mo., 16th. We arrived on third day, and met with a cordial welcome. We have since visited several of our friends, and have had remarkable religious opportunities at each house. There seems scarcely a possibility now of our getting to America in time for Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. I must endeavour quietly to leave it. I have been striving to do right, and if I have in any respect been mistaken, I trust my dear Lord will overrule my infirmities for good; and that he will not take his Holy Spirit from me, or cast me away from his divine presence.

At Sea, 2nd mo., 23rd. After the above entry, the Whitmores and some other friends sat down with us at our lodgings, and, notwithstanding past difficulties, we were

favoured with a precious meeting, and the police gave us no farther molestation. In the afternoon we read with the "slaves" of the house, and spent a highly interesting evening at the Ruans. Many of the Santa Cruz gentry were there. I read John xiv, and a very solemn meeting was held afterwards; I was in conclusion much engaged in prayer. It seemed the crown to our religious labours in the island, and left me happy and at ease.

On second day I completed the prospective arrangement respecting the ship Whitmore, and our voyage from Jamaica, and spent half an hour with General Söbötker, the governor, with a view of giving him the result of our inspection of the working of freedom in the islands we had visited. I hope the interview answered some good purpose; and I left a similar report in writing with our friend Luccock, for General Von Scholten, the governor-general, on his return to the island. After interesting leave-taking visits from many of our friends, who loaded us with kindness and presents, we set sail [in the Eclipse] last third day afternoon with a fair breeze, and calm and satisfied minds; having, through mercy, met with clear evidence that our return to Santa Cruz had been timely and right.

We have been favoured so far with a remarkably fine voyage, having for the most part a favourable wind, and have passed along under the southern coasts of Porto Rico and Hayti. The latter being strange to all on board, and our calculations of longitude being little more than guess-work, we have been put to some difficulty. The opening upon us of Alto Velo and Beata, sixty miles a-head of our calculation, on sixth day afternoon, was very agreeable. We then turned north-west, with a view of landing at Jaquemel harbour, [in Hayti;] but the next morning found ourselves becalmed before a part of the coast which we were wholly unable to ascertain. In the evening we moved westward, and at night-fall came to a wild romantic spot, which so far corresponded with my apprehensions of Jaquemel, that I determined, notwithstanding a fair wind for progress, to stay the vessel in its course until morning. The affair cost me

much deep feeling and even conflict, which was heightened this morning, when upon farther inspection of the coast, I became clearly convinced that we were before our proposed harbour—a wild, desolate looking spot. The captain, mate, and all the rest of the party were, however, of a different judgment, and I gave leave for the vessel to be turned to her westward course, a fair wind blowing freshly. Sure as I felt that we had missed our port, and had thus lost the opportunity of the visit to Hayti, I felt deeply tried and even afflicted for a time; but very soon an entire calm was most graciously brought over my mind, and I became convinced that it was best for me to proceed without delay towards Jamaica. Since then we have had a splendid voyage along the remaining magnificent coast of Hayti, and are now on our way to Jamaica.

TO HIS CHILDREN.

On board the Eclipse, 2nd mo., 2nd, 1840.

* * * * * *

I am more preserved from anxiety respecting you than I could have anticipated. I believe I have given you up to the Lord, and he graciously enables me to feel confidence, that he continues to care for you in body and in spirit. Most earnest is my solicitude, deeply felt on this solemn Sabbath day, that you may each of you grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. I beseech you to watch unto prayer. Remember how ill your father could bear the least departure, on your part, from that narrow path, in which it becomes you to walk. Let us look cheerfully forward, in submission to the Divine will, to the probability of our meeting in the course of the present year, perhaps in the summer; and let us individually strive to correct every undesirable habit, that we may find each other improved, intellectually, morally, and spiritually. Then, surely, our meeting will be joy indeed!

On his arrival at Kingston, in Jamaica, he had the satisfaction of meeting his friends John and Maria Candler, from England, who had been already many weeks in the island, with the view

principally, of applying a fund raised by the Society of Friends, in England, for the benefit of the negro population.

Kingston, Jamaica. First day evening, 3rd mo., 1st. We landed here in safety, on fourth day morning, and were warmly greeted by John and Maria Candler, and their friends, Charles Lake, and William Anderson, of the legislature. They had prepared very comfortable lodgings for us. We have since spent two good evenings at John Candler's, with several pious people.

Yesterday afternoon, visits to the House of Correction and County Jail; bad and insufficient prisons, the latter particularly; but the meetings held there were I hope good times, especially in the open yard of the jail; interesting hour afterwards with William and Lucy Anderson. To-day we have been favoured with two very large meetings, about three thousand each; one at Samuel Oughton's Baptist meeting-house in the morning; an almost entirely black congregation; and a very promiscuous one at the Wesleyan meeting-house this afternoon. I hope and believe that our divine Helper and Master was with us on these occasions. I felt enabled to speak very plainly to the coloured people in the morning; in the afternoon, I had to set forth the gospel remedy for all man's obliquities. In both meetings the people were solid and attentive; very quiet in the times of silence.

Joseph John Gurney continued in Jamaica rather more than four weeks. During most of this period, besides attending to the various calls of religious duty, he was diligently occupied in journeying through the principal districts of the island, carefully investigating and noting the actual state of things around him.

Spanish Town, 3rd mo., 5th. I rose on second day morning, calm and peaceful. Excursion with John and Maria Candler,

to Papine; (Wildman's sugar estate;) breakfasted with W. Manning, catechist; visit to Hope estate; and to the Independent negro village. Except at table after breakfast, no religious service during the day. The information respecting the negroes, in general, satisfactory; returned to Kingston in time to dine at George Atkinson's, at whose house we met others of the planters; their information favourable. Third and fourth days spent in a very interesting expedition to Halberstadt coffee establishment, in the Port Royal mountains. Evening ride to Bloxburgh estate; good accounts at both; scenery delightful. Next morning, little meeting after breakfast with many of the black people, and a loud call extended to "depart from all iniquity;" fine ride afterwards to Lucky Valley sugar and coffee estate, where we were entertained by Hector M. Wood. Returned by the beautiful falls of the Falls river, between steep limestone rocks, to the tavern where our carriage was left; thence to Kingston, which place we left this morning with a view to a fortnight's tour, intending to hold meetings here on first day. I trust the Lord is still condescending to guide.

Sixth day morning. We had a noble anti-slavery meeting last evening in Phillippo's chapel; a large assembly; much good feeling; some little violence of expression. I had to advert to the practical points of the case, and to recommend quietness, charity, industry, &c., all which was well received; and in the retrospect I feel peace. After breakfast this morning, we were favoured spiritually to draw water together from the living spring. Present, J. and M. Candler, Captain Stewart, the American and Scottish missionaries; and the Baptist minister. Somewhat felt of that unity which is beyond all questions of form and administration.

St. Ann's Bay, 3rd mo., 12th. I am writing from a beautiful spot; a fine view of the bay and little town; the humming birds flitting about; the body rested by a good night; the mind easy.

On third day we reached Jericho; a fine drive through St. Thomas in the Vale; passed by the notorious Rodney

Hall workhouse, which it was no longer necessary to visit; arrived in pouring rain at the Baptist missionary's; most kindly taken in and entertained. Many hundreds of the quondam slaves came to meeting in the evening. It was a good lively time. We had a precious time of ministry, &c., with the Merrick's and Phillippo's, who accompanied us so far, yesterday morning, but we were too late in our start for this place. We found the journey difficult, and could not get over the ground with any speed, especially in passing over Mount Diavolo. The rich, wooded scenery on the heights, and that of the descent to Moneague, highly beautiful. It was with extreme difficulty that we reached the Baptist chapel here just as the people were dispersing. We were enabled to rally them, and were favoured with a good, though short, meeting. The message of the Lord was, I trust, delivered in some measure of life and power. Nothing could exceed the loving attention of the people.

Mount Carey, Thomas Burchell's, 3rd mo., 16th. Fifth day, peculiarly interesting; fine journey, first through the sugar grounds by the coast for seven or eight miles, all appearing prosperous; then up a mountain covered with pimento trees. We then came to Antrim estate. John Candler and I borrowed two ponies of some black people going to the meeting, and rode eight miles through a beautiful country. The rest of the party came with the carriages over the difficult passes, with the help of several kind negroes. We overtook crowds of these people going to the meeting at Brownstown, which I had appointed. It was a goodly sight. We were hospitably received by John Clark, the valuable Baptist missionary. The meeting large and affecting. Our party left behind arrived safely, to our great joy, before it finished. The next day, a pleasant journey through a fruitful prospering country, to Falmouth; where we met a warm welcome from brother Ward and the widow Nicholls. Good, but not very large meeting in the evening; plain advice given to the labourers.—"Whatsoever ye do, do it heartily, as unto the Lord, and not unto men;"—cultivation of the soil;

cultivation of the mind; Scripture; care of children, &c. It was well received. The next morning, calls on the several ministers; visit to the prisons; and pleasant journey to Montego Bay, where we were kindly taken in by Thomas Burchell's wife, he being absent.

Yesterday was a fine, encouraging sabbath. Nearly 3000 people, almost exclusively black, at the chapel in the morning; a good, solemn meeting. John Candler and myself both engaged; the seriousness of the people wonderful. In the afternoon, visits to the miserable house of correction and jail, and meetings in them. In the evening, a very crowded and satisfactory meeting at the Methodist meeting-house.

Mandeville, 3rd mo., 22nd. Our week has been a remarkable one. Our two days of retirement at Mount Carey, (though I felt every way weak at the time,) gave me the opportunity of writing my intended address to the planters on reconciliation, to the satisfaction of my own mind, and that of my friends.* We also inspected some of the neighbouring estates; visited a capital school connected with the mission, and held a good meeting on third day evening. Conversation after meeting with the people of Montpelier estate, (Lord Seaford's;) up till midnight to finish the Address.

Fourth day morning to Bethcltown, another Baptist station, to breakfast with Thomas Burchell, where they have about 2000 hearers, and another school. We were much united with him. He is a gentleman and a Christian, of modest manners and solid worth; I doubt not a highly important instrument in the hand of the Lord. A drive of about twenty miles, afterwards, to George Marcey's, a pious proprietor, belonging to the Church of England, living in a beautiful penn. He gave us a very kind reception, and we held a good meeting with his people, and a still better one on fifth day morning before we parted.

Sixth day, went six miles to Barton estate to breakfast,

* This address is printed in the Winter in the West Indies, Appendix C.

under the care of the stipendiary magistrate, Ricketts; the estate capitally managed. Thence up to Boguehill, after calling at Bogue, a Moravian mission station; where we found a pretty good school, and a kind German brother; also at William Foster's; he with his family being proprietors of 10,000 acres in that lovely country, now doing well. A very difficult, tedious route, under the guidance of Dr. Hay, whom we met at Foster's, brought us before nightfall to Weare Penn, in Manchester, the residence of John Davy, who has twenty estates in good order under his care. There we were comfortably lodged, though he was absent. In the morning he and Dr. Davy, the custos, came to us, also Dr. Stewart, the rector. I read the address to them, and the morning's conversation with this circle was fully to our satisfaction. We then spent four or five hours in travelling a difficult road to this place, where we arrived in safety last evening. A solemn time of waiting and prayer concluded the evening, in which our far distant beloved ones were remembered before the Lord. In the remembrance of many striking little providences during the past week, we have abundant cause for gratitude; and for renewed faith and confidence in our Holy Redeemer.

In his work upon the West Indies, Joseph John Gurney carefully reviews the state of the colony as it had come under his own observation in the course of this visit. Freely admitting that the total produce had, to some extent, decreased, with the change from slavery to freedom; and that such decrease was obviously to be traced to a corresponding diminution in the quantity of labour, he proceeds to remark:—

"But here comes the critical question; the real turning point. To what is this diminution in the quantity of labour owing? I answer deliberately, but without reserve, '*mainly* to causes which class under slavery, and not under freedom.'

It is, for the most part, the result of those impolitic attempts to force the labour of free men, which have disgusted the peasantry, and have led to the desertion of many of the estates. * * * In the mean time, the imports of the island are rapidly increasing; trade improving; the towns thriving; new villages rising in every direction; property much enhanced in value; well-managed estates productive and profitable; expenses of management diminished; short methods of labour adopted; provisions cultivated on a larger scale than ever; and the people, wherever they are properly treated, industrious, contented, and gradually accumulating wealth. Above all, education is rapidly spreading; the morals of the community improving; crime in many districts disappearing; and Christianity asserting her sway, with vastly augmented force, over the mass of the population. Cease from all attempts to oppose the current of justice and mercy; remove every obstruction to the fair and full working of freedom; and the bud of Jamaica's prosperity, already fragrant and vigorous, will soon burst into a glorious flower."

Their journey of investigation closed with a visit to Spanish Town, the seat of the government. The colonial legislature was now assembled, and they took the opportunity of listening to one of the debates, and of calling upon Sir Charles Metcalfe, the governor, with whom they enjoyed the privilege of long and free conversation.

"Like ourselves," writes Joseph John Gurney, "he had just returned from a tour of inspection in other parts of the island. It was, therefore, a great satisfaction to us, to find that he had imbibed the same convictions as we had, respecting the impropriety of mixing up the questions of rent and wages, and of all attempts to compel the labour of free men; that he rejoiced as much as ourselves in the rapid increase of villages of independent negro settlers; and that he fully concurred with us as to the most efficacious modes of ensuring the

continuous labour of the people on the estates of their former masters.

* * * * * *

"At the governor's table in the evening, we met most of the principal officials of the island — the chief justice, the bishop, the attorney general, the advocate general, the colonial secretary, several members of the council, &c. We believed it right to comply with the governor's kind request, that we should be present on the occasion. Nothing could be more friendly than the treatment which we met with from the company. The dinner was moderate, though handsome: temperance was strictly maintained, and the conversation was rational and agreeable. We took our leave at night, under feelings of Christian love and regard for all present. May they remember that for public as well as private men, the law of righteousness is the *only* law of safety and of peace!

"On the following day we returned to Kingston, where we found our friends just arrived [in the Whitmore,] from Santa Cruz, and with them, Miguel Cabrera de Nevares, Governor of Madrid, who had been lately acting as Commissioner from the Queen of Spain, in the revisal of the municipal laws of the Spanish West Indian Colonies. Our friends had taken him up at St. John's, Porto Rico, with a view of affording him a conveyance to Havana.

"This circumstance turned out to be of no small importance to myself. For, after the Spanish consul at Kingston, full of the fears so natural to the abettors of slavery, had positively refused me a passport for Cuba, and had even written to the captain-general of that island, erroneously representing me as the president of the Anti-slavery Society, our friend Cabrera induced him to alter his letter; and afterwards, by his personal influence, procured me a quiet landing, and polite reception at Havana. Thus had we again to acknowledge that superintending hand of our heavenly Father, which provides for all the needs of those who desire to serve him.

"At Kingston I was occupied for a short time in carrying through the press a small pamphlet, addressed to the planters, and entitled Reconciliation recommended to all parties in

Jamaica. The object of this address was to show the absolute identity of interest which now subsists among the planters, the labourers, and the abolitionists; and to call upon them all to unite, heart and hand, on just and salutary principles, in promoting the prosperity of this noble colony. We have since had the satisfaction of learning that it was well received by all parties.*

"Our last day in Jamaica was the first of the week, 3rd mo., 29th. Great is the privilege of one day in seven, expressly set apart for the purpose of rest and worship. For ourselves, we felt it to be salutary to cease from the investigation of secular points, however interesting, and again to unite with our fellow men, in drawing near in spirit to the Fountain of every blessing. We held our morning meeting in one of the Baptist chapels; the congregation, chiefly black, was deeply serious, and when the subject of the afflictions of Africa arose before us, the feeling of the people became intense. Many of them are awakened to a lively interest in the religious welfare of the people from whom they spring. The rising of this spirit of love and zeal on behalf of the land of their forefathers, has been one of the blessed accompaniments of their freedom. In the afternoon we again met, in the Wesleyan meeting-house, a vast assembly of persons of all ranks and classes; and, after once more pressing upon their attention those fundamental principles, in the maintenance of which the true church of Christ, of every name, country, and colour, is one body, we took a last solemn leave of Jamaica and her inhabitants. The next morning we parted from our English friends, who continued for the present on the island, went on board the ship Whitmore, and, as soon as wind and tide permitted, set sail for Havana."

The voyage to Havana occupied upwards of a week.

"Baffling winds and calms detained us," writes Joseph John Gurney, "for two or three days; our last pig and fowl

* See Appendix C, at the end of the Winter in the West Indies, pp. 236–252.

had been eaten; we were beginning somewhat seriously to long for the land, when, one delightful evening, a favourable breeze sprang up, and brought us, in full sail, past the Moro Castle and Lighthouse, into the port of Havana. It was the 9th of the 4th month. The scene was very animating and beautiful. The Moro is built on a dark rock, on the left of the entrance; on a hill above it stand the Cabanas, a fort of prodigious dimensions, in which is stationed a large body of Spanish soldiers. Before us lay the wide-spreading old city, said to contain one hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants; a few green hills were seen in the distance, and when we had passed the Moro, the land-locked port full of shipping, including three British men of war, and surmounted by some handsome public buildings, was suddenly opened to our view. It is a port of great resort and traffic, far exceeding, in this respect, any other in the dominions of Spain. With the exception of the Governor of Madrid, we continued on board for the night; and early the next morning received a notice, that we were all permitted to land without undergoing any of the usual formalities. The British Consul, Charles Tolmé, came on board to pay his respects to some of our passengers. I found that he was an old friend of mine, whom I had not seen for thirty years. He gave me a hearty welcome, and accompanied me, on our landing, to the Government House, as I wished to pay my respects to the Prince of Anglona, the Captain General of Cuba. Our friend Cabrera had already conveyed to him a letter of introduction which I had brought with me from the Governor of Jamaica; and I considered that an early call was due to him from a friend to the slaves and a Christian minister, whom he had so kindly permitted to land, at all hazards. The Prince, who is one of the old nobility of Spain, is a person of small stature, and by no means imposing in his appearance, but of good talents and liberal politics. He received us with great politeness, and even apologized to our consul for my having been refused a passport in Jamaica. He spoke French fluently, and talked to us for a few minutes in a friendly manner. No oppor-

tunity offered for conversation on important topics, and we soon retired."

The Journal thus continues the narrative: —

4th mo., 16*th.* I was much with my old friend Charles Tolmé, the British consul, and his wife and family; visited Captain Hawkins, of the Romney, and James Kennedy, judge of the joint commission court; saw the slavers now in the harbour; visited the baracoons, as well as the prison and other public institutions; obtained a great deal of valuable information, and am thankful that I have been permitted to visit Havana. We returned to our vessel on first day evening, and sailed on second day morning. A quiet little meeting at Watts' boarding house, on first day morning; and a Scripture reading, in the evening, on board ship, were agreeable and refreshing. Each morning since, we have been favoured with comfortable readings, &c.; and although not insensible of much deep infirmity, I have been on the whole tranquil and happy.

At Savannah, Georgia, 4th mo., 22*nd.* We arrived here in safety on second day the 20th, after experiencing great danger at sea from a violent thunder storm on the night of the 18th, in which our ship was struck with lightning, and for some time was supposed to be on fire; but we were mercifully protected, and, after some trial of our faith, delivered from our danger. The next morning, (first day,) we held a meeting on deck; both passengers and crew were gathered together in much solemnity, and I hope a serious impression was made on all our minds. In the evening, there was again every prospect of a tempest, but the weather cleared. It was very pleasant to arrive on the American shores in safety, and we are permitted to reap the reward of peace. I find myself happy in my quiet bed chamber, opposite to a grove of trees in the square; and certainly feel much more fit for this seclusion, than for a third time attending the Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia.

CHAPTER XXXV.

1840. ÆT. 52—53.

SAVANNAH; CHARLESTON; SECOND VISIT TO WASHINGTON; INTERVIEWS WITH THE PRESIDENT, J. C. CALHOUN, HENRY CLAY, &c.; NEW YORK AND NEW ENGLAND YEARLY MEETINGS; LETTER TO HIS CHILDREN; VOYAGE HOME; EXTRACTS FROM JOURNAL.

Joseph John Gurney's labours in America were now drawing to a close. He had looked forward with much interest to being once more present at the Yearly Meeting of Friends at Philadelphia; but circumstances, over which he had no control, prevented him from reaching that city in time to accomplish that object. Whilst at sea, on his voyage to Havana, in allusion to this subject, he wrote in his Journal:—

4th mo., 9th. I have passed through some hours of conflict, in times of calm, in the view of Philadelphia; but during the past night, some relief has been experienced from this prospect. I have compared the peculiar fetters of mind which I have long felt respecting that Yearly Meeting, to those which I once endured in reference to the parliamentary prospect. Oh! the inexpressible relief which I felt when, in one midnight hour, those fetters were unexpectedly broken, and I was left free from the concern, ready for work in the depth of Spitalfields. Certainly I feel more happiness in the view of not being present at Philadelphia, than I have hitherto

done. I can look back on my exercises and labours there with satisfaction; not having, so far as I know, withheld any part of the message committed to me. Thus I hope I may feel that my work in America is pretty much done; and that, after having accomplished what remains of service in the cause of Africa and her descendants, and attended the Yearly Meetings of New York and New England, I may return to my home and family in peace.

"We were [detained] a whole week at Savannah," he writes in one of his letters, "before the steamboat was ready to convey us to Charleston; and certainly it was a week of no small interest to ourselves. In the course of a few days, we formed an acquaintance with several of the gentry of the place, who treated us with great civility; and some of the evenings which we spent in their houses, were I trust, occupied in a manner calculated to leave a profitable impression. We received some very kind attentions from a gentleman of the name of Schmitz, a timber merchant, whom I had formerly met in Virginia. He is in possession of a collection of costly books and valuable manuscripts, such as would do credit to the Dibdins and Hebers of our own country. It is one of the few good private libraries that I saw in America.

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"Savannah contains upwards of 7500 inhabitants, of whom more than one half are slaves. We had made our arrangements for a public meeting, to be held at eight o'clock one evening, and were about to insert our notice in the newspaper; but our purpose was, at that time, frustrated by the sudden diffusion of a report, that I had come thither from the West Indies, as an "anti-slavery spy." It produced no small excitement; and we were assured, that the meeting could not be held without endangering the peace of the town, and probably our own lives. We had been previously warned by a missionary from Jamaica, who came from these parts, that we could not visit Savannah with any degree of safety, a warning

which seemed now likely to be verified. But all turned out well at last. The nature of our gospel mission was explained, the report gradually subsided, and two large public meetings were held in succession — the latter on the first day of the week, with nearly 2000 people. It was a satisfactory occasion; and the next morning we left the place, under feelings of sincere regard and affection towards many of its inhabitants. Certainly we are bound to acknowledge that they treated us with great civility and kindness.

From Savannah, Joseph John Gurney proceeded, by way of Charleston, to Washington.

Washington, fourth day evening, 5th mo., 6th. It is under feelings of much peace and thankfulness that I find a quiet settlement here this night, after a safe journey by sea, land, and river, of 650 miles from Savannah, propelled the whole way by steam. How abundant, O Lord, are thy mercies, praised be thy holy name! We arrived at Charleston on third day evening last, the 29th. Our stay there was, I hope, productive of good. We found excellent quarters at the New Hotel; were kindly received by Richard Howland and Benjamin Hussey; also James M. Carter, Dr. Post, Henry L. Pinckney, (the Mayor,) and others. Notwithstanding sundry reports raised about me as an abolitionist, way was made for a good visit to the Orphan Asylum; and for three large public meetings: on sixth day evening at the Trinity Methodist chapel; and on the first day at the Orphan Asylum chapel in the afternoon, and at Dr. Post's "circular church," at eight in the evening. We had previously held our morning meeting with about thirty people, at dear old Daniel Latham's, a Friend, though not a member, aged ninety. They were all good times. On second day, after speaking with the Mayor, Mahlon Day and I, accompanied by Richard Howland, visited the Marine Hospital, which was in excellent order; (supported, like all similar institutions in this country, by the sailors

themselves:) the county jail, very bad; there we found two negroes condemned to be hanged in two months for robbery: the negro jail, where the negroes are confined and punished by their masters almost *ad libitum*;—a miserable spectacle; next the workhouse, and wretched lunatic asylum. On our return, a call on Judge O'Neal, of Newbury, where there is still a little meeting of Friends. Letter written for the information of others, respecting the working of freedom in the West Indies; and we parted from our friends at Charleston in peace on second day.

Fifth day. My two young Friends and I have been enjoying a little quietness before the Lord this morning, after reading Col. i and ii. On the review of my long, long pilgrimage, up to the present time, my soul is, I trust, bowed before the Shepherd of Israel, in humble gratitude, for his long-continued and most undeserved mercies; and my prayers are offered, though in much weakness, that he may be pleased to permit me to finish this course with joy, and to restore me to my family and friends in peace.

First day noon. The way has so far remarkably opened here at Washington, for those communications which I was desirous of making on the subject of West Indian freedom, to several of the leading men of this country; Daniel Webster, John Forsyth, (the Secretary of State,) J. C. Calhoun, a highly interesting interview.—Henry Clay, (from whom I parted in much friendship,) and the President himself. It is more than I could have ventured to hope for, and an inexpressible relief and comfort to my own mind.

From Washington he wrote

TO HIS CHILDREN.

Seventh day, 5th mo., 9th. Mahlon Day and myself dined yesterday at the house of an old lady named Tudor, and her daughter, the wife of Commodore Stewart, the mother and sister of our friend, Emma Gardiner. There, besides the

Gardiners, we met General Miller, who has been long in Mexico, and various parts of South America; a modest, well-informed gentleman; also John Forsyth, the Secretary of State, a remarkably agreeable, elderly person, with much appearance of talent and thought about him, and deeply fraught with politics. In a *tête à tête* conversation with him in the evening, I contrived to put him in possession of the whole case of West Indian freedom, as far as it had passed under our notice, and he gave me an excellent hearing. He is from Georgia, and thoroughly accustomed to slaveholding notions. This morning we have been enabled to do an admirable stroke of work in the same line. At ten o'clock we called on our friend Holmes, who took us to his favourite political leader, J. C. Calhoun, who gave us a polite and friendly reception. I wish you could see Calhoun. He is about 57, I should suppose, of middle stature, with pale face, prominent forehead, expressive nose, lips, and chin, and eyes dark, deep, and penetrating. After a little preparatory talk on climate, health, &c., we came to the "fight of liberty." I told him that we had been passing the winter in the West Indies, and that I wished to be permitted an opportunity of laying before one, whose character I knew as a lover of truth, and a deep thinker and reasoner, the results of our calm observations of the state of those islands. He said he had nothing in view but truth, and should like to hear me. I then entered succinctly on the detail, giving him evidence upon evidence of my five grand points. 1st, that the liberated negroes are working well on the sugar and coffee estates; under which head I explained the case of Jamaica. 2nd, that the staple articles are produced more cheaply under freedom than under slavery. 3rd, that landed and other real property in the islands has risen, and is rising in value. 4th, that there is a corresponding increase in the comforts of the labouring population, evinced particularly in the doubling of the imports; and 5th, that there is an equal progress in the morals of the community, both coloured and white. He fixed his black eye upon me, and listened with the greatest attention. After I had concluded; to my great satisfaction,

he freely admitted the truth of my whole case; confessing, without reserve, the superior pecuniary advantages of freedom to slavery, but ascribing the safety of the experiment in Jamaica to its dependence on the superior power of England; after which he opened his fire upon me, as it related to the political aspects of the case. It was a rapid, declamatory argument, vivid, acute, and with the appearance of being closely reasoned. He began by cross-questioning me as to the probable political ascendancy of the blacks in Jamaica; and then, turning to his own country, endeavoured to show that the whites and blacks were so distinct, as races, that one must rule the other; that where the blacks preponderated, they would infallibly, in case of emancipation, become the masters of the whites; and that where the numbers were matched, there would, in the nature of things, arise a bloody struggle, which would end in the destruction of one of the races. I observed, that if the principles of the gospel were permitted to prevail, all jealousy and discord between races and parties would cease; and all might work on together in safety and harmony; the political influence of each individual and each race depending, in the mean time, on the acquisition of property; and, while measured by property, safe in its nature. Our friend Holmes, Clay, of Alabama, and other southerners, who were present, seemed delighted at the pouring forth of their leader; and were ready to cry *Io triumphe!* For my own part, I was equally pleased with his having admitted my whole case. I said it had been a treat to me to hear J. C. Calhoun reason, and that I would not attempt to answer him; at any rate, not without previous reflection. So we parted in peace and friendship.

Holmes then took us to call on the speaker, R. M. T. Hunter, of Virginia, whom we found in his private apartment in the Capitol. He is a modest, pleasing young man, and seemed to lend a willing ear to so much of the statement as we had time to give. We agreed to call upon him again; and, having parted from our friend Holmes, proceeded to the lodgings of Henry Clay, whom we found at home, and who gave us a very kind and friendly reception. He is farther advanced in years than Calhoun; with abundance of straight

greyish hair, and a countenance of great intelligence, softened by the obvious touches of benevolence. He mentioned my former visit to Washington as remembering it well, and then poured forth an encomium upon Friends, and a strain of declamation against the northern abolitionists; after which, with his full permission, I began my West Indian statement, and calmly went through it, bringing it to a close without any interruption from him. He gave me a willing-hearted hearing, and seemed to derive real pleasure from the information. After he had given us sundry reasons why emancipation is impossible in America, or to be effected only in the course of centuries, we rose to take our leave. Our next visit was at the "White House;" our second call, as previously arranged, on the President; Mahlon Day and Samuel Parsons, jun., with me, as in all our previous calls. We were introduced immediately, and found him in his receiving room, with Carroll, the Governor of Tennessee, and another gentleman. He understood the object of our visit, and allowed me quietly and plainly to lay before him our whole story. I endeavoured to make it as perspicuous and pointed as possible; and after going through the several particulars, ended with a brief but full recapitulation. He gave me his entire attention, acknowledged that the statement was clear and satisfactory, confessed that the subject was one of great interest, and promised to give us another opportunity of conversing with him on the case of Cuba, and the foreign slave trade. We then took a respectful leave, and returned to our hotel in much peace.

Second day morning, 5th mo., 11th. After our interesting morning's work last seventh day, I was glad to rest during the afternoon. In the evening we went to the Capitol, to attend the National Convention on Education. Dr. Bache, the President of Girard College, Philadelphia, was in the chair; and members of Congress, from different parts of the Union, gave an account of the state of education in their respective states. Large supplies from the public purse are applied to the purpose in most of the states; a measure rendered easy in America by the absence of an

establishment, and the evenness of the sects. Being called upon by Dr. Bache, I spoke shortly on popular education in England, and on the importance of a diligent daily use of the Holy Scriptures in the schools. In this respect, America is at present notoriously defective.

Our sabbath yesterday was a very quiet one. We held our meeting in our own chamber, with a few of our Whitmore ship-mates, who are now at Washington; and believe we all felt the refreshment of it. In the evening we joined a large circle at Tillinghast's, member of Congress, from Providence, Rhode Island, where we met several congress men, their ladies, &c. I read to them part of the Epistle to the Philippians, and was afterwards enabled to address them on a variety of subjects suggested by that epistle, I hope with Christian plainness. I may venture to say, that it was under some measure of that influence which can alone qualify for such a work.

Second day afternoon. This morning we have again been paying our respects to the Speaker, in his private apartment at the Capitol, and finishing our West Indian story with him. We just sounded him as to the possibility of our having the use of the Hall of Representatives for the public telling of the same story; but it did not seem that it could be arranged. I fear the sensitiveness which prevails on the subject of slavery, must prevent any public measure of the kind. If so, I must again content myself with pamphlet writing.

Fourth day evening. After our conversation with the Speaker, on second day morning, we found our way, first into the Representatives' Hall, and next into the Senate chamber. We were kindly permitted access to the floor of each house; and you would have been amused to see me quietly seated among these patriot debaters in the lower house, as if I had been one of their number. It is a better House of Commons than I had imagined; but their debates are diffuse and long-continued, and at times the members are pugnacious enough.

In the Senate we were allowed, by special favour, to occupy seats in a circular gallery which surrounds the house, in immediate contact with the seats of the Senators. We listened for some time to a lively debate on granting a

pension to the widow (aged 94) of the American officer, who was the first to fall in the revolutionary war. Colonel Preston, of South Carolina, spoke on the subject with uncommon pathos, force, and elegance. In the evening, S. Parsons, jun., and I, walked down to President Square, to call on our friends the Gardiners, who were going away the next morning; and we accompanied them to the house of Joel R. Poinsett, the Secretary at War, who is one of the able men of this country. There we spent an agreeable evening, and I agreed to call on him at his office, to talk over the West Indies.

On third day evening we passed an hour agreeably with J. Quincy Adams, that vivacious old man of 76, who still makes long speeches in the house, and surprises every one with the extent and accuracy of his information, and the undying fires of his zeal. He was deeply interested by our narrative, and entered into a good discussion with us on the Cuba slave trade.

To-day has been decidedly interesting. After breakfast we called again on Daniel Webster, showed him my Jamaica sketches, as illustrative of the effect of freedom, and talked over the whole case of American participation in the African slave trade. His intelligence and evident amiability are very attractive. From him we proceeded to Poinsett, who received us and our story gladly, though himself a southerner from Carolina. He has been an extensive traveller, and has the reputation of much science and erudition. We then called on John Forsyth, the Secretary of State, with whom we conversed upon the African slave trade. He was kind to us; but apparently not so well disposed to the discussion of the subject as Poinsett and some others. The rest of the morning was spent in the Senate, where we heard an excellent speech from Crittenden, of Kentucky, on the bankrupt laws, and a few sentences from Webster; and lastly, in pursuance of a very friendly invitation, we have been dining with Henry Clay. He is a person whom we cannot help liking, and even loving; there is so much of kindness and good humour about him.

Sixth day morning, 5th mo., 15th. Our visit to the "White

House" yesterday was satisfactory; so far as it enabled us to cast our burden from our own shoulders, and lay it at the feet of those who *can* carry it, with good effect, if they *will*. We were kindly received by the President; Woodbury, the Secretary of the Treasury, and Paulding, the Secretary of the Navy, being with him. We stated the case of Cuba and of American participation in the abominations of the slave trade; and suggested that a mutual right of search might be granted, with restrictions to the coast of Africa, without derogating from the high feelings (we might have said the national pride) of the Americans. The President heard us with attention, and apparent kindness and respect. In the evening we spent a highly pleasant hour or two with Samuel Southard, senator from New Jersey, one of the first men of this country, and his son-in-law Ogden Hoffman, of the lower house. They are both right-minded, and particularly agreeable; of one mind with us respecting slavery and the slave trade. The chaplain of the House, Dr. Bates, of his own accord, offered to make way for us next first day morning; and the Speaker having given his consent, we are now looking forward to one more public meeting with the Congress of America.

This afternoon, after a morning in the House of Representatives and Senate, we have been visiting Henry Fox, our ambassador. He is a person of very singular habits—turning night into day and *vice versâ*—but of decided acuteness and talent, and a true and feeling man, on the subject of slavery. I was well pleased with our discussion. I suggested to him the above-mentioned plan of restricting the "right of search" to the coast of Africa, which he quite approved; but has little hope that Congress would ever agree to the measure, however limited or modified. We talked about slavery in this country, and I was glad to hear him express his opinion, that the movements of the Anti-Slavery Societies of America will, in the end, be productive of good. He is the nephew of Charles James Fox, and, whatever may be his infirmities, I must give him the credit of sharing in the integrity, good sense, and kindness of heart, which distinguished his uncle.

First day morning, 5th mo., 17th; one o'clock. With much fear and trembling did I ascend the steps of the Capitol, my very heart faint within me; and, after having been led to search the length and breadth of the question, "What think ye of Christ?" I return from it with ease and quietness. We had a crowded and most attentive assemblage, amongst the rest, Clay, of Kentucky, Clay, of Alabama, Forsyth, J. Q. Adams, Wyse, Hoffman, J. C. Calhoun, and others of the "intellectual nobility" of the land. I ended with strong appeals to the law of righteousness, as the true guide to sound national policy, as well as private virtue. There was a solemn silence at the close of the meeting, after which many took a warm and affectionate leave of us. * *

"Soon afterwards," he continues in another letter, "I took my last leave of Washington. A public meeting had been previously appointed, for that evening, at Baltimore. Under such circumstances we could not hesitate to avail ourselves of the afternoon rail car. A respectable assembly was collected at the Baptist chapel, in the latter city, to unite with us in our worship; and thus a second occasion of rather peculiar religious solemnity brought this sabbath day to its close."

The attendance of the ensuing Yearly Meetings of New York and New England, was now the principal object that pressed upon Joseph John Gurney's mind before leaving America. At Washington, Henry Clay had suggested to him the desirability of throwing before the public the results of his inquiries and observations in the West Indies, in reference to slavery and the working of emancipation. This idea accorded with his own view, and he now applied his few remaining hours of leisure in America to this object; presenting his narrative in a series of

letters addressed, with his full permission, to Henry Clay himself. This little work, already several times referred to, was soon afterwards published under the title of a Winter in the West Indies, and was widely circulated both in England and America.

After attending the Yearly Meeting at New York, he writes in his Journal:—

Joshua Kimber's, Flushing, 6th mo., 5th. My return certificate was brought in on fifth day last week, and adopted with much renewed expression of consent. I spoke at some length in the Yearly Meeting, on domestic religion, and on slavery. It ended in dignified solemnity, this day week. On seventh day afternoon, after settling affairs, I came to this place exhausted, panting for quietness; and have been busily engaged, under this peaceful roof, in writing my familiar letters to Henry Clay.

Having proceeded to New England, he continues:—

Newport, [Rhode Island,] 6th mo., 19th. We are this day come to the close of a highly favoured Yearly Meeting. On first day week, at New York, we had an excellent united meeting with Thomas and E. Robson; and I made a last call on dear Daniel Wheeler, at whose bedside I was very shortly engaged in prayer. Afterwards, in the solemn and sweet afternoon meeting, I had to pray for him and his family publicly. Spent the rest of the week at Samuel Parsons', Flushing, and wrote my book, ninth Letter inclusive. On sixth day morning last, voyage by Massachusetts steamer to Newport; we arrived here safe on seventh day morning. Public meetings, morning and afternoon of first day, peculiarly solemn and satisfactory. In the Yearly Meeting, (of New England,) my return certificate was granted, notwithstanding

a little appearance of the contrary spirit, with remarkably full concurrence; so also in the women's meeting. In the early part of this Yearly Meeting we received the sad tidings of Daniel Wheeler's death. I have borne a testimony to the grace of God in him, in both meetings. I doubt not his being at rest with the Lord. Nothing can have exceeded the love and kindness of Friends, and we parted this morning in the flowings of a holy cordiality. Blessed be the name of the Lord.

FROM DR. CHANNING.

Newport, R. I., June 26th, 1840.

My dear Sir,

After you left me the other day, I regretted that I had not expressed to you in stronger language, my earnest desire that you would publish among us your observations on the working of emancipation in the West Indies. There has been, and still is, in our community, a shocking mixture of incredulity and indifference on this subject. I trust we are not given up to hardness of heart; and if anything can rouse us from our insensibility, it must be the testimony of men well known and respected, and whose judgment and motives are above suspicion. Your extensive travels and labours have made you an object of interest and confidence through a considerable part of the country; and very many would listen to your report. Allow me then to say, that it seems to me, you can render important service to the cause of freedom and humanity, by giving to the public here, the results of your observations. I remember with much pleasure our intercourse, and am truly grateful for the cheering light you communicated.

Very truly, your friend,

William E. Channing.

His passage to England was taken in the Roscius, which was expected to sail from New York at the

latter end of the seventh month. The interval was spent partly at Providence, where he completed his letters to Henry Clay, and partly in farewell visits to Philadelphia and New York. In the prospect of his return home, mingled as it was in his mind with a feeling of uncertainty as to the event of the voyage and his own state of health, he thus intimately pours out his heart

TO HIS CHILDREN.

Newport, Rhode Island, 6th mo., 21st, 1840.

* * * Whether I am permitted to return to you or not, I look back with satisfaction and thankfulness to the nearly three years which I have spent on this side the Atlantic, and that on two grounds; first, the preservation which you have so mercifully experienced in my absence; and secondly, the evident efficacy (through the divine blessing) of the gospel mission in which I have been engaged.

Many seals to my ministry have been graciously afforded me in individual cases; and many tokens, on a larger scale, that my labours in the gospel have been the means of clearing the understanding of some, and of impressing their feelings respecting the fundamental and cardinal doctrines of Christianity. You know that I am very infirm in myself, and I have at sundry times been led publicly to confess myself to be one of the most unworthy of the Lord's servants; therefore boasting is, and ought to be, far from me. I am humbled in the dust before the Lord, as a poor guilty earthworm, without the smallest hope of salvation, except through the perfect righteousness and efficacious blood-shedding of my holy Redeemer. Yet I enjoy sweet peace in the retrospect of the long and various labours, both in America and the West Indies, into which the Lord has been pleased to lead me; and, even were our pleasant prospects of meeting again on earth never to be realized, I have not the least reason to regret

having left my all, for the sake of Jesus Christ and his gospel.

I think my visit has been the means, through mercy, of leading many, especially of the young, to clearer views of the religion of the New Testament, and to a firmer and more intelligent attachment to the principles of our own Society, than they had ever felt before. So far from having at all unsettled their Quakerism, my ministry has been the means, under the divine blessing, of inducing many of them, especially of the young men, to renounce the habits of the world, and, as a token of their allegiance to the Saviour, to adopt the plain dress and language, which unquestionably become our Christian profession. They form an outline which, in the present condition of the church, and of the world, we cannot spare; they serve the important purpose of separating us from associations, amusements, and excitements, which pull the wrong way. They are a check on our natural tendencies to flippancy and vanity, and a bridle on our idle tongues. They are our way (amongst other analogous things) of openly confessing our Lord, and of showing ourselves to be on his side; and, above all, they are *humbling; and humiliation is that which we all chiefly want.*

The divisions of sentiment now so apparent in the Church of England, and the rapid retrograde movements towards Popery of a large proportion of the clergy in America, as well as in England, have been to me very instructive as well as affecting. And useful and valuable as are the Methodists, the Baptists, the Presbyterians, the Moravians, the Independents, &c., in their respective niches, (and of their usefulness I have seen much, both in America and the West Indies,) I am clearly of the mind, from deliberate and extensive observation, that their respective administrations of religion, would never suit those, who, through the tender mercy of our God, have been accustomed to the free, unfettered operations of the Lord's anointing. I charge [you] to abide under it, to live and to move under it, in all things. Sure I am, that this most blessed principle of action, will never open the door for your forsaking the steady maintenance of any of our

Christian testimonies, little or great. Never set up your own reasonings against it or over it; but follow it in faith and obedience, and it will keep you in the tenderness and innocence of the Christian life. I entreat you both to persevere in the habits of daily retirement, of the private reading of the Holy Scriptures, and of prayer, much, frequent, fervent prayer, even through the blessed aid of the Holy Spirit, who prayeth for us with groanings that cannot be uttered.

I conclude with the apostolic words, "Love not the world, neither the things which are in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him. For all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life, are not of the Father, but of the world: and the world passeth away with the lust thereof; but he that doeth the will of God abideth for ever."

At Philadelphia he writes in his Journal:—

7th mo., 9th. Encore ici pour la dernière fois. This morning attended the quiet, solemn week-day meeting at Arch-street; in which I had to speak of the immortality of the soul, of the happiness of the departed, and of the necessary work of preparation for eternity. Quietness my portion, through mercy, on returning hither.

West Hill, 7th mo., 22nd. I have to record many mercies since I last wrote. The time spent in Philadelphia has on the whole been very satisfactory.

On fifth day to Merion; a blessed little meeting; dined and lodged at Israel W. Morris's; next morning to Haverford; a very satisfactory visit. Last first day, a large and full meeting at the North meeting-house; a very searching, solemn time. In the evening, a very large meeting at Arch-street, for Friends of all the meetings—"If I wash thee not thou hast no part with me." A deeply affecting leave-taking. Second day, satisfactory visit to Isaac Collins and his family, in deep affliction from the unexpected death of his son Henry; but there was a good hope respecting him. In the afternoon

I took my last leave of my dear friend and helper, H. Paul, and was accompanied by her beloved husband to the steam-boat, for Burlington; being permitted to leave Philadelphia in entire peace.

Accompanied by his young friend Alexander S. Taylor, he embarked on board the Roscius, on the twenty-sixth of the seventh month.

On board the Roscius, first day morning. Again have I trusted myself on the bosom of the deep, after having accomplished the work in America, and am *homeward bound!* I arrived at New York on fifth day afternoon; many friends seen, and book finished. Dear Richard Mott came in from the country; nothing could exceed the love and kindness of Friends. In the evening of sixth day, my last, last meeting in America; well attended by Friends and others, and peculiarly weighty, quiet, and solemn. The next morning, Friends flocked to W. F. Mott's; and two religious sittings took place. The silence was long, and the peaceful solemnity more than I can describe. The Holy Master gave us his seal in a pre-eminent manner; and I felt perfectly easy and tranquil. Large were the numbers who accompanied me to the shore, and most of them in the steam-boat to the ship. Lord, do thou graciously help me, sustain, preserve, and comfort me, for thy mercy and truth's sake.

Fifth day morning, 7th mo., 30th. This morning, we have had a comfortable opportunity with several of the steerage passengers; and since, a solemn and satisfactory week-day meeting, with my companion, wherein the blessed presence of Jesus, with the "two" was, I trust, made known. I was led to look at the past, the present, and the future; and the result seemed to be

> "To thank the Lord for mercies past,
> And humbly hope for more."

Seventh day noon, 8th mo., 1st. This afternoon will complete the week since that memorable, peaceful, tearful parting,

from my many friends, when I left the steam-boat in New York harbour for this vessel. As it draws to its close I find myself empty, weak, and poor; yet not otherwise than happy. I suppose we have progressed nearly 800 miles in our course; say one-fourth of our voyage. O Lord, I do desire to present the remainder of my days to thee, as a living sacrifice; and should it please thee to add the fifteen years to my life, as to that of Hezekiah in the days of old,—turning as it were the shadow of infirmity in mind and body back as a sign—may such a period, whether longer or shorter, be devoted to thy cause on earth, in the pure strength and wisdom of thy own Holy Spirit!

While fresh evidences multiply upon me, that God permits grace to flow through many very different administrations, I increasingly love and approve the simplicity, solidity, and purity of Christianity, as held by Friends. First, as it relates to my own welfare. In the saving of the spiritual, invisible, and immortal soul, the application of the grand truths of the New Testament, under the immediate and most precious influences of the Holy Ghost, seems all that is required. It is the appropriation by faith of a most glorious scheme of wisdom, holiness, and benevolence. * * * I own no priesthood but the priesthood of Christ; no supper in worship, but in spiritual communion with him and his followers at his own table, in his kingdom; no baptism, as an introduction to the hopes and citizenship of the Christian believer, but that of the Holy Ghost. I heartily crave and pray that the blessed principle in me of light, and life, and love, even the perceptible, operative influence of the Spirit of Christ, may consummate its victory over the native infirmities of my own heart.

Greyheaded as I am, I am at times haunted by the *shadows* of old corruptions, and Satan still plays at seasons on the irritability of my nervous system, fills me with strange fears, and bids words of murmuring, (in which I *believe* I have no part,) to dart like lightning though my almost morbidly sensitive mind. But, through all, I am permitted to feel an increasing settlement in Christ; and in the view of eternity, I can, with a degree of confidence, commit myself to the

marvellously comprehensive mercies of my God, in him—my Redeemer. I rejoice in the belief that I have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins. I am most happy that I have never been seduced into any unworthy, heterodox notions of the person and character of my blessed Saviour. It hath, indeed, pleased the Father, that in him should all fulness dwell. Truly, he is my *all in all.* Next to this view of Christ, as the Foundation of all my hopes, and inseparably connected with it, is the experience, most graciously permitted me, (especially in connexion with the American mission,) of the *guidance* of the Holy Spirit; I mean the developments of truth itself, in my own mind, in reference to my own course of duty, which I have wonderfully found to be also the course of safety,—the arrangements of Divine Providence having so far memorably coincided with the internal pointing of his holy hand. With these views, and with this experience, what can I do but go boldly and wash, from day to day, in the fountain of the atoning blood of Jesus, reverently depending on his all-availing intercession, and commit myself, without reserve, to that unseen, but not unfelt government, under which I may yet "make all things according to the pattern showed" me "in the mount." O Lord God, omnipotent, omnipresent, omniscient, infinitely abounding in wisdom and grace, sanctify me wholly in body, soul, and spirit; stamp thine own image upon me; and prepare me for a glorious eternity!

The second branch of the subject, now in deep seriousness before me, is usefulness to others. Had I been placed in any other religious society, I must have been either a layman; or, in the milder sense of the word, a priest. I am satisfied that, in neither capacity, could I have enjoyed the same scope for usefulness as I now do under an administration which levels this distinction, and allows the liberty of the Spirit in its full and just action. So it is enjoyed in my case. I do not consider it to be so, sufficiently, by some of my brethren and sisters. I think the fault of our society, in its present condition, is the predominance of fear, prejudice, and system, over this blessed liberty; a remark which I apply with a ful'

feeling of the value of a well-ordered Christian government and discipline in the church. *But we want more faith in that anointing for which we plead.* God grant that it may spread, abound, and prosper! As it is, while my secularities afford me many large opportunities of helping others, I am free to go forth and labour, wherever and whenever the Lord is pleased to send me, for the instruction of believers and the salvation of sinners. I humbly trust that He who sent me forth has blessed, and will bless, my ministry. He only can give the increase. I pray thee, O most gracious Lord, to give me the hundred-fold on both sides the Atlantic; and may all end, to thy honour and glory, in the perfect and eternal peace of one of the poorest and most unworthy of thy servants!

8th mo., 11*th.* In the afternoon of first day we had a comforting meeting with the steerage passengers; and in the evening I held one, by invitation, in the ladies' cabin. It was, indeed, a favoured day. Since then we have spent two prosperous days; the wind favourable, driving us on ten knots in the hour; the scene delightful; the weather fresh, but growing cold; sweet hope of meeting my beloved ones in England increasing as I draw nearer my native shores; my comfortable state-room continues to be a place of waiting and prayer.

8th mo., 15*th.* We have had a fine sail since I last wrote; continued prosperity in this remarkably favoured voyage has been our portion, in the loving-kindness of our Heavenly Father; though yesterday and last night were attended by some anxiety, as we failed to make Cape Clear, finding ourselves, by an observation at noon, much to the southward of it. Thus we had to run up the Channel without our landmarks, though the captain thought he caught a sight of land. I had retired to rest when the pleasant tidings were brought that the Tuscar light was in sight. A good night followed, and this morning we have been enjoying a delightful sail—the Irish and Welsh coast both in sight. We are now about forty miles from Liverpool, and have just taken in a pilot. No account of the arrival of any of the steam-boats. How

remarkably has my course been ordered for me, as it relates to sailing in this vessel! How abundant has been the kindness with which the Lord has dealt with the very weakest and most unworthy of his servants! I hope I am, in a good degree, bowed in humble gratitude before Him who made heaven and earth. The newspapers brought in by the pilot mention the death of Lord Durham, which I truly feel.

At length arrived at Earlham, he writes:—

My own chamber, 8th mo., 23rd. The wonders of the last week, the flowing in of peace and pleasure, are almost past journalizing. After the last entry we had to undergo the mortification of being compelled to lay-to during the night, as the pilot was afraid of attempting to go over the bar at the midnight high tide; and it was not until ten o'clock on first day morning, the 16th, that we again set sail. In the mean time no storm occurred, no difficulty arose; and we sailed gallantly along the Victoria channel, marked by buoys and light ships; weathered the Black Rock; and, with the joint help of a steam-boat and fair wind, landed at the Docks about half-past twelve last first day. The very next night an awful storm occurred, which, being from the west, might have driven our heavy-laden ship on the bar. Thus mercifully and providentially was I again dealt with. My dearest brother Samuel Gurney, and William Forster, my long-tried, long-loved friend, were waiting to receive us; both happy, both in health, bringing good news of all the circle. The meeting was inexpressibly pleasant. We were most kindly received by Isaac and T. Hadwen, at whose house we had so largely drunk of the waters of life, on leaving England. In the evening we attended the usual meeting, which was large and solemn. I was much engaged, both in ministry and prayer, showing the practical nature of the principles which we profess. Samuel and I proceeded to London the next morning by the wondrous new railroad. The country looked the picture of green prettiness. We arrived about seven o'clock in the evening, at London; and, on leaving the

carriage, I had the great happiness of meeting my own dearest John Henry, with Samuel and Sarah Gurney. Nothing could be more joyous than the meeting with my sister Fry, and all the Upton family and the Buxtons, on our arrival at Upton. Unclouded serenity and perfect ease were my happy lot. Fourth day. Journey to Norfolk in Samuel's coach, with Fowell, Hannah, and our sister Fry; read part of the West Indian book to satisfaction; took the last stage with John Henry on the box; arrived at Earlham about nine o'clock, and was permitted a return home in unclouded peace and joy, meeting my tenderly-beloved Anna well, and most happy. Seventh day. Pleasant Norwich day; easy and comforting development of affairs at the Bank. Notwithstanding all sacrifices, I have been singularly blessed during my absence, in temporals, so that I find myself greatly at my ease.

To-day we have had a large good meeting in the Gildencroft, in which the signs of the work of divine grace were unfolded, and I am expecting a public meeting this evening; a blessed absence of excitement, an unbroken tranquillity, are my happy portion. The broad seal of the Spirit of my God seems conspicuously to rest on the labours, perils, exercises, and engagements of the last three years. The Lord be praised! The Lord alone be praised! "Make a joyful noise unto the Lord, all ye lands; serve the Lord with gladness; come before his presence with singing. Know ye that the Lord he is God; it is he that made us, and not we ourselves; we are his people and the sheep of his pasture. Enter into his gates with thanksgiving, and into his courts with praise. Be thankful unto him, and bless his name. For the Lord is good. His mercy is everlasting, and his truth endureth unto all generations."

CHAPTER XXXVI.

1840—41. ÆT. 53.

PUBLICATION OF THE WINTER IN THE WEST INDIES; AFRICAN CIVILIZATION SOCIETY; LETTERS; EXTRACTS FROM JOURNAL; ADDRESS ON PEACE; YEARLY MEETING; ENGAGEMENT IN MARRIAGE; VISIT TO PARIS.

THE passing through the press of the English edition of his Winter in the West Indies afforded an agreeable occupation for some of Joseph John Gurney's leisure hours on his return home. Another object which soon engaged his attention was the African Civilization Society, established principally through the instrumentality of his brother-in-law, Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, with a view of promoting the welfare of the African race. In consequence of the co-operation of this Society with the expedition for the Niger, then fitting out by Government for purposes of commerce and discovery, but composed of armed vessels, many sincere friends of the cause, disapproving of the employment, under any circumstances, of the apparatus of war, were prevented from lending it their aid. Strongly as Joseph John Gurney was opposed, upon principle, to all war, he thought himself justified in giving the Society his active co-operation, relying upon their express words, as stated in the prospectus, "that its

objects are and must be *exclusively pacific and benevolent.*" *

The following are from his Journal:—

10*th mo.*, 2*nd.* * * * My mind has been quite enough occupied with the subject of the new African Society. The question, in connexion with our Christian testimony against bearing arms, has brought me into deep and serious consideration before the Lord, with a single eye, I hope, to his will in the matter. On a fair view of the case, I think the way is clear for my joining and supporting the institution; but on one point I am expecting further information. May I be preserved near the Fountain of light and life, in all my movements!

10*th mo.*, 21*st.* I have received delightful accounts of the general reception and influence in America of my book on the West Indies; and cheering testimonies at home from Knibb, Sir William Colebrooke, and others; so that I have cause, on the whole, for encouragement, and for the belief that, through all, the Lord is blessing the work of my hands. Without his blessing, what am I?

11*th mo.*, 13*th.* Two weeks have elapsed, and I find myself still in health and peace with my children in the deep quietude of Earlham. The first edition of the West Indies sold off; and the numerous reviews, &c., private and public, so far as I have seen, entirely favourable; which I can ascribe only to the sparing mercies of the Lord.

11*th mo.*, 21*st.* On fourth day was our county meeting in the African cause; the best materials for a good meeting I ever saw in Norfolk; an admirable platform; but the Chartists were noisy and turbulent beyond description, and spoiled every thing. The Bishop† and myself were the principal objects of

* See the Letter to Sir T. F. Buxton, prefixed to the English edition of the Winter in the West Indies.

† It will be recollected that the late Bishop Stanley had, at this time, succeeded his venerable predecessor, Bishop Bathurst, in the see of Norwich.

their violent opposition and abuse. The disappointment was great to very many. After a fashion, we passed our resolutions, and established the Society.

I have thought it best publicly to promote the trial of this great experiment on Africa, and have given a large sum to Buxton in furtherance of the object. I have done my best to hold up his hands, and my judgment is confirmed as to the course I have taken, on the ground of the vast importance of the object; the armed protection, by which it is accompanied, being solely the affair of Government, and in no way paid for or promoted by me. After the meeting, the Bishop and many others dined with us at Earlham; a Christian party, which passed off well. I am thankful in feeling this morning peaceful and quiet. The Lord grant that the ensuing winter may be spent consistently with his holy will; and that the year so marked with changes, begun in the West Indies, carried on in America, and now winding up at Earlham, may terminate in peace. May "the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep our hearts and minds through Jesus Christ!"

TO SIR THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON.

Darlington, 12th mo., 18th, 1840.

Truly sorry am I to hear of thy indisposition; I fear we may rather call it illness. Early as well as auspicious be the sailing of the expedition, that the leader of our African cause may, without further delay, consign himself for many a long month to that which he chiefly wants,—absolute intellectual slumber. The utmost stretch of thy mental powers must henceforth be directed to the planting of Runton. Learn to consider thyself of no importance, and be an infant once more until Captain Trotter returns. * * * * I am well satisfied with the part which S. G—— has so kindly and nobly taken in the agricultural business. Though I have too many irons in the fire to allow of my being a partner in this farming company, I have entire satisfaction in placing my £1000 to thy account, according to my promise. It is not an

investment, but a gift to thee, to be used *ad libitum* on thy own responsibility, for the benefit of Africa.

* * * * * *

We have general principles, plainly laid down in Scripture, and many particular precepts also; but in the application of these to the innumerable turns and occasions of life, we have perpetual need to consult the witness for God in our own hearts, the voice of his Spirit heard in the secret of the soul. It is the high privilege of the Christian, as thou well knowest from long experience, to be thus guided. "The anointing which ye have received of him abideth in you, and ye need not that any man teach you, but as the same anointing teacheth you of all things, and is truth and no lie, and even as it hath taught you, ye shall abide in him." Were I asked what has been the main secret of thy success in the prosecution of thy great public objects, I should say, "A life of prayer, dependence on the providence of God, and childlike faith in the influence and guidance of the Holy Spirit." And, in the view of thy deeply important objects; in the view also of thy whole frame and constitution of mind; not to mention the rough hits and difficulties to which thou art often exposed; I can commend thee to nothing better than the calming, guiding, qualifying touches of the power of God. * * *

As thou art enabled to move under this sacred influence, continually to seek for it with all diligence, and patiently to wait from day to day for the renewal of it, it will, I believe, continue to work out for thee, most happy effects. It will clothe thee with the very mantle of gentleness and love towards all who may oppose or thwart thee in thy schemes of mercy. It will enable thee, at frequently recurring seasons, to cease from thy labours of mind, from the whole interior effort of thy philanthropy, and to find thy rest in God. And it will so direct thy counsels for the benefit of mankind, that they will live through every difficulty, and finally triumph over all obstructions. The Lord will establish the work of thy hands; "thy enemies shall see it and be ashamed;" and thy friends shall unite with thee in praising "the Lord for his goodness and for his wonderful works to the children of men."

TO SIR CULLING EARDLEY SMITH.

[In reply, as is believed, to a letter requesting Joseph John Gurney's co-operation in the "Evangelical Alliance."]

Earlham, near Norwich,
9th mo., 25th, 1840.

DEAR FRIEND,

The pressure of several engagements, mostly of a public nature, has prevented my giving earlier attention to thy letter of the 18th.

Heartily do I approve the spirit of thy letter, and of the article in the newspaper, but I am not yet a convert to the idea of attempting a *Church union* among Christians of different denominations. I mean a union in congregation or *ecclesiâ*, under a given form or system of Church government.

I am a thorough friend to the *Bible Society union*, in which the members of all the churches can join in the furtherance of a common object, without individual compromise; but I have always objected to the notion of turning the Bible Society into a *church*, by applying a doctrinal test, and making the meetings occasions of public worship. Having precisely the same object in view as thyself, I should aim at it, rather on the principle that *all* who love and serve God, and believe in Jesus Christ, (though under different administrations, and varying from each other on minor points,) are members of one true, living, and catholic church, being baptized by one Spirit into one body.

On this ground, love and fellowship ought to abound amongst them, notwithstanding their different positions in the Camp of Israel. As this is the case, though there may be distinct parts, there will be no rents in the seamless garment of Christ.

TO THE BAPTIST MISSIONARIES IN JAMAICA.

Earlham, Norwich, 10th mo., 22nd, 1840.

MY DEAR FRIENDS,

I avail myself of the kindness of our friend William Knibb, to send you a brotherly epistle on the present

state of affairs in Jamaica, with especial reference to your peculiar position. I have long been wishing thus to address you, having, from what I myself witnessed, a high sense of your services, and being very anxious that they should not be marred or weakened under the temptations, difficulties, and misunderstandings, so prevalent at the present time. Having borne a very decided public testimony to your character and usefulness, in the work which I have just published, I feel the more at liberty to express my mind to you, in private, with all candour and freedom.

I will begin with a subject which, secular as it may appear, has an obvious and important bearing on the cause of *freedom versus slavery*. I mean the continued and increased production in Jamaica, of the staple articles of sugar and coffee. Multitudes of persons are impressed with a notion, that although emancipation has answered well, as it relates to the temporal and moral condition of the negro, it is already proved to be a failure, as it regards the production of these articles, the prosperity of the planters, and the exports of the West India colonies. * * *

In my work, I have endeavoured to show that these desponding notions are founded in mis-apprehension; that the difficulty is, in its nature, temporary; and that, if freedom has its fair operation, the increased growth of the staple articles, beyond that of the days of slavery, will be the certain consequence.

Allow me, my dear friends, to solicit your kind and efficient help towards the verification of this somewhat bold prediction. I beg of you to endeavour to impress on the negroes, their Christian obligations, as cultivators of the soil. I mean the giving of fair, full, and *continuous* work, in return for fair wages. You can easily make them understand how much their steady industry, in this respect, will promote the cause of freedom in other parts of the world. I think this subject ought to be kept carefully in view, *in connexion with the formation of free villages*. And, even if vexatious laws are still imposed and enforced, I believe it will be found a sounder practice, on your parts, to encourage and exhort them to

patience and long suffering, and to the return of good for evil, than to open the door for exchanging daily labour on the estates, for a retreat to the mountains. It seems particularly desirable that the free settlements (which, of course, I highly approve) should be formed, as much as possible, in the immediate neighbourhood of sugar and coffee plantations, which would afford the people ample scope for the daily earning of wages. Much also will depend on the training of the young mind in your schools, to a knowledge and sense of the obvious truth, that daily labour in the fields is an *honourable* and *desirable* occupation; an occupation which will not only promote the temporal welfare of young people, but harmonize well with their religious duties.

The Baptist missionaries in Jamaica have been often called political; the true meaning of which I presume to be, that they have been faithful and rightly pertinacious in watching over, promoting, and protecting the civil rights of the negroes. For my own part, I hold this to have hitherto been, and still to be, (in subordination to higher objects,) a very important branch of their duties. In the prosecution of it, however, it seems peculiarly desirable to avoid all imprudence and violence; and to seek after the meekness and gentleness which are in Christ, as well as to maintain an honest firmness and plainness. I am inclined to think that Christian appeals on this subject to the local authorities, from your own respectable body, would be a better mode of action, than the public discussion of it in the presence of the negroes.

Intelligent as they are, beyond what most people imagine, they are, at present, but children; their welfare and happiness would be little promoted by their being introduced, even in self-defence, into the arena of politics. Their patient forbearance and willing forgiveness of injuries have done wonders for them, and cannot, as I think, be too carefully promoted and maintained. In the meantime, Christian education, going hand in hand with the acquisition of property, will be gradually fitting them for a larger share in the duties and privileges of citizenship. * * * *

I observed just now, that "you have *abundance of influence.*"

And now I hope you will allow me to make a few remarks, in the freedom of Christian friendship, on this very point. The mind of the negro is prone, as you well know, to a peculiar feeling of deference towards the ministers who give up their talents and time to the work of instructing him in the truths of Christianity; and especially towards those ministers of religion who, at the same time, protect and defend his civil rights. This feeling of deference often assumes the form of childlike dependence; and, in the hands of Christian pastors, there comes to be placed a corresponding paternal power.

Now you and I are well aware of the danger which attaches, under any form, to what may be described as ecclesiastical domination, — the power of the priesthood. Thinking, as I do, that something analogous to it has, from the peculiar circumstances of the case, devolved upon yourselves, I hope you will allow me, as a Christian brother, to beseech you, in the name of our common Master, to watch and pray, that you may be preserved in *reverent humility* before the Lord. May you be enabled to wean the people from all undue dependence on men; to bring them under the immediate teaching of Christ by his Spirit; to impress upon them the grand truth, that on the mountains, and in the fields, as well as in the meeting-house, He is ever near to instruct them in the way that they should go; a swift witness in the conscience against all iniquity; a preacher of righteousness "according to the power of an endless life!"

On commencing another volume of his Journal he writes: —

11*th mo.*, 23*rd.* The extensive and arduous pilgrimage in America by land and by sea, has now passed away as a dream. I am at sweet, dear old Earlham, in health and peace; my beloved sister, Rachel Fowler, to whose care over the establishment, during my absence, I am so much indebted, gone for a few months to join her own family circle; Catherine

living with us in a favourable state of health and spirits; John Henry and Anna being my daily comfort, and chief friends and companions. John Henry is now partner in the bank, to my effectual relief, and Anna mistress of the household. Our meeting, diminished as it has been of late years, by some secessions, some disownments, and many deaths, is still a *church*, containing, as I believe, living and faithful members; the same remark applies to the Society in Norfolk generally, and indeed to the whole body, as I believe, in Great Britain and Ireland; small and scattered, but not forsaken; and still bearing its great testimony to the purity, peaceableness, and spirituality of the gospel dispensation. May it, through infinite condescension and mercy, be yet preserved in that unity wherein is strength!

TO A FRIEND.

Upton, 12th mo., 7th, 1840.

Never was our little church, and never were its distinguishing principles, more dear to me than they are at present. I wish for no change in its doctrines; none in its Christian testimonies, none in its mode of worship; and I crave that I and my children after me may be enabled to maintain them all, with holy integrity both in word and deed. This desire is founded on the conviction that the religion professed by our forefathers, and so long cherished by ourselves, is nothing more or less than the religion of the New Testament, "without addition, without diminution, and without compromise." I wish not to be anything better than a Christian, and can heartily subscribe to the lines:—

"Where names, and sects, and parties fall,
And Jesus Christ is all in all."

* * * * * *

The war which was now raging in Syria, and the threatening of hostilities between France and England, in consequence of the part which this country was taking in it, were subjects which at

this time painfully affected Joseph John Gurney's feelings. Referring to them in his Journal, he writes: —

10*th mo.*, 12*th*. The dark gathering clouds of the political hemisphere, indicating approaching war, with a commencement of it (an extremity of folly on our parts!) in the East, have brought very sombre feelings over my mind; but I humbly trust that the tremendous evil of war between France and England will yet be averted. "The remainder of wrath thou wilt restrain."

Whilst these topics were thus agitating the public mind, Joseph John Gurney was induced, at the request of the Committee of the Peace Society, in London — a request, in full accordance with his own feelings — to write a brief "Address to Ministers of the Gospel, and to all Professors of Christianity on the subject of War and Peace," which was soon afterwards published and very extensively circulated. In the present crisis of public affairs, when the nations of Europe are unhappily once more plunging into the horrors of war, the following extracts from this address may not prove unseasonable.

* * * Utterly opposed as warfare is to sound policy and common sense, as well as to that increasingly refined taste and feeling which are at once the mark and the consequence of diffused intellectual cultivation, we are brought home to a confirmed conclusion, that the only sufficient remedy for the evil is *practical Christianity*. * * * The root of this worst of mischiefs is to be found in those wicked lusts and passions which are absolutely natural to the heart of man. Never will it be fully cured until that root is *uprooted*,—until man comes under the remedial influence of that holy religion

through which the old man, corrupt according to the deceitful lusts, is *put off*, and the new man is *put on* — "created after God, in righteousness and true holiness."

This is a subject in regard to which Christians of all denominations, and of every country, ought surely to unite their efforts; that a vast moral force may be gradually raised in the world, which shall overbear the opposing flood of wrath, malice, contention, and murder. * * *

There are two views of the subject, which, trite as they are, can scarcely be too much pressed on the attention of the religious public — First, *the Christian law of love;* and secondly, *the sacredness of the life of man.*

Few stronger internal evidences exist of the divine origin of the religion of the Holy Scriptures, than its law of love. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." * * All Christians agree that, under the gospel interpretation of the word *neighbour*, is included every individual of every nation—the whole family of man. If, then, we are commanded of the Lord to love all our fellow-men as we love ourselves, it certainly follows that it is unlawful for us to injure them, any more than we would injure ourselves.

This comprehensive law not only includes our enemies, but has a marked and especial reference to them. "If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink; for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head," (to melt him down, as metals are melted in the fire). "Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good;" Rom. xii, 20, 21. "Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you; that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven; for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust:" Matt. v, 43—45. The evil and unjust amongst men are the enemies of a perfectly holy God;

yet he maketh his rain to fall, and his sun to rise upon them, as well as upon his friends. So we, as "followers of God," and "dear children," are to shower down the blessings of kindness, and to lift up the countenance of love, not only on those to whom we are bound by the ties of fellowship or friendship, but on those who defame, persecute, and shamefully entreat us. It is, indeed, a pure and searching law; an elevated principle of action; but the Christian is bound to adopt it by the authority of Scripture, and is enabled to obey it by the grace of God.

Now I think it must be allowed by every sound moralist, that although there are many particular precepts of Scripture which have a specific relation to certain classes of persons, viz., husbands, wives, servants, children, &c., the general principles of the divine law, such as justice, truth, and mercy, are of universal applicability to mankind — a remark which obviously includes the Christian law of love. These general principles, and that law in particular, comprehend our whole race—every individual human creature who is capable of understanding it; and not merely every individual in a separate capacity, but bodies of individuals—communities, states, and nations. So far as the essential principles of morality extend—and love to God and man is one of the first of them—they ought to govern the public acts of the united multitude, just as certainly, and just as strictly, as the private acts of all the individuals of whom it is composed. The observation applies to all kinds of national constitutions; for every form of government is virtually intended to represent the nation at large, and ought clearly to be imbued with the spirit of the nation, so far as that spirit is virtuous; that is, so long as the national will is conformed to the will of God.

Nations then — under whatsoever form of Government — are bound by sound and unchangeable obligations, to act on the principles of the divine law. Not only must they observe towards each other perfect integrity and justice; but if they would enjoy the unclouded favour of the Lord of the universe, they must seek the welfare and happiness one of another; each nation acting towards other nations as she would that

other nations, under similar circumstances, should act towards herself. More especially ought they to adopt the lessons of Christian forbearance, and suffer the King of kings—the once persecuted and lowly, but now reigning and glorified Jesus—to teach them to love their enemies, to return good for evil, to overcome evil with good.

To bring the argument now in hand a little more closely home, let us consider the case of the duellist. A gentleman of high general character and reputation is insulted. In the eye of the world, his *honour* is sullied. He challenges his adversary, whom a similar false notion of honour impels to the bloody engagement. One of them falls in the fray. At an unexpected moment, the *gentleman* of high repute, blindly following the guidance of worldly honour in the room of Christian principle, becomes——what does he become? a MURDERER. Just so it is with nations, as represented by governments. One nation considers herself, if not injured, at least insulted, by another. Her honour is touched; she retaliates with threats, and frowns, and armaments; and soon the honour (as it is called) of the supposed aggressor, is equally involved. Acting like the duellist, on the false notions of worldly honour, in the room of Christian principle, they both fall to murder on a large scale; whole regions are desolated, and blood flows in torrents.

Let us suppose the nation thus described as considering herself to be insulted, to take Christian principle rather than worldly honour as her guide—to return good for evil—to show her good-will towards the aggressor by some singular act of kindness and respect. Can any man doubt what would be the result? Can any man question that the tendency of this course would be to obtain for such a nation an influence and ascendency for every wise and worthy purpose, which would soon establish her honour on ground infinitely firmer, as well as more elevated, than the grandest pinnacle of human glory?

* * * * * *

I shall not, on the present occasion, enter into a discussion of the question, how far an individual or a nation is, on

Christian grounds, warranted to go in acts or measures of self-defence. While love, forbearance, and kindness to our enemies are, under Providence, the main defence and protection of the Christian, the restraints both of municipal law for the protection of persons, and of the law of nations for that of individual states, may still be steadily maintained, so far as their provisions consist with the law of God. In their own nature they are perfectly consistent with the Saviour's golden rule—"Do unto others as ye would that others (that is, under like circumstances, and with a fair view of the subject) should do unto you." But in all such matters, a limit, as I believe, is drawn around the Christian individual, and the Christian nation, by the second grand principle alluded to at the commencement of this address, I mean *the sacredness of human life.*

Here I have an especial view to the bearing and character of the Gospel dispensation. Under the prior dispensation of the Law, the subjects of man's immortal destinies, and of the awful realities of the future world, though occasionally mentioned, were by no means fully developed. A system of temporal rewards and punishments was in force for the regulation of the Jewish nation. The command, "Thou shalt not kill," was limited in its application; and was understood by the Jews as offering little impediment either to the punishment of death, or to war. Both these, indeed, under peculiar circumstances, were, for a season, permitted and even ordained.

But our Lord Jesus Christ "has brought life and immortality to light by the gospel," and no one, who enjoys the privilege of a knowledge of the New Testament, can any longer plead the slightest measure of doubt or obscurity respecting the true nature and consequences of death. As Christians we cannot for a moment conceal from ourselves the awful fact, that when we destroy our fellow-man, we consign him to a state of never-ending existence; and that this eternal existence must be happy or miserable, according to the actual moral condition of his soul when he quits this state of being; a condition respecting which God alone is the judge.

What countless multitudes of persons, full of angry and violent passions, persons whom we cannot reasonably believe to have been prepared for death, have been suddenly consigned to judgment and eternity, by the "red right hand" of war!

Amidst the numerous examples which crowd upon the memory of the reader of ancient and modern history, in illustration of this remark, it is almost useless to attempt selection; the general fact is too notorious to be for a moment denied. It may not, however, be useless to remind the reader, that the number of human lives destroyed in the wars of Napoleon, is computed, on authentic premises, to have amounted to FOUR MILLIONS;—unutterably awful sacrifice to the Moloch of ambition! An example on a smaller scale, but peculiarly calculated to afflict the feelings of every humane and generous mind, is furnished by the very newspaper of the day, which is now lying before me. In the account just received of the capture of St. Jean d'Acre, that stronghold of Syria, by the allied fleet, chiefly consisting of British men-of-war, it is stated that the bombardment lasted only three hours, and that during this short space of time 2500 persons in the town were slain! A great part of this horrid work of death was effected through the blowing up of a powder-magazine, which event is thus described in the report:—"At about four P. M. a sensation was felt on board the ships similar to that of an earthquake, which was subsequently ascertained to have been a tremendous explosion (no doubt from one of the steamer's shells) of a powder-magazine ashore, launching into eternity no less than 1200 of the enemy." Afterwards, the writer says, "the town is one mass of ruins; the batteries and most of the houses literally riddled all over; the killed and wounded lying about in all directions; bodies cut asunder; some without heads, others without legs and arms; hundreds dying from the blood flowing from their wounds, and no one near to help them." And again, "The scene presented to-day by the town is indescribably horrible, the whole neighbourhood of the explosion being a mass of killed and wounded, men and beasts, tossed together indiscriminately."

I feel that I should have been guilty of injustice to my reader, had I omitted the recital of the physical horrors of this melancholy scene; but the point on which I am now insisting is that "launching into eternity," of which the reporter speaks with so much ease and familiarity. Here is a subject of infinite solemnity. Here, on the part of the warring nation, is the assumption of a responsibility which (as I believe) no events can warrant, no politics justify. I apprehend that the Christian, on the plain principles of the Gospel in which he trusts, will find it impossible to escape from the conclusion, that as God alone bestows the natural life of man, so God alone can rightfully take it away.

* * * *

I am well aware that the two principles which I have attempted to advocate in this address, are at present far from being generally received, in what I believe to be their legitimate extent, by the professors, or even the ministers, of the Christian religion. For my own part, I believe they will bear a close scrutiny; and that as they come to occupy the serious reflection of sober persons of every name and class, we shall hear no more from the pulpits of the professed servants of Christ, of the glories of victory, or even of successful armed defence. The songs which celebrate these carnal triumphs will find no echo in any place which is regarded as the house of God; no longer will they be the theme of the solemn offerings of supplication or praise. The ministers of Jesus, following the example of their divine Master, and influenced by his Holy Spirit, will plead for peace, without reserve, and without exception. The whole Christian public, at home and abroad, will be gradually imbued with "peace principles." The mind of that Christian public will act with ever-increasing moral force on the mind of each respective government; and finally, the nations of the earth, succumbing to the sceptre of the Prince of Peace, will repose together under the banner of love. The word of prophecy is express and unquestionable—"NATION SHALL NOT LIFT UP A SWORD AGAINST NATION, NEITHER SHALL THEY LEARN WAR ANY MORE."

Whilst in London for a few days at the commencement of the following year, (1841,) Joseph John Gurney had the opportunity of an interview with Lord John Russell, then Secretary of State for the Colonies. In a letter which, at Lord John Russell's request, he soon afterwards addressed to him, he entered into a full explanation of the points referred to in the interview; warmly advocating the protection of free labour, and adverting, at some length, to several other topics of importance to the welfare of the negroes.

3rd mo., 7th. Through infinite compassion, my way to heaven seems much clearer than before I left England for America; and I am decidedly less tried in the prospect of death. Probably I shall not live to be an old man. The Lord make all things straight and easy in Christ, for one of the most unworthy of his children!

First day evening, 3rd mo., 28th. A degree of quiet peacefulness is, through mercy, experienced this evening. In the afternoon meeting, on the bended knee, I blessed the Lord for his goodness, and, in the morning, spoke of the confounding of the wisdom of the wise in the gospel of a crucified and risen Lord. I afterwards found that an unbeliever was present.

4th mo., 4th. I have been invited to go to Paris, in the Anti-Slavery cause, which I have declined in favour of a journey to Elm Grove with my children, which we propose taking in a few days. O Lord, thou knowest that I desire to be enabled to will and to do of thy good pleasure. May it please thee in the riches of thy love and mercy, to guide me with thine eye, to teach and instruct me in the way that I should go!

4th mo., 25th. Our journey has been performed greatly to my satisfaction, and Anna and I returned home with my sister Rachel Fowler, last evening. I am in decidedly

improved health, and peaceful in mind. Read during the journey my American letters, to our mutual pleasure. Since, German New Testament, and two duodecimo volumes of De Toqueville on American Democracy, in French; a well thought out, reasoned, and written book, quite an amusement to me. I am also going through the Portable Evidence, to examine what alterations are needed, or whether any.

5th mo., 10*th*. Dear Anna Gurney left us this morning, after a delightful visit of four days. She is in great brightness of mind. We dearly love and prize her, and are much united. She read us her Grecian journal, greatly to our pleasure, and I hope, instruction.

5th mo., 11*th*. This evening completed the correction of the Portable Evidence, with a view to the objections made to the tendency of some passages. I think the objections were, in fact, nearly groundless; yet in my plea for the divine authority of Scripture, I had not always expressed myself quite so guardedly, as might have been desirable. The work, as corrected, contains nothing, as far as I know, which can offend any sound Friend.

N.B.—I have not the smallest objection, but on the contrary, every wish, to alter or expunge any thing which can be pointed out to me, in any of my works, at variance from the truth in its primitive simplicity, purity, and spirituality, as it has been always held by the Society of Friends.

After attending the Yearly Meeting in London, he writes: —

Upton, first day night, 5th mo., 30*th*. On fourth day, (the 19th,) the Yearly Meeting commenced; interesting and edifying has the whole occasion been. Meetings for worship at Devonshire house on sixth day; at Plaistow on first day last; and at Gracechurch-street, on fourth day; all excellent: a precious flow of the anointing, as I believe. The Yearly Meeting ended in much solemnity on sixth day evening. Yesterday we had our concluding meeting of ministers and elders, at which a very satisfactory minute was entered on the books respecting the return of my certificate. In the after-

noon a good anti-slavery meeting, for the purpose of discussing the sugar question. Dr. Lushington and I both made speeches, and I hope the subject was pretty well cleared.

In allusion to a circumstance that was now deeply interesting his feelings, he continues::—

It remains for me to record a rich blessing which has been bestowed upon me since I have been in this neighbourhood, in a most happy, good understanding, with my beloved friend E. P. Kirkbride;* our covenant being fully made to the pleasure and satisfaction of our friends. This great blessing, together with the near and precious unity of the Church, which has received me back into its bosom, (after my long absence,) with all cordiality and affection, has filled my soul with tranquil joy, and true heartfelt gratitude.

In the sixth month, in company with his brother Samuel Gurney, and his friend Josiah Forster, his daughter, and sister-in-law Rachel Fowler, Joseph John Gurney spent a few days in Paris, principally with the view of promoting the cause of emancipation in the French West Indian colonies. They obtained interviews with the king, and some of the most influential members of his government, in most of which Joseph John Gurney embraced the opportunity of stating the results of his own observations in the West Indies, in connexion with the question. The following is an extract from one of his letters during this visit to Paris:—

First day, 6th mo., 13th. At half-past three, yesterday, we were engaged to call on Guizot, to converse with him, and to

*The daughter of Joseph Kirkbride, of Bridesburg, near Philadelphia, who had been, for some time, on a visit to her friends Jonathan and H. C. Backhouse, at Darlington.

give him my testimony, as an eye-witness, of the benefits of emancipation. Our aged friend Thomas Clarkson had earnestly begged me to do so in the spring, and now I was fairly bound to the work. Guizot is a Protestant, I doubt not, on conviction; however he may be, at times, carried by the stream of politics over some lines, which we deem to be important. He has a highly intellectual countenance and great powers of mind; and is evidently the soul of the present French government. I felt the prospect of this interview, almost as weightily as I did that of the public meeting at Washington; well knowing the importance of the subject, and of the consequences which might arise from our conference. After a little waiting, we were introduced to the minister, and were received with real kindness. We sat down together, and nearly the whole time was occupied by the statement which I was enabled to make, I trust with some degree of clearness and force, of the results of emancipation in our colonies. He is familiar with English, so that I had the advantage of explaining the subject in my own tongue. Nothing could exceed his attention. We attempted no more, his time being up; but the deed was done; and we parted with the understanding that he would read my book, and that we should renew our conversation next third day, when we expect to dine with him. We found the Baroness Pelet at the hotel waiting our return, and much did we enjoy an hour's conversation with her. She is all sympathy with us in our labours.

The work of the day being, through mercy, well over, we went a drive in the evening to Napoleon's magnificent Triumphal Arch, at the Barrière de l'Etoile, which we ascended; and amply were we repaid for our fatigue, by a very delightful and explanatory view of Paris and its environs. The fires being of wood, no dingy smoke confuses or obscures the beauties of the metropolis, which, as so seen, are indeed almost unrivalled; but it was affecting to think of its more than a million inhabitants, so many of whom are given up either to superstition, or to vice and infidelity, not to mention *nonchalance* and frivolity.

But religion in its purer forms, even here, is making decided advances, and education, with the distribution of the Holy Scriptures, is effecting much good. Altogether the deportment of the people seems to me to be less lightsome and wanton than when I was last here about twenty-four years ago.

One hundred and sixty thousand men are now at work on the absurd object of fortifying Paris; absurd in a national point of view, though it is likely enough materially to increase the power of the Crown; for, politically speaking, Paris is France, and the lord of the armies will henceforth, we may conclude, be the undisputed lord of Paris. The troops quartered in the city alone amount to 40,000,—the standing army of the United States multiplied by six or seven. The rage for military glory is the peril and curse of the French nation, and one is afraid to think what may be one day the effect of the bursting forth of the volcano. In the mean time the Roman Catholic priesthood is playing its part with its usual consummate policy, and is evidently both cementing and extending its power. The church plays into the hands of the armed power, and the armed power into those of the church.

Who shall say what will be the end of these things, and what the process before the end comes? Yet may we not entertain the sure hope that the "stone cut out without hands," even the spiritual dominion of Christ, will, in due season, triumph over all, and expel both superstition and violence from the earth, which it is destined to fill?

FROM THE BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

Bishop's Palace, Calcutta, July 3rd, 1841.

My dear Friend,

I perceive that you have now returned from your long and useful tour in America and the West Indies; and I cannot but express to you the very high satisfaction with which I have just read your Winter in the West Indies, sent to me by *Sir* Fowell Buxton,—(never were civic honours better conferred,)—whose efforts, now that Wilberforce is no more, seem to rival those even of that distinguished person, though in a different way. The gentle, the persuasive, the

eloquent, the fascinating public statesman, the friend of Pitt, was required to propose the great question. Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox were put into office, I verily believe, to carry it. Then Fowell's energy, boldness, practical habits, perseverance, have been raised up, to crown the efforts of his predecessors. * * * You may judge, therefore, my dear friend, with what delight I read the first proofs of the success of the Emancipation in the West Indies, as respects every point, moral, religious, political, and commercial. The rise in the value of estates is alone conclusive. Your account of your interview with Sir C. T. Metcalfe was doubly interesting from my intimacy with him for seven years in India. * * *

I am still in tolerable health for one in his 64th year, and am chiefly labouring against those Semi-Papists, the Oxford Tractarians; who really seem a judicial infliction, a branch of the Apostacy, partaking of that strong delusion of which the apostle speaks. Things are moving on here, though slowly, especially at Krishnaghur, sixty miles from Calcutta. What we want is "Showers of the Holy Ghost." Ezek. xxxiv, 26.

Soon after his return from Paris, Joseph John Gurney believed himself called to engage in a much more extensive service upon the continent of Europe.

"Having had an opportunity," he remarks, "of endeavouring to impress on the slave-holding government of France, the practical advantages of emancipation, as proved by experience in the British West Indian Colonies, I was anxious to lay the same evidence before two other governments similarly circumstanced, though not to so great an extent; Holland, holding about 60,000 slaves as I understand, chiefly in Dutch Guiana; and Denmark, holding about 40,000 in her West India Islands. But this was far from being the exclusive, or even the principal object which I had in view. I had long entertained the belief that some directly religious service on the continent of Europe awaited me, and I was comforted to

find that my beloved sister Elizabeth Fry was under a similar exercise of mind, and had very much the same places in prospect as myself, in Holland, Denmark, Hanover, and Prussia.

A few days before leaving home, he writes in his Journal: —

7th mo., 18*th*. I do not wish to forget that life is short and uncertain. It is an inexpressible mercy to be permitted, notwithstanding all discouragements, to repose, with some degree of tranquil confidence, on the bosom of the Saviour. There may I ever find an availing rest!

CHAPTER XXXVII.

1841. ÆT. 53—54.

DEPARTURE FOR THE CONTINENT; ROTTERDAM; GOUDA; THE HAGUE; VISIT TO THE KING AND QUEEN OF HOLLAND; AMSTERDAM; BREMEN; HAMBURGH.

HAVING received full certificates of the unity and concurrence of their friends, Joseph John Gurney, with his sister Elizabeth Fry, left London for Rotterdam, on the 31st of the 7th mo., 1841, accompanied by his daughter, and their niece, Elizabeth S. Gurney.

The following are extracts from his letters written during this journey:—

Rotterdam, first day, 8th mo.. 1st.

We arrived at the beautiful quay of this city, amidst abundance of noble shipping, at six o'clock this morning. I had been told that Rotterdam was a disagreeable place, the hotels bad, and the people uncivil; but we find the contrary of these things to be true. We have excellent apartments at the Hotel Pays Bas, are kindly treated, and have enjoyed a quiet walk about this handsomely built and orderly town. The lofty, well-painted houses; the canals every now and then serving for streets; the rows of trees beside the river; and the crowded ships, boats, &c., wherever the river or canal runs, all strike the eye agreeably. As we passed along, we were glad to observe no infraction of the Sabbath, the shops being universally shut. I find from our agreeable elderly friend, John S. Mollet, of Amsterdam, who is kindly come hither to

meet us, that the various places for worship here, and in other Dutch towns, are well attended; and he speaks of "many serious people" who dwell here. There is no political distinction among the sects; all are tolerated, and all, as in America, are on a level; but the Government pays the ministers of the several denominations. The usual salary is upwards of £200 per annum, which is increased by the voluntary contributions of the flock. The Dutch, however, have no taste for spending their money; they are rich and parsimonious, the more sparing, perhaps, in consequence of being more severely taxed than any nation in the world. Although only two millions and a half in population, they raise a revenue, chiefly by direct taxation on property and income, to the amount of six millions sterling. High qualifications are required for electors. Republicans as they have been for centuries, they have no notion of a low and generalized democracy; yet they do not greatly admire having a king bestowed upon them—*inflicted* on them, they would say. * * *

In our walk about the city, this morning, we observed, on one of the bridges, a statue of Erasmus, somewhat larger than life. He is standing, in bronze, on his pedestal, clothed in a long gown, and turning over the leaves of some ancient folio. His countenance equals that of Sir Isaac Newton, under the hands of Roubillac. However wanting he was in moral courage, Erasmus was far from being destitute of enlargement of heart, as well as intellect, or of nobility of character. On the bridge at Rotterdam, he looks like his nobler self, when the veteran refused some high honour offered to him by Ferdinand of Austria; declaring, that honours conferred on him would be but like a burden imposed on a falling horse—*sarcina equo collabenti imposita.* To complete my journal, I might tell thee of the neat appearance of the people, the starched caps of the bonnetless women, the broad brims and long coats of the little boys, and the unwieldy clattering wooden shoes, which abound on every side: but on these points I need not expatiate.

It is a high privilege to be the companion of my beloved

sister. She has a cheering and happy influence over our party, and over all whom she approaches. It is curious and instructive to observe the little congregations of young and old, which she gathers round her on ship-board and elsewhere; always for some good purpose; always with a view to the welfare of her fellow-men, and the glory of her God and Saviour.

Rotterdam, 8th mo., 2nd.

We were favoured with a solemn and edifying meeting last evening, in company with a considerable number of pious and well-disposed people, who received our gospel message with kindness. And now, at the close of another interesting day, I sit down to continue my Journal. After an early breakfast this morning, we walked through many a street and beside many a canal, among quickly succeeding scenes of evident commercial thrift, to the "boys' prison." There we found about 150 criminals, all under eighteen years of age; a poor prison, in point of construction and accommodation, for the juvenile offenders of all Holland; but, in point of discipline and management, excellent. The prisoners of the first or worst class, are kept in silence; those of the second class may converse a little; those of the third, or best class, as they please. We found almost all the boys in the school, which is admirably conducted, no punishment having been given in it for two years. The master exercises a powerful moral influence, and the lads make great progress in useful learning. The Scriptures are read to them daily; and when not in school, they work as carpenters, shoemakers, and tailors, being allowed about half their earnings. This proportion is subdivided into halves, one of which is reserved for them against their leaving prison, and the other is spent at the Canteen, a little shop within the walls, where various articles of food and convenience are sold.

This last part of the arrangement we could not approve, as the daily allowance of food is sufficient; and the extra indulgence thus afforded may be one reason that many of them, after being dismissed, return to their evil habits, and find their way back again to the prison. Another impediment to their improvement, is their sleeping in large

companies closely packed; for solitude by night is an almost es sential point in prison discipline. After all, human devices for reform are in vain, unless God is pleased to touch and change the heart. This happily appears to have been the case with a considerable proportion of these youths; and thus their re formation springs from the Fountain of all good. We addressed them in English, and John Mollet interpreted for us into Dutch.

This duty performed, we hired a carriage, and drove twelve miles through the country, northward to Gouda. We were much interested by this little journey, which gave us the opportunity of seeing Holland, as it truly is, — an artificial country, redeemed from the sea, and preserved from it by vast mounds, green, fertile, flat, intersected by almost innumerable canals. These canals serve three purposes; they are at once the channels, roads, and fences of Holland. We passed by a large number of country villas, every one surrounded by small canals, and adorned with a flowery Dutch garden, and a summer-house for smoking and tea-drinking, at the edge of the *ditch-water*, which is generally stagnant and green with vegetable corruption;—no wonder that fevers and agues abound! Yet the neat appearance of these residences, the curious *parterres*, the green shutters, &c., are quite attractive and agreeable. The country itself much resembles our Marshland, and low Lincolnshire; justly is it called "Waterland;" for taking into account the ponds, lakes, and rivers, as well as the canals and ditches, the water is said to occupy a full half of the Netherlands. Wind-mills are seen in great profusion, and are used for a variety of purposes, but chiefly for draining the marshes. The large white water lilies, as well as the yellow common ones, abound; and storks of a great stature are often seen stalking over the meadows. The natural soil of sand and mud affords no solid foundation for houses, which are built on piles driven into the earth; a remark which applies to the cities of Rotterdam and Amsterdam, as well as to the country districts. The industrious Dutch, however, turn their mud into good clinkers, with which their roads, in the utter lack of stones, are neatly paved.

Gouda is a considerable town, neatly built. Here there is a manufactory of tobacco-pipes, which employs 6000 people. Our object was the famous women's prison for all Holland, a very inadequate building, containing nearly 400 women criminals; one class for misdemeanors, and the other for greater crimes. The discipline and moral care are admirable; they are well employed, instructed, fed, and clothed; their costume singular enough. We were joyfully received by two ladies who visit the prison, after the example, and, I believe, through the advice formerly given, of my beloved sister. Our visit to the institution was highly interesting; and some religious service occurred, with the help of interpreters, with each class of prisoners. Many tears were shed, and we trust some lasting effect may have been produced. My sister's visit here last year has been productive of important improvements, especially the change of men turnkeys, for suitable female officers, "*les gardiennes.*" The criminal women, like the boys at Rotterdam, are paid part of their earnings, and re-enter the world accustomed to habits of order and industry, and with money in their pockets. Yet many of them revert to crime, and return to prison; such is depraved human nature.

We returned home to a late dinner; and this evening have been holding a philanthropic meeting with more than 100 ladies and gentlemen, including the English ministers of the Episcopal, Independent, and Scotch congregations, and many of the Dutch, who could understand either English or French. I recited the story of the West Indies to a very attentive audience, after which our dear sister read a chapter in Isaiah, and addressed the company with much sweetness. All ended well; books and kind words were distributed in abundance, every one seemed to get his or her portion, and so the day ends in peace.

The Hague, 8th mo., 4th.

We left Rotterdam yesterday morning after an early semi-breakfast, and drove "two hours" distance, as they say here, to this beautiful city. We enjoyed our family reading in the coach during the first stage, our friend J. S. Mollet

being with us. We changed horses at the handsome old town of Delft; so well known for its polished earthenware. There we visited a large "church" in which is to be seen the monument of William I., the Prince of Orange, who was assassinated in 1584, by order of Philip, king of Spain, after having delivered the Netherlands from the double yoke of Spain and Popery. We afterwards saw, in the Museum here, the homely leathern garments, and broad-brimmed hat, in which he was attired at the moment when the assassin shot him. I suppose he may be reckoned among the best of the great warriors of the earth; but he was a warrior still, untaught in the Christian lesson of suffering wrong and taking all consequences. In the same building is the tomb of Grotius, whose vast learning and ability in defending the Christian religion is celebrated upon it, in doggerel Latin verse. He was, I believe, born at Delft, and died at Rostock, in 1645. Anna and I enjoyed our drive on the outside seat, from Delft to the Hague; six miles; chiefly through a long avenue of elms; and we arrived in time for a second breakfast at the Hotel Bellevue, which commands a pleasing view of the king's deer-park, and the public walks.

The Hague is a very agreeable-looking place, the streets clean and handsome, no appearance of commercial activity, the prosperity of the town depending on its being the seat of government. The king has one palace in the city, and another near at hand in the country. The city contains 50,000 inhabitants, who appear orderly enough, not to say dull; but we have already become acquainted with several interesting people. While my sister was arranging her papers, the young people and I visited a large model of Petersburg, which is said to be of extreme exactness. The houses, streets, gardens, palaces, &c., are well set up in miniature, in the proportion of an inch for twenty yards, I believe; and after some time spent in examination, one seems to get quite familiar with the place itself. In the mean time, a good many persons had collected at the hotel; the Groen Von Prinsterers; the widow of Baron Fagel and her daughter; Baron Von Capel, who had spent many years in Java; some warm

Friends to the Anti-Slavery cause, and Capadose, the converted Jew, whose truly remarkable history is before the public. He is a very interesting man, warm-hearted in the cause of Christ; his humility and gentleness are striking. After much conversation, my sister read the Scriptures; and I afterwards found it to be my duty to utter some sentences in ministry not very accurately, I fear, as to my French, but I trust, under a measure of that which gives life. It was a favour to conclude the day with a feeling of religious solemnity.

Amsterdam, 8th mo., 8th.

After writing my last letter, I sat down with my sister, John Mollet, and a sub-secretary of the interior, to digest a report to the government respecting the prisons, many of which my sister had seen in the course of her former tour in this country; so that she could now draw a comparison somewhat favourable as it regards their present condition. This done, we drove to the palace of the Prince of Orange, the heir apparent, whose wife, a daughter of the King of Wurtemberg, had summoned us to an audience. We both addressed her, under serious feelings, respecting her important responsibilities as the probable future queen of this country.

In the afternoon we called on that really devoted Christian, Dr. Capadose, the converted Jew, whose pious wife and lively children, as well as himself, interested us much. Afterwards we dined at Lady Desbrowe's, being met by Sir Alexander and Lady Malet,—the former, Secretary of Legation, the latter, step-daughter to Lord Brougham; agreeable people, who seemed drawn to us by a feeling of affection; and Count Sanft, the Austrian minister. Sir Edward Desbrowe, the British minister, who had been absent on a journey, returned home before dinner was ended. He is a very spirited, sensible man, an old diplomatist, and much interested in the cause of education, freedom, &c. It was pleasant to see his young children clinging round him on his return. I was obliged to leave this agreeable company, being sent for by the Prince of Orange. I drove to his palace, and was soon intro-

duced to his private study. He received me standing, but was remarkably kind and open in his manner, probably about twenty-five years old. I spoke to him on the subject of slavery, and afterwards very freely on the importance and efficacy of simple primitive Christianity. I felt a true Christian love for him and desire for his welfare, and have a hope that the interview may not be entirely in vain. On my return to our ambassador's, I found that orders had been received for Lady Desbrowe, my sister, and myself to meet the king and queen at the Palais du Roi, the next day at half-past one; so that now the close exercise of mind which I had felt with a view to this visit seemed likely at last to have a practical result. My sister and I spent the latter part of the evening with our friend Groen Von Prinsterer and his wife, persons of distinction in the world, but of marked simplicity and piety. We were mentally refreshed in their company, and after this very full day were glad indeed to retire to rest.

Yesterday (seventh day) formed a peculiarly interesting conclusion to our stay at the Hague. The two dear girls and I breakfasted with a widowed lady, of the name of Fagel, whose pleasing manners and unaffected piety reminded us of the Baroness Pelet, at Paris. She has two daughters at home with her, and a son twelve years old, full of life and amiability, who is the heir to the Fagel estate, being the only male now in that family, one of the most distinguished in Holland. We were favoured with a very good family sitting after breakfast. The ladies speak English well. I had to minister to them all, and to pray earnestly for them, especially for the young heir; and it was, through mercy, a time of great tenderness. At twelve o'clock, we held a short lively meeting for worship at our hotel. The Desbrowes, Malets, Groens, Fagels, and many other interesting people were there. Above all, the Lord condescended to show forth the sweetness of his power and presence. The truth was, I believe, plainly spoken. Sir E. Desbrowe said afterwards that it was "everything that could be desired." The time was now come for the royal interview.

On our arrival at the palace, we were ushered into a handsome drawing-room, where we were kindly received by an *aide de camp* and two ladies of honour. After some time of waiting, some large folding-doors opened, and the king and queen entered with the princess Sophia, their only daughter, aged eighteen. The king, who appeared to be verging towards sixty, is rather tall, thin, bright-looking, and very gentlemanlike and easy in his manners. The queen, grave but kind; of a majestic person, quite interesting; the young princess quiet and pleasing. Everybody, as well as themselves, continued standing during our interview, which lasted considerably more than half an hour. It was to our feelings a time of divine favour, and we were both enabled to speak very plainly to them. They were evidently immediately attracted to my sister, whom the king questioned very pleasantly as to the first origin of her prison visiting, and as to her family, &c. She gave the history well, and unfolded the state of the prisons of Holland in a lucid manner.

She then mentioned my West Indian tour; on which I gave them my recital fully and clearly, yet as concisely as I could, pressing upon him the duty and safety of abolishing slavery in his own dominions. I felt helped in the service, and the opportunity of performing it was a peculiar relief to my feelings. I then gently, but pointedly, attacked the vile practice of the Dutch on the gold coast of Western Africa, (where they have a settlement,) of enlisting negro soldiers, by high bounty money, to serve as troops in Java and Surinam, a practice which entails the same horrible anterior steps in the heart of Africa, as the slave trade itself. I knew it was somewhat of a risk to mention the subject, but I felt it to be my bounden duty; and to my surprise, though our diplomacy had failed in the matter, the king immediately gave way, and declared his intention to put an end to the practice.

Afterwards my sister spoke to the king on the subject of education, and on the lamentable fact, that (out of a sort of false honour to the Roman Catholics) the Bible is at present

entirely excluded from the public schools of Holland. The law of the land itself, as the king told us, excludes religion from the schools, on the ground of their being equally for all sects of Christians, and even Jews. My sister pointed out the fallacy of this plea, and it was cheering to observe how cordially he assented to our doctrine, that *education, without scriptural instruction, was merely giving power without a right direction, and that religious principle is the only true foundation of virtue.* My sister had then a little private chat with the queen; and, after a reciprocal and hearty exchange of blessings, we parted; the royal personages retiring through the same folding-doors, as had given them entrance. We brought with us Fowell's book, and the West Indies, for the king; and my sister's prison book, and my Essay on Love to God, for the queen. I also presented to the king an address of the Anti-Slavery Society. A text-book was presented to the young princess; and the queen, soon after we had left her, sent a pressing despatch for another for herself. May she imbibe many a precious truth from it! She is the youngest sister of the Emperor of Russia, and a member of the Greek church; evidently a person of benevolence, and, I think, serious feeling. On our way back to our hotel, we paid a farewell visit to Schimmelpennick, the minister of the interior, through whom we are to present our report; and about three o'clock drove off from the Hague, in safety and peace.

On our way we spent an interesting hour at Leyden. The vacation prevented our seeing either the professors or the students. We visited Temminck's wondrous collection of birds, and other animals at the museum, and rambled over the apartments of the college, but were too late to obtain admission into the library. The drive of eighteen miles from this interesting old town, to the equally fine city of Haarlem, is through pleasant avenues, green meadows, and handsome villas, on either side. Anna and I rode outside, and enjoyed it much. Time forbade our attempting to stop at Haarlem. We drove on in the dark to Amsterdam, and took up our comfortable quarters at the Target Hotel, at half-past ten at night.

Amsterdam, fourth day morning, 8th mo., 11th, 1841.

Our work in this place seems now to be terminated, and we are about to start for Bremen, where we hope to spend our next Sabbath, it being a journey of four days. We wish to get to Copenhagen with the least delay possible. Amsterdam is a striking city of 200,000 inhabitants. The houses lofty, and some of them very handsome; large canals running through many of the streets, which, when so watered, are called *Groets*. The *Hemengroet* is the residence of the aristocracy; a wide canal with trees on either side, and a long row of handsome, neatly-painted houses behind each row of trees. The grotesque steeples are numerous and good-looking; the gable-ends of many of the houses front the street; there is a fine palace, for this is, in fact, the capital; and the whole place has a truly foreign appearance. Two drawbacks there certainly are; an almost perpetually moist atmosphere, and the offensive odours of the abounding stagnant water. The people have, in general, the appearance of neatness and comfort, and the streets are crowded.

Our Sabbath passed off satisfactorily. We sat down at one o'clock in our own meeting-house, a neat little place where dear John S. Mollet worships in solitude every first day. The meeting was attended by about one hundred people, some of whom came out of mere curiosity, and glided off as soon as they were satisfied. Many others were evidently gathered into deep serious feelings, and I believe the ministry which flowed on the occasion was attended with power. Some of the young people seemed much affected, and have been frequenting our meetings since, which description, in fact, applies to several other persons.

In the afternoon, Elizabeth, Anna, and I, ventured on a quiet walk along some of the "*grachts*" and "*straets*," and quite enjoyed the handsome yet grotesque appearance of the place. All the shops were shut, and everything betokened the observance of the Sabbath. In the early morning, I had noticed the ladies going to their places of worship, with neat Bibles in their hands In the evening we met at our hotel

for the reading of the Scriptures. Some thirty or forty persons attended. My sister read the seventh of Luke, and commented on it very sweetly. I afterwards addressed the company in unison with her remarks. It was, I thought, a hallowed season.

On second day, I was engaged in writing a long letter to the King, recapitulating the various points of our conversation; this I despatched to the care of our ambassador, the next morning. I felt it a weighty undertaking, but I believe I was enabled to execute the task pretty well. At noon my sister and I partook of a second breakfast with W. H. Suringar, a Christian philanthropist of a very interesting character, whose attention has been most usefully directed to the prisons. He is justly called the Howard of Holland. He is a man of genius, and has written an excellent "handbook" for the use of the prisoners. At three o'clock he and John S. Mollett, and J. M.'s pious agreeable wife, (not a Friend,) united with us in a visit to the prison. The department allotted to girl criminals for all Holland, is admirably conducted under the care of visiting ladies, set to work by my sister in her last visit, and a good matron. We had a satisfactory religious opportunity with them. The rest of the prison is chiefly filled with prisoners for trial. It is crowded with men and women, the two sexes separate, otherwise there is a total absence of classification, as well as employment, and very little religious care. It is precisely such places as these that are the hotbeds of crime.

On my return to our hotel, I held a long and interesting parley with a planter from the Dutch settlement of Surinam on the north-east coast of South America; and in the evening we had a *réunion* of about 100 persons, consisting chiefly of merchants and men of business, many of whom were connected with the Dutch colonies, and with slavery. I addressed them for about an hour, in order to prove to them from facts which I had myself witnessed, the agricultural, mercantile, and pecuniary advantages of the abolition of slavery. It was a thorough man-of-business oration, adapted to Dutchmen attached to their ledgers, and it is considered to have had

important effects, having been attentively listened to, and well received. I wound up with an appeal to Christian principle, in which I was admirably followed up by my dear sister.

Yesterday was spent by her under the care of John S. Mollett, in the inspection of the workhouses, hospital, lunatic asylum, and a visit to the ladies who manage a district society for the poor. The best thing she saw was the Jews' hospital, which is well conducted. The psalms of David are read to the patients three times a day, a good example for Christian institutions of the same nature. I was too much occupied by finishing my letter to the King, and some other matters of necessary business, to allow of my going with her. At eight o'clock in the evening, a final meeting took place in our large saloon at the hotel, which was crowded with interesting people. It began with an address from my sister on prisons, lunatic asylums, and schools. I followed; and soon the blessed tide of divine influence rose in an extraordinary manner, and it became a solemn favoured meeting, in which the glorious gospel was declared in a measure of the power of an endless life. This meeting entirely cleared us of Amsterdam. Many were the books and tracts distributed on the occasion. We parted from our numerous friends, who generally understood English, in the flowings of true love, and left the place at nine o'clock this morning in health and peace.

Bremen, Seventh day night, 8th mo., 14th.

I am truly thankful that, after a journey of three days and a half across the country, not altogether without difficulty, we are safely arrived at this singular and beautiful city. Our first day's journey was in every way agreeable; the country from Amsterdam to Deventer being through a well-cultivated and pleasant country, the latter half being somewhat less flat, and much more diversified than the lowlands to which we had hitherto been accustomed in Holland; the produce of the country, rye and potatoes, besides hay, to which may be added tobacco, which seemed as flourishing as in the southern states of America, but I suppose is of an inferior quality. The consumption of this fascinating weed among the

Dutch is enormous, almost every Dutchman having his cigar or long twisted pipe frequently in hand. We passed by a number of pretty villas, and one of the king's country palaces, and Anna and I quite enjoyed riding outside when the weather permitted. We paid a very interesting visit in the course of the day to a family of sisters, named Iddeking, living in a handsome Dutch villa near the pretty old town of Amerspoort. There we were entertained with a Dutch second breakfast at one o'clock. We were much pleased with the genuine and lively religion of the elder sister, who has been one of the chief prison visitors in Amsterdam. She is an invalid, confined upstairs, and was greatly pleased by my sister's visit. It is always an advantage, in travelling through a country, to see the people in their own houses, and in their own way of living. Into the way of this advantage, our circumstances threw us almost daily, and I suppose in an unusual degree. We arrived at Deventer at a late hour in the evening. It is an old fortified town of about 15,000 inhabitants, on the banks of the Ysel, a wide river running through green meadows. One Colonel Stanley, under Queen Elizabeth, preferring his religion to his patriotism, being a Roman Catholic, gave up the place to the Spaniards near the close of the 16th century. On fifth day our journey lay through a dull heathy country, and several poorish little towns. The most attractive sight, which caught our attention, was the large flocks of black and white sheep, with the shepherds or shepherdesses always in attendance. I believe these flocks follow them, for "they *know their voice.*" The Deventer gingerbread, which is very famous, formed part of our fare; but I do not think any of us were the better for this luxury. Nordhoorne was the first town we reached in Germany. It is in the dominions of the King of Hanover, which we continued for some time to traverse. A more unfruitful or desolate kingdom I have never seen. We dined in the afternoon at an old town called Lingen, where my sister had been before, and was recognised by the landlord with no small expression of pleasure and kindness. In the evening we pursued our track towards this place, a route quite new to all the

party, and we had heard enough to frighten us, of the badness of the road. It was indeed an almost fearful sand that we passed through that evening for many tedious and difficult miles, in the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg; until we happily arrived at Hassburg, a pretty little town on the banks of the Hase.

We should have managed fairly enough, had not my dear sister become very poorly during the night; but she got some good sleep towards the morning, and we pursued our journey to the successive towns of Loningen and Cloppenburg; poorish places, and a poor country; until we arrived at a somewhat larger, but equally desolate-looking place, still in the Duchy of Oldenburg, called Wilderhausen. In making a *détour* through a sandy country full of holes, in order to avoid the long-continued mass of new stones laid upon the road, we unhappily broke the strongest iron fastening of one of the springs of our heavy-laden carriage; so that during most part of the day we went on in jeopardy, not knowing how soon we might be irretrievably let down in some part of that difficult country. All this was rendered the less acceptable because of my dear sister's evidently delicate condition. However we reached a very poor inn at Wilderhausen in safety, and were relieved in the morning to find our invalid somewhat recruited by a fair night. Here I succeeded in hiring a rough wagon, in which we stowed our luggage, in order to lighten our broken carriage, and in which, for a similar purpose, Anna and I took our seats.

New hopes rise with the morning; and truly entertaining was our journey of fifteen miles, to a place called Delmenhorst, where we found a capital breakfast, in a neat airy post-house, with sanded floors. In the course of our drive, and during the day before, we frequently observed large boulder-stones of granite by the roadside, bearing obvious marks of the action of water; the country being itself sand, so that these stones must have been driven thither from some distant mountain by the force of flood. Strange pillars, and grotesque crosses, were also often visible on the roadside; and, in one case, the

vast boulder stones seemed to have been arranged in the form of a Druidical temple, like a miniature Stonehenge. The country is in parts Roman Catholic, and in others, Lutheran; but the Lutherans have suffered the images of our Saviour, by the sides of the road and elsewhere, to remain unmolested; one proof, among others, that they did not carry out the Reformation to its fulness.

We entered this very interesting town [Bremen] at noon, without any further mischief to the carriage; passed the noble Weser; drove through numerous neat, white, narrow streets, with lofty grotesque houses, their sculptured gable-ends facing the street on each side; and descended at the Lindenhof, as comfortable a resting-place, and as commodious and cleanly an hotel, as can easily be found. Our way had been kindly prepared by a letter from the Consul, William Oestricks, whom we met at Amsterdam; and most kind and agreeable was our welcome. I was thankful for such a receptacle for my dear sister, so applicable to her present need.

Hamburg, 8th mo., 17th, 1841.

Remarkably interesting and satisfactory was our visit at Bremen. Our Sabbath there proved rather an extraordinary one. At half-past ten our kind friend, the senator Cæsar, called to conduct us to the two remaining prisons; the first a *maison forte*, or house of correction; the second a *maison d'arrêt*, or place of detention for prisoners on trial. My sister was only just able to undergo the exertion, but she was amply repaid; for I have seldom seen a greater effect produced on criminals than by her address to a considerable company of poor women, interpreted by a lady of high station in the town, a kindred spirit to herself, one of those sweet, refined Christian women of whom we have already seen several. We had also a good meeting with the men prisoners. In the *maison d'arrêt* we found a large number of prisoners, *before their trial*, in solitary confinement, — an unjust practice common on the Continent. The details of the great principles of justice and mercy are less understood among foreigners than in England. The excuse for this practice, is to prevent such

communication between the prisoners as might interfere with their conviction. In the former of these prisons I saw one of those horrid cells, of which the floor, walls, and seat, are all composed of sharp-pointed angular bars of iron, so that the prisoner is kept in a perpetual state of *unrest*, and even of torture. They assured me it was never used; but a few years ago one of our Minden Friends, who refused to serve in the army, was subjected to this barbarous kind of imprisonment. It is however, a great comfort to believe, that horrors of this character are very much gone out of use.

In the course of our drive to see the prisons, we were much pleased with the public walks on the banks of the Weser. They form a vast pleasure-ground, of which all the citizens of Bremen avail themselves as they please. In connection with these grounds, are the neat white villas of the principal merchants. We visited one of them, the summer retirement of our friends the Lurmans, and a more entirely elegant retreat I never saw.

At three o'clock in the afternoon we held our own meeting with about twelve serious Germans, including Charlier, who was formerly with Friends of Stoke Newington, and acted at Bremen as interpreter, with ability and feeling. It was a truly precious time, in which water was drawn rather abundantly, I believe, from the wells of salvation. Spiritual religion was proclaimed to a spiritually-minded few. This was also the case in the large, and, in prospect, formidable meeting, which was held that evening in a spacious room at the Museum; from 300 to 400 people present, I suppose. My sister unfolded her prison concerns with peculiar clearness, and was enabled to give it a religious turn in a very effective manner. I also gave some account of the free negroes in the West Indies, and was afterwards enabled to proclaim the great truths of the Gospel with distinctness; there being the evident feeling of divine power over the meeting. At the close of it we were addressed in German by the Pastor Malet, in a lively and interesting manner. Books were distributed in abundance, and it would be scarcely possible for me to describe the flowing of love towards us, which marked the expressions

and manners of the people when the meeting broke up. Many persons of influence, including the Pastors of the town, were there.

Such meetings are forbidden by law; but we were so well introduced, that we met with no obstruction. The place has been much distracted; the Rationalists having been waging a polemical warfare against the more religious part of the community; and having nearly succeeded, as we have since been told, in displacing three eminent evangelical ministers. Our testimony on the side of plain Christian truth seems to have been peculiarly timely; and, by a letter since received from one of our friends, the effect has been important. Thus we had again to acknowledge the wisdom and kindness of that guiding hand which brought us to Bremen, whither we had before no intention to go. It is one of the Hanseatic towns, united with Hamburg and Lubec; contains about 50,000 inhabitants, and is governed by a senate and burgomaster. The inhabitants seem happy and prosperous. It was pleasant to observe the numerous families of the *bourgeois* class, drinking tea out of doors, in their little gardens, on first day evening. The commerce of the town is thriving; and the Exchange, on seventh day, presented a crowded scene of busy traffickers.

We left Bremen, with minds greatly relieved, on second day morning, several of our friends coming to the Lindenhof, our comfortable hotel, to witness our departure; and there was quite a crowd at the door to bid us an affectionate German farewell. We were favoured with a prosperous journey, to Harburg, on the Elbe, about sixty miles through the Hanoverian territory, which somewhat improved upon us. I observed patches of wheat and oats, as well as fields of rye and potatoes; and it was amusing to watch the storks, and occasional large flocks of sheep, partly white ones and partly black.

We found the little town of Harburg crowded; it was the market-day, and the costumes of the people were very showy; the girls in neat caps, gilt or silvered all over. There we dined, and at half-past six took the steamer, for an hour's voyage down the beautiful Elbe to Hamburg. The

approach to that city and Altona, which joins it, is very striking; and, as we neared the pier, I could have almost imagined that I was once more about to land from the Delaware, at Philadelphia; but the numerous spires of Hamburg did not aid the delusion. Crowds of people in the steam-boat surrounded my sister, who had tracts to distribute, their eagerness for a supply being extreme; but we soon found our stores exhausted.

We were conveyed in our carriage, after leaving the boat, to the Hotel de Russie, and in the evening received a call from Amelia Sieveking, an unmarried lady of a good family, who is devoted to the welfare of the people, a most industrious and effective philanthropist. She is Christian instructress to a number of young ladies, who spend the morning with her; and she manages a District Society for the poor. It is pleasant to meet with such people,—sound and sober faith, manifested in works of love and mercy. Her reputation is far spread in these parts; but she seems a simple, humble person, as well as very sensible.

Our way here seems remarkably opening, so that we are again furnished with evidence that the hand of a good and kind Providence is near to guide and help. Yesterday we were visited in the morning by the Syndic Sieveking, minister for Foreign Affairs in this little Republic. The "four Syndics" are the ministers of the sovereign body, which consists of 24 senators and 400 liverymen. The Commonwealth, thus governed, has a mixture of good and bad in its constitution. They contribute 1500 soldiers to the force, ordered by the diet of Germany; and for this and other expenses are taxed considerably, the annual outgoings being eight millions of marcs banco, which amounts, as I understand, to £200,000. Capital punishment is almost unknown, it being twenty-five years since an execution took place. Yet we have seen in the jails several murderers. These are confined at labour for long terms of years. There is a great want of free toleration, no new sect being allowed to hold meetings for worship in the place. The English Baptists who did so, some time since, were for a time much disturbed and

persecuted. Now they hold their meetings in private houses, and consider their cause to be prospering.

The Syndic Sieveking is a first-rate man, and kindly undertakes to arrange our proceedings. We were visited yesterday by the Senator Hudtwalker, who is a man of piety and great influence. In the afternoon we called on the once persecuted Baptists, who have an excellent shop for tracts, Bibles, &c. We are to receive them for a private interview at our hotel this evening, as we find their brethren are still persecuted in Denmark, whither we are next going. Afterwards we drove into the country, along the delightful banks of the Elbe, and called on the Hanoverian Consul, Hanbury, to whom we had a letter, at his tasteful country-seat at Flotbeck. In the evening the Syndic Sieveking, and his cousin, the philanthropist, spent an agreeable lively time with us, and I trust we had the true feeling of religious unity with them.

To-day we have been fully engaged for some hours in visiting the prisons, all of which evince care and kindness, but there are many defects. Many of the poor fellows are heavily chained. We shall, I believe, present our report to the Government; I hope not in vain. Some of the religious opportunities with the prisoners were truly affecting. We have engagements appointed for the rest of the day; also for fifth and sixth days, and two meetings; and on seventh day we intend going to Kiel, in order to take the steam-boat for Copenhagen.

In allusion to the remaining three days spent at Hamburg, he says:—

It was a memorable time, during which the hearts of many were remarkably opened towards us, and towards that cause of truth and righteousness, which we were earnestly desirous, however feebly, to promote. We had a large company one evening at our hotel, among whom was the Syndic Sieveking,

and many others, who appeared abundantly willing to listen to any suggestions which we could offer of a philanthropic nature. A morning was spent in an interesting visit to the Rauhr Haus, an institution, in the country, a few miles from Hamburg, chiefly under the care of the Syndic, for the reception of young men convicted of crime, or otherwise marked as disorderly characters. Here, without the scourge, or the fetter, or even the lock, I believe, they are boarded and lodged in several distinct families, under a kind of parental superintendence, and are taught a variety of useful handicraft arts. They are carefully instructed and trained, under the authority of law, to regular moral and religious habits. Hymns are a frequent devotional exercise with them, if exercise it may be called; for experience proves that it is easy thus to excite and arrange a service of the lip, while the heart is far estranged from its Maker. Most of the caretakers of this institution have been led into the service as volunteers, by a sense of duty and the influence of Christian love. Here, as I apprehend, is the great secret of that considerable measure of success, in the way of reformation, with which the effort has been blessed.

After a full inspection of the Rauhr Haus, we met a large company at the neighbouring villa of the excellent Syndic, who is a man remarkably without prejudice, largely informed, and, on Christian grounds, a citizen of the world. In the evening, we found a crowded assembly at the house of the truly Christian Senator, Hudtwalker, when, at Sieveking's request, I related in English, without interpretation, some of the remarkable circumstances in the life of Wilberforce. Afterwards, my beloved sister addressed them, with the admirable accompanying interpretation of Amelia Sieveking, (a woman, like herself, devoted to the welfare of mankind,) on the subject of religious toleration and liberty. This is a sore subject at Hamburg; for the little republic, the pattern of freedom, has been fixing its tyrant fangs, by way of cruel restraint at least, into the little Baptist body. Never did I hear a subject more ably or more boldly handled, and yet with that tact, gentle-

ness and grace, which utterly forbad the kindling of any opposing passion. The impression made was evidently great. We afterwards presented a written address on this and other practical subjects to the local Government; and left the city on seventh day morning, after having been favoured to find, or make, many friends in it.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1841. ÆT. 54.

PROGRESS TO COPENHAGEN; ENGAGEMENTS THERE; VISIT TO THE KING AND QUEEN OF DENMARK; VISIT TO FRIENDS AT PYRMONT AND MINDEN; HANOVER; BERLIN; JOURNEY INTO SILESIA; VISIT TO THE KING OF PRUSSIA; RETURN HOME.

Copenhagen, 8th mo., 23rd.

It is strange to be at last at this place, which I have been so long intending to visit! After leaving Hamburg, with all its rapid interests and engagements, it was a rest and refreshment to travel quickly along an excellent macadamized road, through the pleasing, cultivated country of Holstein, to Kiel, a thriving town on the sea-coast. We reached that place about three o'clock, and called on Pastor Harms, a pious Lutheran minister, who could not speak a word of French or English, but whose spirit, Christian expression of countenance, and warm salutations in German, truly refreshed us. At seven o'clock we took our places in the "Christian VIII," an admirable steam-boat, built at Glasgow. The weather had been very fine, but exceedingly hot all the day; and no sooner had our voyage begun, than the sky became overcast, and a violent thunder-storm, with hail, &c., followed. After a time, however, the sky cleared, and we had a fine night, smooth sea, and prosperous, though somewhat fatiguing, voyage. We had distant views, as we proceeded, of Laaland, Zealand, and Sweden; and passed close by the headlands of Moen, exceedingly beautiful; chalk cliffs, 400 feet high, finely broken and crowned with beech woods. It was a lovely scene, something like the

coasts of Hayti. The approach to Copenhagen is also very striking; and pleased enough were we to arrive there about one o'clock, after a voyage of only eighteen hours. We were met on our arrival by Peter Browne, the British Secretary of Legation, a very agreeable Christian gentleman, from Ireland; who informed us that the queen had provided apartments for us at the Hotel Royal, considering us as her guests. She kindly intended to pay all our expenses, but we thought it best politely to claim our independence, and to pay our own bill. Peter Browne and his wife, and Roerdam, an interesting young pastor, sent to us by the queen, spent the evening with us, and we had a comfortable reading and religious opportunity at the conclusion of our day. P. Browne was obliged to leave us for Sweden the next day, after introducing me to George Ryan, a liberal slave-holder, of Santa Cruz, (willing to emancipate,) and to Sir Henry W. W. Wynn, the British Minister Plenipotentiary.

Peter Browne's wife, who is a decidedly religious person, and truly kind to us, then took my sister and me to the queen, at her private palace in town, whither she had come ten miles from her country residence on purpose to receive us. We found her with two of her ladies and Rafford, a French *réformé pasteur*, who is her almoner. I have seldom seen a more pleasing woman—forty-five years of age, dignified in her appearance, but at the same time, kind and warm-hearted. It seemed a real delight to her to see my sister again. We explained the objects of our mission, and arranged our plan of visiting the prisons. She took a lively interest in the whole affair. When this business was gone through, she conducted us, in two of the royal carriages, to her infant school, my sister and one of the ladies accompanying the queen, whilst Rafford and I followed in the second carriage. It was very interesting to see the queen with her multitude of poor infants, questioning them out of the Scriptures, &c.

On third day our prison-visiting commenced. Accompanied by our friend Katherine Browne, Von Usten, a leading man of the police, and Federsen, a Government Inspector, who

also proved one of our best friends, we proceeded to the *Dom Haus*, or police prison, chiefly for untried prisoners. It was a long task to go through it, especially as it abounded in defects. That of religious instruction, bibles, &c., is very grievous; and we were little pleased by observing a horrid dungeon, and some tremendous whips.

We were aware that Peter and Adolph Munster, two Baptist ministers, were confined in the better division of this prison, (for it consists of two distinct parts,) for their infraction of the rules of the state religion. Peter had already been there nine months, Adolph for a shorter period. It was a subject which had previously deeply interested us, there being no toleration of sects in Denmark, and we hoped that our seeing them, as a matter of course, in our prison visit, would open the door for our service in the cause of religious liberty. We found them, each alone, in pretty comfortable apartments, and were greatly interested and pleased by them. They had all the appearance of sensible and pious men, the elder brother, Peter, a very superior person. We managed to converse a little in German. After a lunch at the hotel, we again set off for the Stock-haus, or place of slaves, where are the criminals, (all men,) who are condemned to hard labour for many years; a large number for life. They go out chained into the streets to work. They are under the care of a kind captain of the army, who willingly summoned them from their work to hear our addresses, which were interpreted for us by our friend, Julius Schiested, a gentleman living near Copenhagen, who has acted as our faithful friend in that important capacity ever since our work there began; and who is now accompanying us to Lubec. They were also addressed by the celebrated pastor, Grundtwig, a truly spiritual man, who seems to depend on a divine influence in his preaching. It was evident to us that the unction accompanied his words, though we could not understand them. Thomas Shillitoe's meeting in this prison, and visit to the Court, seem to have left a lively impression.

On fourth day we spent many hours in examining the Zuchthaus, or House of Correction, a vast prison, ill built, and

old, containing 600 or 700 criminals; 200 women. Many of the religious opportunities were highly interesting and affecting, especially with the latter.

In the latter part of the morning, we drove to the citadel, where we found about fifty prisoners, for long terms; a sad abode indeed, with no counteracting advantage. They looked pale and unhealthy, but received our addresses with attention and apparent gratitude. * * *

Fifth day was appointed for our visit to the king and queen at Sorgenfri, their pretty country residence. It was to me a weighty affair; indeed to us both, as we had very important communications to make. Before we left Copenhagen, I paid a private visit to the prison, to Peter Munster. I was anxious, before I saw the king, to know exactly his state of mind, and to what point he could conscientiously yield. I found him remarkably moderate and satisfactory. After a drive of ten miles, we arrived at the palace. The queen was ready to receive us, and gave us a hearty welcome. We came, by agreement, half an hour before the dinner, which was fixed at four o'clock, in order to see the gardens. The queen walked out with us, but without losing her dignity, arm in arm with my sister. The grounds, which are beautifully diversified with hill, dale, wood, and water, are open to the public, among whom she was constantly met with warm tokens of love and respect. She took us at last into her private garden, and we sat together in her arbour; the conversation very interesting. Truly did she excite our affectionate and lively interest in her welfare.

A messenger soon arrived to inform us that the king (Christian VIII.) was in the drawing-room. Thither we repaired, and were received by him with a kind welcome and a friendly shake by the hands. He is a handsome, sensible-looking man, with a benevolent smile, the thorough gentleman in his manners; about my own age, or perhaps rather older. Around us were a company of clergymen in their gowns, officers of the household, ladies of honour, &c. The dinner passed off very agreeably. My sister sat between the king and queen, and we all found ourselves in good company.

After dinner my sister and I accompanied the king and queen into a balcony, fronting the pleasure-grounds; my sister then gave the king an account of his prisons, and endeavoured to infuse her views of a just and reformatory prison discipline. I interpreted in French, when necessary; the king talking no English. Before she quite finished, the terrace, immediately below the balcony, was filled by a large company of orphans from the asylum in Copenhagen, having been conveyed to Sorgenfri in twenty-five carts, to enjoy a holiday and meet "Madame Fry." Below the terrace spreads a green lawn, on which the public was assembled to witness the spectacle. The weather was delightful; and the scene uncommonly interesting. The orphans sung the usual national songs in honour of the king and queen, who both behaved most kindly to them. A sudden shower occurring, the king commanded them all to be brought into the saloon, when they were addressed by my sister, interpreted for by Prince Bentheim, who declared, in the midst of his interpretation, that her speaking was "*un don de Dieu;*"—not far from the truth, I believe.

During the whole of this remarkable scene, I had some anxiety lest I should lose the opportunity of speaking to the king about the West Indies, which I had so much and so long desired. But he did not forget business, and no sooner were the orphans withdrawn, than he took me into the queen's boudoir; and there he and I were shut up alone together for an hour and upwards. Most interesting to myself was our conversation, in which he took a sensible and earnest part, candidly stating his objections, and putting his finger on what he deemed weak points. I was enabled to speak French to him with facility, and gave him a full recital of what I had seen, both in the British and Danish West Indies, clearly explaining to him the whole of my views and wishes respecting the latter. The queen and my sister then came in; and the latter now spoke to him on our last point—the want of religious toleration in his dominions, and the persecution of the Baptists. * * In conclusion he requested us to come again on the following "Sunday" to dine with him,

and bring our proposals in writing; but the queen excused us, telling him that we were to hold a meeting that evening at our hotel. It was at last fixed that we should come to him on that day, about noon, to which we could not feel the least objection, as the object was only to do good. After having thus fully relieved our minds, we took tea with them, and accompanied our friend Katherine Browne to her house in the country to lodge. In that sweet place of large trees, and entire quietness, close by the sea, called Roligted, meaning peace, we ended the day in the same; and the next morning returned to Copenhagen. There close business awaited us; I had to write out the whole of our prison speech, and of my Anti-Slavery views, for the king; two long and carefully-digested reports, which Schiested translated for me into Danish. This occupied most of sixth and seventh days but we were favoured to accomplish it well.

On sixth day evening several ladies and gentlemen came to us, and we laid the foundation of the Prison Discipline Society for Denmark. On seventh day evening we had a *réunion* of nearly 200 people of the *élite* of Danish society; the large assembly-room at the hotel being filled. My sister spoke well on prisons, being interpreted for by Schiested, and I gave them the West Indian story. Nothing could exceed the interest and love of the people. First day was truly memorable. A precious meeting with the Baptist flock, at nine in the morning. This done, we again drove to Sorgenfri, and enjoyed a satisfactory interview with the king and queen. We were alone with them for nearly two hours, and while the king looked at the Danish copies, we read to him our respective reports in English. Thus the whole of our subjects, including toleration, were completely put into his mind. It was a very business-like interview, but ended in some sweet religious intercourse. I spoke fully on the necessity of their supporting simple, sound Christianity, in the midst of the rationalism of priests and people with which they are surrounded.

We next called on the Queen Dowager, at Fredericksburg. She is seventy-four, an afflicted widow, of a pleasing person,

and reminded us of our late dear aunt, Jane Gurney. She was greatly affected by the interview. In the evening we had a good Friends' meeting at the hotel, attended by many pious people, chiefly of the upper class; it was a blessed ending of the day. I cannot add more; suffice it to say, that we are now safely at Lubeck.

Proceeding from Lubeck, by way of Hanover, they came to Pyrmont, where there is a small body of persons professing the principles of Friends.

Pyrmont, 9th mo., 5th, 1841.

* * * We arrived [here] at nine o'clock [yesterday evening] and were warmly welcomed at the "Staat Bremen;" with the inmates of which my sister and our niece were already familiar. The people seemed delighted at their return. Our friend, August Mundhenck, met us; and we arranged our meetings with him for the next day. He is an interesting, religious young man, prospering in business, but I hope bound to a better cause; to us a great helper as an interpreter, as he speaks English well. We attended the usual meeting at ten o'clock; about thirty Friends, and perhaps twice the number of others. My sister spoke first, explaining our manner of worship; after which I was much engaged in preaching the everlasting gospel, Mundhenck interpreting for me sentence by sentence. In the afternoon, the Friends held their two months' meeting. We were very glad of the opportunity of attending it, singular as it was, to have all the proceedings in German. I thought the business well conducted; men and women sitting together. When it was concluded, I spoke, and my sister followed. I afterwards prayed. The little flock seemed much comforted, and their tears flowed abundantly. In the evening we had a further meeting at the hotel. I was much engaged in ministry, as was my sister, and the meeting again ended in prayer. It was a blessed time; the Lord's power being, as we believe, over all. Thus we continue to have abundant cause for thankfulness; and

certainly it is a great comfort to be once more with Friends. I feel very quiet; my mind not high, but unruffled; and, after some little perplexity, our path for the remainder of the present month seems opening before us with a good degree of clearness. We expect to get through our visit to the dear Friends here by to-morrow evening; and to effect a similar object at Minden, on third and fourth days, so as to return to Hanover on fourth day night. It is our desire to be preserved from going out of the way which the Lord is pleased to cast up before us; and in no degree to do "our own pleasure," except when it falls in with his; but I never felt more entirely unworthy, except for Christ's sake, or more entirely unfit, except through the direct influence of the Spirit, for the least participation in the work and service of the Lord. It is a great satisfaction to me to have this opportunity of facilitating the course of my beloved sister, as from place to place she has been eminently qualified for her work; and many, very many, are they who rise up round about her, and call her blessed in the name of the Lord.

Hanover, Fifth day, 9th mo., 9th.

My last journal was despatched from Pyrmont on second day, bringing me to the peaceful dawn of that morning, after a good public meeting the evening before. August Mundhenck joined us after breakfast, and then accompanied my sister and me to the three families of Friends residing in the town, two of them widows with daughters, the other a widower with a daughter and three grown-up sons. We also called on Dr. Manky, who is a person much interested in natural history, and very kind to the little flock of Friends. These visits were very pleasant; and I believe "the word preached" was applicable to the condition of the parties. This duty performed, we drove to Friedensthal, or the valley of peace, one mile and a half from the town, a lovely place, where reside John Seebohm, (Benjamin Seebohm's brother,) and his large family; the late Louis Seebohm's widow and her daughter, and August Mundhenck and his little girl; separate houses, but one community,

connected with a large establishment in the wool trade. At the distance of half a mile is the village of Lowensen, where the Parset family, and the widow Tellgemann and her daughter live. The families mentioned compose the whole of the little society; certainly a very pleasing and interesting company. We dined at half-past one, at John Seebohm's, the whole family circle being assembled. It was a very pleasant occasion, and was concluded by a precious time of religious communication. [In the evening] I joined my sister and our faithful interpreter, Mundhenck, in a visit to the two families at Lowensen; after which, we met a large assembly of the work-people of the factory, and others, at Friedensthal. It was a good meeting, in which the truths of the gospel, and its practical application, were plainly set forth. We returned to Pyrmont, after an affectionate and touching leave-taking, late at night; and about eight o'clock the next morning, third day the 8th, set off, with Mundhenck for our guide, for Minden.

On our way we visited one of the great prisons of the State of Hanover, at Hameln, a town which during the French war was laid waste by Napoleon. My sister had seen it last year, when she found the prisoners, even when at work, heavily loaded with irons. She had represented the case to the Government; and the late queen, who died in the summer, particularly requested, during her illness, that all my sister's suggestions might be attended to. The happy consequence was the removal of all the chains, by which both the comforts and conduct of the prisoners have been much improved. It was interesting to observe the warm and joyful welcome which my sister met with in this prison, where she was already known, both by the prisoners and their keepers, and even by the old soldiers on guard.

On our way from Hameln to Minden, we passed through the town of Bückeburg, beautifully situated in the rich valley of the Weser, surrounded by lofty wooded hills, descending precipitously on one side; the range assuming, in consequence, the appearance of a stair-case, laid horizontally on the earth This is the capital of the small independent

principality of Lippe-Schaumberg. The inhabitants of the district were flocking to the town, for it was market-day. I never saw so original a costume; the women in fine reds, with gay gilded caps descending in a point over the forehead, and large necklaces of pure amber. The men in neat frocks, dark blue stockings, and broad-brimmed hats, with supporters. They seemed to us an innocent and agreeable people. We arrived at the strongly-fortified town of Minden, on the Weser, about three o'clock; found a good hotel ready for our reception; dined, and spent the afternoon in religious visits to two families, the Peitsmeyers, and the Schelps. John Rasche, the principal Friend of the place, and the widowed father of a large young family, was also called upon. At seven o'clock in the evening, a public meeting assembled in crowds, in a large room at the hotel. It was, I believe, a good time, and notwithstanding the bustle of a crowd which we could not accommodate, the great truths of the gospel of Christ appeared to have free course among the people.

The next morning, after sitting with the two families of Rasche, we held another large meeting, in a capacious public room. It was a time when the true anointing was evidently poured forth; and great indeed was the attention of the people. After the meeting was over, the Friends retired into their own meeting-house, a humble upstairs room, which would have been utterly unsafe for the multitude which we had just dismissed. Including the children, there were, I suppose, about forty present, and a very precious time we had with them. Afterwards the children, who are numerous, sat down in the school kept by the honest and pious Schelp; and I was greatly pleased both with their cleanly and sober appearance, and the readiness with which they answered my Scripture questions. On the whole, we are cheered in the belief, that there is true life in the body, and that the "candlestick" will not be removed "out of its place."

After a short visit to the prisons, and a little meeting in one of them, (the prison for soldiers,) we left Minden in much quietness and peace. We were anxious to reach Hanover, forty-five miles, in good time at night; but were stayed on

our road at the picturesque Bückeburg, where we found that the Princess, (sister to the Prince of Pyrmont,) had set her mind on holding a philanthropic meeting. A large company met us at the hotel. My sister spoke to them on her usual subjects, with remarkable effect, after a few introductory sentences from me; and I afterwards concluded the meeting, with a brief but expressive declaration, as I hope, of gospel truth. Love and good-will flowed abundantly. Among the persons present were the Prince and Princess, their son and two daughters, and the young Prince Hohenlohe. It was a bright and memorable occasion. After a hasty dinner, we repaired to the castle or palace, where we took tea with the agreeable reigning family of the principality, and were met by a large party of ladies and others. I enjoyed an interesting conversation with the Prince and his son about the West Indies. It is particularly satisfactory thus to find our way into the hearts of cultivated, as well as uncultivated society, wherever we go. We shall not soon forget the pretty Bückeburg, from which place a drive of six hours brought us at midnight to Hanover, fourth day, 9th mo., 8th.

Berlin, First day night, 9th mo., 12th.

At Hanover we were desirous of an interview with the king. I called at the palace to explain our wishes to General During, his personal attendant, with whom I left the address of the Anti-Slavery Convention to the king, of which I was the bearer. Soon afterwards a letter to my sister arrived from the king himself, expressing deep regret at not being able to receive us, and speaking of her friendship with his late "beloved" wife in very affectionate terms, desiring a blessing on our philanthropic journey. He hinted that it was not only business, but his own afflicted state of mind, which prevented his giving us an audience. Our only course left, was to address a letter to him, on the several points in his prisons, which required notice, with some general remarks which we wished to make. I had the laborious task of preparing this document, in the midst of interruptions from callers, &c., but happily accomplished it in time to send it the

same evening. In the meantime, the prison-visiting ladies, and the pastors and other gentlemen who were conducting a new Patronage Society for the care of criminals after they leave their prisons, were thronging around us. The tide kept flowing on, until, at the appointed hour in the evening, (seven o'clock,) the great *salle à manger* of the hotel was *crowded* with ladies and gentlemen. I have seldom seen a more attentive or intelligent company. After my sister had done full justice to her prison subject, I gave them a short chapter on slavery and the West Indies; August Mundhenck being our interpreter. The most lively interest seemed to be excited; and, when the meeting was over, we gave tea and distributed books in our own apartments. Nothing could exceed the friendly and loving demeanour of the people, unless it was their eagerness to obtain our books; and it seemed as if they would not, or could not, quit us. At length, however, the rooms were cleared, and we retired to rest, at once thankful for the evening, and very tired. * * *

A cruel case of persecution had taken place at Othfresen, near the Hartz mountains. This place happened to lie on our way to Berlin. We sent Mundhenck forward to ascertain the facts, and the next morning in good time, (seven o'clock, the 10th,) we left Hanover at a quick rate, journeying along a pleasant country, till eleven at night, about 110 miles, by Hildesheim and Halberstadt, to Magdeburg. On our way we stopped at the village of Othfresen, ascertained the case of the little persecuted society of Baptists, about fourteen in number; replenished their purses a little, (one man had lost all his furniture by legal seizure for holding a meeting in his own house,) and took an affectionate leave of our dear and useful Mundhenck. Our journey that day, though long, was peaceful, and the Hartz mountains in the distance, so famous for a variety of metallic productions, and teeming with the lessons of geology, were an agreeable spectacle, as we drove along through a well-cultivated, and well-peopled country. We dined at the fine old town of Halberstadt. The weather delicious, and the sky at sun-set, like the skies of New England. Magdeburg, with its 55,000 inhabitants and strong

fortifications, is a very handsome old town. The principal street, justly called *Die breite strasse*, (the broad way,) is very grotesque and good-looking, and the cathedral very handsome.

In the morning we spent an hour or two in viewing the place, and in visiting the state prison. The vast fortifications of this town have been its great misery. They have attracted war, and this afflicted city has again and again been besieged, starved, taken, and pillaged. The Austrian General Tilly, in the thirty years' war, sacked it in defence of Popery, and slew 30,000 of the inhabitants! How little can we conceive the horrors of war, or the extent of the miseries inflicted on mankind by the alliance of ecclesiastical authority or pretension, with the temporal sword of princes!

At eleven o'clock yesterday, the 11th, we took the railroad for Berlin, and spent many hours in a very circuitous course. For this we were in measure repaid by a good view of Wittenberg, the celebrated scene of many of Luther's exploits; his home too; and the home of Melancthon. We clearly saw Luther's monastery, built for him by Frederick the Wise, elector of Saxony. The whole scene was to me peculiarly interesting.

This very extensive and beautiful city, [Berlin,] of 300,000 inhabitants, is placed in the midst of a vast plain of sand. Why such a site should have been chosen, it is difficult to imagine. Our excellent Hotel de Russie is situated in the midst of magnificent palaces, and other such buildings; the general appearance of this part of the city being equal to the best parts of London or Paris. A long and interesting call from General Thial, the President of the Bible Society, and Prime Minister of Prussia, has taken up part of this morning. He is an old soldier, but his countenance beams with benevolence as well as talent; and I have no doubt that he is a lively-minded Christian. Such a journey as this demolishes all sorts of prejudice, but it in no degree shakes our belief in the truth and reality of our principles. Lord William Russell, our Minister, and many others, have also been calling. Our friend August Beyerhaus, a Christian indeed, is an effective helper and interpreter.

I have been busy writing to the King of Hanover, about the persecuted Baptists. This evening we have been favoured with a good meeting, after reading the Scriptures, with about eighty people at the hotel; an intelligent and interesting audience. I was led into a train of close argument in defence of the faith once delivered to the saints, and was excellently interpreted for. All seemed attentive, and I believe I was fully understood. My sister followed with great sweetness and force. Thus, at the close of another first day, we feel that we have cause for reverent gratitude to the Author of all good.

Neustädtel, in Silesia, 9th mo., 15th.

Our visit to Berlin was, I believe, of some importance; though a time of no small pressure on our own minds. I have already described our meeting for worship on first day evening. I had afterwards reason to believe, that the discourse was well understood, and adapted to the unbelieving condition of many in Berlin. It is, however, cheering to find, that neological views are gradually becoming less prevalent, and that the younger class of ministers is sounder and more enlightened than the elder. It is said there are about twenty ministers of religion in Berlin, (of all denominations,) who preach the *gospel;* the population 300,000. Their places for worship are well attended; the other churches neglected both by pastors and flocks. The Sabbath is very poorly observed, and I fear immorality abounds. Our morning on second day was closely occupied. I went with a gentleman named Lobeck, to visit a celebrated institution for the education and reform of young criminals, under the care of Kopff and his wife, persons eminently gifted for their station. I was delighted with the order of the establishment, and with the masterly management of the boys, about eighty in number; they are well taught, and employed in various branches of industry when out of school. When I was speaking to them of the law of God, written on the heart, one of them instantly quoted Romans ii, 14, "When the Gentiles who have not the law," &c. Afterwards we walked across a sandy plain to call on Gossner, an evangelical minister, who was once a Roman

Catholic, preached at Petersburg many years, and was at last driven from that place. For several years past he has exercised his ministry at Berlin. He is a person of very extensive influence, sends out missionaries, distributes vast numbers of Bibles, and, in his preaching, remarkably falls in with the views of Friends. He is much attached to Stephen Grellet, whom he described to me as the most spiritual Christian he had met with in any denomination. We found the dear man, now in years, but still active, at a comfortable cottage, built for him by one of his people; and very interesting to me was our conversation. He gave me a lively description of the state of religion in these parts; my object being to ascertain what points, affecting the best welfare of the people, required our attention in our probable interview with the king. He is full of life, intellectually as well as spiritually, and seemed to be quite joyous at heart—an example, I thought, for *me*, who often find myself bowing down the head "like a bulrush."

After my sister had secured a little rest, we went together to the Elizabeth Hospital, under the care of Gossner, containing from eighty to a hundred sick women. The matron is a "lady," who devotes herself voluntarily to the service; and the pleasing young women who perform the office of nurse, receive no wages, but do it for the "love of Christ;" true sisters of charity they seemed to be. The spirit of Christianity, in a remarkable manner, appeared to pervade the whole house. Gossner and some pious ladies accompanied us from ward to ward; and my sister's gentle administrations were received with the greatest avidity.

On our way home, we called on Baron Kottwitz, a very aged Christian nobleman, who has devoted his life to the care of a great poor-house, in part of which he resides. He loves Friends, and has a lively recollection of Thomas Shillitoe. He is himself a noble specimen of a green old age. Lord Augustus Loftus, a pleasing young man attached to the English embassy, and our friend Beyerhaus, dined with us at six o'clock; and, soon after dinner, our evening meeting in the great saloon began to assemble in large numbers. It was understood to be a philanthropic meeting, and the

greatest interest seemed to be excited by my account of slavery and the slave trade, and the effects of freedom in the West Indies; and my sister was listened to with equal attention in her concluding discourse on prisons, education, the daily use of the Scriptures, &c. There was a good feeling over the meeting. A large tea-party followed, and the closing scene was one of much peace and love.

On third day morning we found, to our grief, that my dear sister had been very ill during the night. We had arranged to visit the great prison at Spandau, ten miles from Berlin, and had afterwards sixty miles to travel. Happily our faith did not fail us. She got better, took to the carriage at nine o'clock; and Beyerhaus, she, and I, drove off to Spandau. Lieutenant Schultz, who has been persecuted under military law for distributing tracts, a great friend of Peter Bedford's, also accompanied us. At Spandau, we were kindly received by the Christian Governor of the prison; and had some remarkable religious opportunities with companies of the prisoners. It is a well-ordered prison; and my sister had the comfort of finding that her suggestions, made last year, had most of them been attended to, and her wishes carried into execution; to the great advantage of many hundred criminals, especially as it regarded food, superintendence, and religious instruction. Thus a new evidence was afforded her, that her labour was not in vain in the Lord. Nothing but a little faith could have enabled her, in her apparently weak condition, to perform this visit; but this was not all, for a letter was received on behalf of a lady on her death-bed, earnestly requesting my sister to come to her. Late and tired, we felt best satisfied to go out of our way to see this lady, but we were rewarded. She could speak English, and a sweeter specimen of a Christian sufferer I have very seldom seen. It was a time of much consolation, ending with solemn prayer; but death did not to us appear very near at hand. Delightful it certainly is, to see the true work of grace going on in so many different places, and under such a variety of circumstances.

We now rested for a short time; and, after an early repast, took an affectionate leave of several persons who surrounded us on our departure, and drove off on the road towards Silesia. Happily we found it macadamized, and, by dint of rapid travelling, we reached Frankfort on the Oder, (sixty miles,) about half-past nine o'clock at night; my sister not the worse for her journey.

Hirschberg, Silesia, Sixth day morning, 17th.

Our journey yesterday was very rapid, on the beautiful high road towards Breslau, as far as Lüben. We then turned off to Liegnitz, which is a handsome old city, fifteen miles; and from thence forty miles over a mountainous and highly picturesque country. In consequence of the many hills, our journey was slow, and we were obliged to travel with six horses. We arrived here at night; it is a picturesque town, of 7000 inhabitants, supported by the domestic linen manufactory, carried on in the cottages all about the country; it being a land of flax. * * *

9th mo., 20th.

* * * We are in the midst of a most delightful country, cultivated valleys reposing in ampitheatres of noble mountains, the Schnee-kopf (snow-head) especially towering to the height of 5000 feet, pretty little villages interspersed all around, and a few very fine *chateaux* adorning the scene. The three principal of these are royal residences; Erdmansdorf, that of the King and Queen when in their country retirement; Fischbach, that of Prince Wilhelm, the King's uncle; and Schildau, that of Prince Frederick, of the Netherlands, who married the King's sister. Next to these comes Buckwald, the noble demesne of the Countess Reden, who is here fulfilling most important duties. She has a large Bible Society under her care, consisting of 261 districts; they have distributed 54,000 Bibles. She is also the patroness of the Tyrolese, who were banished four years since from their own country, on account of their religion, and were placed under the Countess's care by the late king; a singular

looking, grotesque, but agreeable people, I hope many of them Christians indeed. Swiss cottages have been built for them, and lands allotted to them among these charming mountains. Above all, the Countess exercises an important influence, in the right direction, with the royal family; and is the private friend and adviser of the king and queen. She is very like the late Hannah More, wearing her hair and cap in the same manner, and, like her, lively and productive, naturally and spiritually. She has moreover a maiden sister living with her, comparable to Hannah More's sister Patty.

On our arrival at Hirschberg, last fifth day, we expected to have been met by a letter from the Princess Wilhelm of Fischbach; but were disappointed, and found that her residence was ten miles off. We generally find that in every place which we visit, our patience is tried for a season. [In the morning] a letter arrived from the Princess, requesting us to come to her *schloss* or castle, at three o'clock, and afterwards to dine with her, and her husband, and family, at four. Thus our way was beginning to open. Our drive of an hour and a half lay through a delightful valley, mountains all around us, and two rocky ones covered with fir, of a fine conical shape, marking the site of Fischbach. The approach to the *chateau* is lovely, and the old mansion itself highly picturesque. We were very kindly received by the Princess; but I soon found that the whole affair was much more royal than I had imagined. She is a stately, queen-like lady, with a countenance full of tender and kind expression. Prince Wilhelm, her husband, soon entered with his sons, Prince Adelbert and Waldimar, agreeable young men; and Prince Charles of Berlin, who talks English well, the younger brother of the king. Our table was well spread in a long gallery, and the dinner was quite an agreeable occasion, without being at all exciting.

In the evening the Queen joined the party, and met my dear sister with warm affection. She is a delicate-looking woman, of a countenance which marks much feeling; the daughter of the late King of Bavaria, once a Roman Catholic, but now a Protestant by conviction; and I really believe, a

humble Christian. What higher praise for a Queen? I felt the weight of this royal party, which was attended by numerous *aides-de-camp*, *dames d'honneur*, &c.; but there was no feeling which warranted any attempt at religious service, beyond free, and, I hope, not unedifying conversation; every body speaking either German or French. The latter was, of course, my allotment; and I endeavoured to vary a long dinner by some account of the West Indies. Prince Frederick of the Netherlands, and his amiable wife, also joined the party.

We could not say that the day turned to any great account, yet it opened our door wide, and led to some interesting results. We were all truly interested by the Princess Wilhelm. We were glad to return at night in peace and safety, by a long evening drive to our comfortable hotel. This was sixth day. On seventh day I began to prepare our letter to the King, which we hoped to present to him in case of his coming. The thing wanted, was a clear, full document, on all the points which we wished to lay before him: viz.—Prisons, the state of them in Prussia, the various points in them which required amendment, prison discipline associations, ladies' visiting committees, the best mode of constructing the intended new prisons, the keeping of the Sabbath, the promotion of evangelical religion, the Christian education of rich as well as poor, neology in the universities, the necessity of counteracting it, temperance, capital punishment, that of the wheel especially, the free toleration of sects, the disabilities of our Friends at Minden, and finally peace.

I cannot describe the sort of pressure, and the weight of care and feeling which the preparation of such papers involves, especially as it is scarcely possible to resist the rapid stream, which is all the while driving me hither and thither. So it was with us on seventh day, which was nevertheless a very agreeable one. We waited on the Queen, by appointment, at the beautiful Erdmansdorf, at eleven o'clock; and enjoyed about an hour's interesting and truly edifying private conversation with her, the Countess Reden only being present with us. The Queen seems closely attached to our dear sister, and permitted us to arrange with her the time for an interview

with the King, in case of his arrival. From Erdmansdorf, we proceeded to Schildau, the *Schloss* of the Prince and Princess of the Netherlands, given to them as a present, two years ago, by her father, the late King of Prussia. It is a fine new house, castellated in form, and reposing in the midst of a noble mountain. Prince Frederick is remarkably kind, sensible, and gentlemanlike; and, since his influence (as a respected brother) is great in the Netherlands, we were glad of the opportunity of explaining to him the nature of our several philanthropic objects.

From the elegant Schildau we drove to Buckwald, the seat of the Countess Reden, whose agreeable old *chateau* is surrounded by wood, lawn, water, and mountains; the grounds, about six miles in circumference, laid out with a good deal of taste, and some spots in them of exquisite beauty. We dined there about half-past two o'clock, meeting the King's Chamberlain, Count Stolberg, a man of very high character, and several others. Our little company was composed of Christian people, and our intercourse was refreshing.

In the evening, the Princess Wilhelm, and her daughter Marie, joined our party for a time, and several other interesting people; and the Countess interpreted for my sister, while she told her tale of prisons. Mutual gratification seemed to prevail among the strangers, and their kind entertainers. Certainly we have met with abundant kindness. I was interested by a conversation with an elder Count Stolberg, the brother of the Lord Chamberlain, who has a vast estate in these parts, a sensible and pious man. He says the poor people in this beautiful district of valleys and mountains are much distressed. Flax is the staple of the country, and the people are mostly engaged in the domestic manufacture of linen. We saw some beautiful specimens of their table-cloths, &c.; but they are surpassed by machinery in other places, and live on a very scanty pittance. Every landed proprieter is compelled to support the poor on his own estate; Count S—— has 5000 people depending on him. Poor as they are, however, they are a pleasing, well-mannered

race, and when one walks out in the early part of the day, every passing peasant, young or old, male or female, greets one with a bow and "*gut morgen.*" We had now shifted our quarters from Hirschberg to Schumiedeberg, a beautiful village, near the residences of our friends; and were glad to find our rest there, after a pleasant and interesting day.

The next day was our sabbath, and a very remarkable one it proved. I was engaged most closely the first part of the morning, in writing our document for the King, which I had only just begun on seventh day; at twelve we went by appointment to the Countess Reden's, who accompanied us, with a number of Christian ladies, to the Princess Wilhelm, at Fischbach. My sister's account of the prisons, given to a few the preceding evening, had excited the curiosity of more, and the object of the *réunion* was to hear what she had to say. She gave the subject a Christian turn, which I also endeavoured to do, when speaking of the West Indies. The Countess had sent a courier sixty miles to fetch two Moravian brethren to act as our interpreters, and excellently did they perform their task. Though the subjects were not of the highest order, it was, in spirit and feeling, a sweet little meeting, ending with direct religious communication; the Princess was deeply interested.

On our return to our hotel to dinner, we met the king, who passed us rapidly in his carriage. Rejoiced enough was I to see him pass; as I knew that his continued absence would either have detained us, or frustrated our concern. He bowed to us, but I believe did not perceive who or what we were; but how deeply interesting has been our subsequent communication with him! It had been fixed ever since our arrival, that a meeting should be held that evening in the Countess's saloon, at Buckwald, with the poor Tyrolese, and all who wished to attend. We went thither to drink tea at six o'clock. Soon the rooms began to be thronged with the high gentry and ladies of the neighbourhood. The Princess Wilhelm had engaged to come, but it was an agreeable surprise to me to see the Prince and his eldest son (Prince Adelbert) enter with her. Soon afterwards, several of the King's court began to arrive, and the intelli-

gence was brought that he and the Queen were coming to the meeting. His brother, Prince Charles, and Prince and Princess Frederick, of the Netherlands, were with us before him, and at length came the King and Queen.

He seemed delighted to see my sister, and most kindly shook hands with me, having a lively recollection of my brother Samuel. He is rather a stout person, looking nearly fifty years old, his countenance intelligent and beaming with kindness, and his manners unaffected. The time for the meeting was now come. The Tyrolese, about 200, in their grotesque habiliments, occupied the bottom of the room, and they being too much crowded, the King began to move the seats of the gentry with his own hands, to accommodate them with more space, a fine example for his grandee subjects, and for us all. The Countess wished for a hymn as soon as the people were seated, and before our service should commence, the like after it was ended; prayer was the burden of the first song, and praise of the second. It was no business of ours, and I could only enjoy the interest of the sight; so many of the royal family, and a multitude of the great in this world, uniting with the poor Tyrolese peasants, in what I believe was to many of them an act of worship. After the hymn ceased, I believed it best to rise. My sister and I, and our two interpreters, were at the upper end of the room; on our right, the King, Queen, Princesses, the Countess, and a few other great ladies; on our left, the Princes Wilhelm, Charles, Frederick, and Adelbert; a crowd of ladies and gentlemen behind and before; the Tyrolese immediately in front of us, but at the other end of the room; the high conical hats of the women towering aloft. The men wear similar hats, but were now uncovered. There was a sweet tranquillity and true solemnity over us. I briefly explained the views of Friends respecting worship, the spirituality of the gospel dispensation, women's preaching, &c. This opened the way for my beloved sister, who was powerfully engaged in ministry for a considerable time, speaking (by desire of the King, who wished to save her fatigue) from her seat. The first part of her address was to the Tyrolese,

beautifully adapted to their condition; she applied the words, "I was a stranger, and ye took me in," to the late king's benevolent reception of these refugees; and spoke of him in a manner which touched all hearts. She then turned to the great ones, and riveted their closest attention. It was her usual strain of plain, wholesome truth, applied with the nicest touch of tenderness. I followed at some length, in a declaration of the essential truths of the gospel of Christ, alike applicable to prince and peasant; particularly dwelling on judgment to come, and the doctrine of our responsibility, the parable of the talents, &c. There was a precious solemnity over all. The interpreters partook of the unction poured forth, especially a dear simple-hearted young man who interpreted for me. The King and other members of the family seemed to feel the occasion. When the meeting broke up, he gave me an affectionate shake by the hand, and thanked me warmly for what I had been led to say. With my sister he was still more loving. Truly all thanks for this memorable, precious meeting, were due to the Author of all good.

After a quiet, solemn time of prayer with the Countess and a few others, with whom we were at last left, we returned, tired, but very thankful, to our hotel; but rest was not my portion, as I was obliged to sit up till past midnight over the document which I had to present to the King on the following day, and rose again on second day (yesterday) morning at six o'clock, to finish it. I got through the great task by eleven o'clock; read the sheets with my sister and Countess Reden, who fully approved them; and we then set off for the Palace at Erdmansdorf, where we were quickly ushered into the Queen's sitting-room. The King soon joined us. We four were alone together for more than two hours: a most interesting interview it was to my feelings. We first went through the whole document, and freely conversed with them on each successive point. The King developed a clear, penetrating mind, great knowledge of the several subjects, a heart full of feeling; and, above all, decided and unquestionable Christian principle. I think it might be said, with little ex-

ception, that our views and judgments corresponded with his on every particular. He seemed much interested with the account we gave him of our Friends at Minden, who, in consequence of not being able to take up arms, are deprived of some of the rights of citizenship, and cannot buy land.

After we had gone through all our business, my sister requested leave to read a few texts which she believed to be applicable to their condition. First, a text or two for the Queen; and then for the King, which led to further serious expression. It was a heart-tendering time, and ended with solemn prayer from her lips. Elizabeth and Anna were then called in to speak to them, and we parted in true friendship and love. The King paid us the attention of coming down stairs and seeing us off. A crowd of people near the door surrounded him and ourselves on the occasion, and we drove off, amidst their kind tokens of affection, in very sweet peace.

Their course was now directed homeward, by way of Dresden, Leipsic, Halle, and Elberfeld.

"At Halle," Joseph John Gurney writes, "our friend Tholuck, the celebrated evangelical professor, being absent, we called on Gesenius, another far-famed, learned, German theologian, who received us kindly, and sent his son to guide us—first to the *Franke* Orphan House, so called from its liberal founder, of whom there is a delightfully-expressive statue in bronze, by Rauch, the great living sculptor of Berlin. The statue is placed in the vast Court-yard, on either side of which are ranged the buildings, where 500 orphans are boarded, and about 3000 children taught; the poor gratis—the rich for pay. Bibles are also printed there to an enormous extent. It is a noble institution. We afterwards visited the buildings of the University, lately erected. They have 700 or 800 students, whom, however, I did not see, as it was the long vacation Great numbers are here educated for the Christian ministry; but I fear that, among the numerous professors and teachers, the number of the evangelical and orthodox is not very

great. Gesenius, who is a man of vast learning, visited us, with his daughters, in the evening. We quite enjoyed his company; but I do not know exactly whether he ranges among the more serious, or among the speculative religionists. It is sad to think of the multitudes of young men in the German universities, who are in the way of neological teaching; but all acknowledge that matters are improving."

9th mo., 30th.

* * * Elberfeld is a place of cutlery, &c.; the Birmingham, or Pittsburg of Germany. In coming to it, we passed through another large town adjoining it, called Barmen, which is peculiarly handsome and clean; looking all thrift; the linen, manufactured in the neighbourhood, lying in large quantities on the bleach-grounds. We had particularly wished to make our acquaintance with the people at Elberfeld, as the place is remarkable for pious persons, and the diffusion of evangelical truth; and we were not disappointed. We arrived at four in the afternoon; and having established ourselves at the hotel, (Henninghausenhof,) where we left my sister for her needful rest, Elizabeth, Anna, and I, with our friend Mary Anne Murray, an interesting lady who had come from Dusseldorf to meet us, went in search of Pastor Krummacher, whose writings, Elijah the Tishbite, &c., are so justly admired. We found him at his house, with his agreeable wife and sister; and a charming person he is; full of life and vigour, intellectually and spiritually. We told him of our wish to receive any persons who might like to see us at our hotel in the evening; and although it was so late in the day, a large company assembled at eight o'clock. We were favoured with a very interesting evening; beginning with conversation on philanthropic subjects, and ending with what was more serious, solemn, and reviving. Christian love did indeed flow on the occasion, and Krummacher's address, at the close of the meeting, was peculiarly striking and touching. I have no doubt that he is a valiant of no common order in the army of the Lamb. Another pastor of the name of Kursel also interested and pleased us much.

On fourth day morning, (yesterday,) the ladies were collected to form a prison society. Afterwards, Krummacher accompanied me to the prison, my sister not being well enough to go, and we had several good opportunities with different companies of prisoners; in which we were both engaged in a little true ministry, as I trust. We left Elberfeld, thankful for the help afforded us, and with our minds much relieved; a rail-road train conveyed us to Dusseldorf, another large and interesting place, which we had particularly wished to visit before we left England. Elizabeth, Anna, and I, spent the afternoon in visiting Dusselthal Abbey, in the immediate neighbourhood, where Count and Countess Von der Recke keep their large establishment for the support and education of the children of the poor; orphans, and the most destitute of mankind. The plan was undertaken after the war with France, as some alleviation of the horrors and miseries occasioned by it; and has been carried on with great success for more than twenty years; the object being to teach the children industry, agriculture, sometimes trades, and, above all, religion. The Count, who is the head of an old noble family, is very talented and pious, full of vivacity, but speaking only German. I held a meeting with the various members of the establishment, including the children; all being assembled in the chapel. I was interpreted for by Meyer, the simple-hearted young chaplain of the place; and I believe it was a pretty good time. The Countess has seven children, and conducts the whole domestic department with admirable skill. In the evening, a large number of our friends assembled at our hotel. I felt disposed to give them some account of the West Indies, and my sister had a few sentences on prisons, but afterwards she was remarkably led into ministry; and I believed it right to speak again on the influences of the Holy Spirit. My sister concluded the meeting with prayer. It was indeed a solemn time, the intervals of silence being peculiarly touching and still; and the whole meeting formed a precious conclusion of our labours, leaving us nothing to do but to return home.

At Dover, Joseph John Gurney writes:—

10th mo., 3rd.

* * Yesterday morning, at half-past ten o'clock, we went on board the post-office steamer [from Ostend] to this place. My dear sister was soon much refreshed by the sea; and we were favoured with an almost perfect calm, which rendered our voyage easy and agreeable; and our minds were at rest, in the feeling that the work required of us had, through divine grace and mercy, been accomplished.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

1841—1843. ÆT. 54—55.

MARRIAGE; RE-SETTLEMENT AT HOME; EXTRACTS FROM JOURNAL; VISIT TO FRIENDS AT BRISTOL, &C.; NARROW ESCAPES FROM A MAD DOG AND POISON; RELIGIOUS ENGAGEMENTS IN NORFOLK AND SUFFOLK; TOTAL ABSTINENCE; PUBLICATION OF HIS WORK "ON THE PAPAL AND HIERARCHICAL SYSTEMS;" COMMENCEMENT OF LONG JOURNEY IN FRANCE AND SWITZERLAND; BOULOGNE; AMIENS; CLERMONT; PARIS.

Soon after his return home, Joseph John Gurney accomplished his intentions of marriage with Eliza P. Kirkbride. The event took place at Darlington. In his Journal, he writes:—

Fifth day, 10*th mo.*, 21*st*. The solemn, happy, favoured marriage-day. I was engaged in prayer in the early part of the meeting, for the manifestation of the Divine sanction, which was indeed fully granted. Afterwards Katharine Backhouse in an excellent testimony, and H. C. Backhouse in fervent prayer. After the marriage was complete, I had a few sentences to utter, on the victory which is in "the faith." The dinner party cheerful and agreeable; concluded by a short religious opportunity. My dearest wife and I left them, at seven o'clock in the evening, after an affecting parting with her dear, faithful friends, J. and H. C. Backhouse.

10*th mo.*, 22*nd*. *Catterick Bridge*. Solemn reading and prayer; precious commencement of our daily retirement before the Lord. Drive to Greta Bridge. Delightful walk of two

nours about the grounds of Rokeby. Spent the evening at the inn.

10*th mo.*, 24*th.* Drive to Aysgarth; a good meeting there. The Friends seemed much cheered by our visit. Mountainous drive of nearly thirty miles farther to this place, (the inn at Bolton bridge,) which we reached at half-past seven o'clock, and soon found a peaceful resting-place. Servants and others collected for a scripture reading, and a very good time it was.

10*th mo.*, 25*th.* To-day we have been viewing the rich scenery of Bolton Abbey and Park. The happiness which we are permitted to feel in each other's society is more than I can express. We came on to Ripon, to tea; and have been passing a quiet tranquil evening. I scarcely ever remember a more calm, peaceful day than the present. May the same favour be continued to us until we reach home; and on our arrrival there.

28*th.* Reached Earlham in health and great peace, at nine o'clock in the evening; the place comfortable and homeish; the reception from my dearest children glowing. Oh! may we be kept perpetually in the hollow of the Lord's holy hand!

11*th mo.*, 6*th.* A quiet, satisfactory day, drawing to its close in peace. Our home circle, including my sister Catherine, is all that heart can desire. We have been reading Horne, and Jonathan Hutchinson's letters. The last are instructive and reviving; treasures once more turning up their bright side, for my pleasure and comfort. I hope there is a good solemnity over us this evening; and renewed are my fervent desires that all may be kept in sweetness, even in conformity to the divine will. Here alone is our rest and our strength.

11*th mo.*, 26*th.* I do indeed desire to be kept alive and watchful, ready for the Lord's service here, and for an entrance into his blissful presence, whenever it may please him to call me home to himself. But I do not feel that the time is yet. O Lord! thou hast showered many rich favours and blessings upon me; and now, in a delightful connexion, hast granted me

the very desire of my heart. Preserve me, I beseech thee, from in the least degree abusing any of thy precious gifts; make me holy, as thou art holy; and finally gather me, in Christ, to thy glory.

12*th mo.*, 15*th.* "Fear not, little flock; it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom." Is that "good pleasure" without conditions? I do not admire the word *conditions*, as I am a full believer in the absolute freedom of the mercy of God; and yet I think that, practically speaking, conditions of the most important character are attached to the act of grace. Nor do I consider the "good pleasure" of the Lord, in such cases, absolute, or destructive of human choice or freedom. "God would have *all* men to be saved." Yet, alas! for the "but," which must be understood to follow.

12*th mo.*, 25*th.* This day is one of peaceful seriousness to us. My dear wife and I are quietly together with our children. A peep into the long past has been deeply interesting to me; but I am more inclined to rejoice and be thankful in the present; and after subsiding into my new level, which this day gives me an opportunity of doing, to take a fresh start, and press, with renewed diligence, after the mark for the prize. What is that mark but holiness? even the holy maturity of the Christian character. O that this mark may not only be aimed at, but attained to!

To-day we are enjoying a touch of true sabbatical rest, and the company of my children is peculiarly pleasant. My desires are fervent, that as I have faithfully endeavoured to bring them up in the truth as held by Friends, so they may persevere in this course to the end, and deepen in the root more and more.

1*st mo.*, 3*rd*, 1842. I have more than usually felt the departure of the old year and the commencement of the new one. I have repeatedly observed, that our motto may be, "Thankful for the past—happy in the present—hopeful for the future." May we abide and move together in the very truth!

Third day. The language, read with my dear wife this morning, seems to have been proclaimed to me, "Put off thy

ornaments from thee, that I may know what to do unto thee." Lord, hear me, and help me to be entirely thy servant, and let my dearest wife and children be one with me, and I with them, in the truth.

1*st mo.*, 31*st*. The death of the Niger expedition; very affecting and overcoming to Fowell. I can hardly say why, but I do not feel disturbed by the event, mournful as it is. Rather am I disposed to say, "It is the Lord, let Him do what seemeth Him good."

In the spring of this year, he was engaged, in company with his wife, in a short visit to Friends at Bristol and Gloucester, and in attending, on his return, the Quarterly Meeting of Friends in London.

TO HIS SISTER ELIZABETH FRY,

(then in a feeble state of health,)

Norwich, 4th mo., 4th, 1842.

My heart and mind have been much drawn towards thee in tender love and sympathy, since we parted. I rest in the sweet hope that thou wilt yet be strengthened in mind and body to do the Lord's work, where and when He pleases, and be enabled to bear that measure of searching and proving which may be permitted to fall to thy lot. It is good for us to lie low, and patiently to wait, until we receive the divine sanction for arising in the Lord's own power for his service. In the meantime I hope that nothing will discourage thee; but that much peace and even joy in the Holy Ghost will be thy portion. I can truly say that all that I have seen and known of late years confirms my sense of the importance and excellence of unbiassed, genuine, Quaker views and practices. But may we be preserved from the shoals on either side, for there is neither life nor safety to be known in them!

His leisure had been of late occupied in the revision, (in conference with a committee of Friends in London,) of his work on the Distinguish-

ing Views of Friends, with a view to a new and stereotyped edition soon afterwards published. On its completion, notwithstanding some accession of bodily infirmity, his mind was turned to other important labours.

4th mo., 25*th.* We were favoured with a good Sabbath yesterday. The meetings were satisfactory, and several young men joined our large reading party in the evening. The whole past week has been one of tranquillity, and many a daily blessing has been poured into our cup; yet I have been permitted to feel much of my own nothingness and poverty; and even the sweet and solemn meeting which we enjoyed last fifth day, left me, where it found me, in the dust, spiritually. But there is more of a spring of pleasure this morning. May all our hearts be tuned to praise!

I am regularly correcting the sheets of the Observations for the stereotyper; and am writing something on the contrast between the Papal system and the religion of the New Testament.

5th mo., 13*th.* (After noticing some symptoms of illness.) Our way seems mercifully made clear—I humbly trust it has been prepared of and for the Lord—for our attending the Yearly Meeting.

The Lord preserve us, and keep us alive, and cause his face to shine upon us, and anoint us with his holy oil, and give free course to the word of his truth, in its fulness, purity, and power! And may we be permitted to return home in health, hope, and peace; ready for the Lord's service, in whatsoever way he may be pleased to direct! Great is the uncertainty which we feel respecting the future; but I seem enabled, rather more than usual, quietly to leave all to our gracious Lord and leader, fully believing that, in his matchless love and mercy in Christ Jesus, He will provide.

6th mo., 13*th.* More than a month has passed away since I last wrote, and here I am at home with my beloved wife, after having passed a most interesting thirteen days with her alone;

five at Walton on the Essex coast, one in travelling, and a week at home. During this period I have been very poorly, though Walton seemed to recover me, and this morning I am better than for many days past,

I look back upon the Yearly Meeting with great comfort. It was a time of harmony, and a time of life, my dear sister Fry taking her part and place in great brightness. H. C. Backhouse had excellent meetings with the nobility and the Jews, in two of which I was enabled to assist. On the whole it has been an occasion for the strengthening of our faith; and I humbly trust, through infinite condescension on the part of our Holy Head, we may go on our way rejoicing, trusting in the Lord.

At our Monthly Meeting on fifth day, I obtained a minute for some service with Friends and others, during the next few months, as way may open, and health permit, in Norfolk and Suffolk. In this I feel peace, and my dear wife is mentioned in the minute as intending to accompany me. May we bow under the holy hand of our Lord, and stand open to every call of religious duty!

6th mo., *25th.* We have, under the merciful providence of our heavenly Father, passed a truly happy time since the last entry, notwithstanding two hair-breadth escapes;—one from a large mad dog which ran up to our door, and, just as my dearest wife and I were going to step into the carriage, fell suddenly into convulsions, and was afterwards shot in the garden—the other from my taking the liquid of potash instead of my usual draught. This happened in the early part of this week; and it is probable that my life was saved by my wife immediately giving me castor oil, which acted as an emetic before the liquor found its way into the stomach. I have suffered a good deal from the soreness of the throat and œsophagus produced by the burn, but am now over it, and much as before in health; feeble, but pretty well.

On First day, I held public meetings at Swafield and Lammas; both good times, I believe; and paid satisfactory visits to the afflicted Nash family, and the two families of Wright, at Buxton, where we lodged.

6*th mo.*, 27*th.* I have had somewhat of a relapse the last two days, with a decided return of some unfavourable symptoms; so that if any thing like the "high hill" was permitted last week, a vale has come in its turn, yet not to the breaking of my peace. We had a good meeting yesterday morning. I had to speak well of the way in which our fathers walked, and their fathers before them.

As I sat in meeting, I thought much of Addison's stanza:—

> My life, if thou preserv'st my life,
> Thy sacrifice shall be;
> And death, if death should be my lot,
> Shall join my soul to thee.

I have felt more than a slight degree of hope, that, through infinite mercy, this may represent my experience. Reduced as I am to more of a do-nothing state than almost ever before, I can enjoy my leisure, roam about our sweet "paradise of flowers," relish the delightful society of my most endeared wife and children, and repose on the bosom of that Saviour who condescends to be our perpetual keeper. Blessed be the name of our God and Father through him.

7*th mo.*, 4*th.* A public meeting was held at my request at the Gildencroft last evening, which was well attended. It has been great cause for thankfulness to me, that, notwithstanding a depth of unworthiness and infirmity known only to the Omniscient, I have been again graciously called into service, and fitted for it of the Lord, both bodily and mentally. Truly our sufficiency is of the Lord alone!

Cromer, 7*th mo.*, 9*th.* We reached this place very comfortably last third day evening, and find our lodgings clean, spacious, and quiet, close by the sea. The Frys and my sister Catherine had arrived an hour before us. My dearest wife and I have just been finishing a quiet reading of my Thoughts on Habit, which leaves a favourable impression on both our minds, and I have some hope that I may be able to finish it. I have also written a little almost daily in my other book.*

* See *supra*, p. 317.

7th mo., *24th.* We had an excellent meeting with the sailors, in our own parlour, last fifth day; and another the next morning with the Sheringham fishermen, in the school-room of Robert Long, a lay teacher or preacher, who appears to have been truly called of the Lord to His service.

8th mo., *14th.* We continued at Cromer until last second day, the 8th. The week spent there, after the last entry, was very pleasant on the whole. Two large public meetings; one at Runton, in Johnson's barn, on First day afternoon, 7th mo., 31st, a good time I believe; and the second at Trimmingham, in Brown's barn, on First day afternoon, the 7th. The latter was remarkable, there was such a thirsty multitude! Much sweet and uniting intercourse with Anna Gurney.

Third day, the 2nd, was my birth-day, fifty-four; a time of some serious thought and humiliation before the Lord. Something done in writing, and the object now before me in this department, seems, on the whole, to be interesting, and to prosper. — "Thoughts on the Papal and Hierarchical System."

On second day, the 8th, after satisfactorily winding up at Cromer, my dear wife and I, with dear Anna, went to Holt, where a solemn and pretty large public meeting was held in the evening. Third day; large and flowing public meeting at Wells, in the evening. Fourth day; good week-day meeting at Wells, and calls on several Friends; drove in the evening to Hunstanton, where we met a cordial welcome from dear E. Edwards and his daughter. Fifth day; a most pleasant and interesting day at Hunstanton. The associations of the place sweet and affecting to my feelings; the shore, sea, rocks, &c., delightful.* Sixth day; good time of prayer in E. E.'s house, which we left in the flowing of mutual love; a happy renewal and confirmation of our old friendship. In the afternoon to Downham, where a peculiarly solemn public meeting, though not very large, crowned the day. Lodged at Crimplesham, where the Doyles gave us a most hospitable reception; solemn reading there the next morning; visit to their school;

* See *supra*, vol. i, pp. 132 and 228--229.

and interesting hour with Philip, Elizabeth, and Sarah Sewell, "green in old age," at Wereham. They seem remarkably kept alive in the truth, without human instrumentality, and I hope we drank together of the waters of life. Returned to this dear, charming place in the evening; great peace seemed to rest on our coming home.

Similar engagements, in other parts of Norfolk and in Suffolk, called Joseph John Gurney several times from home during the autumn and winter. He also paid a short visit to his friends in Manchester and Liverpool. Besides attending to these calls of duty, he spent part of the tenth month at Darlington, on the occasion of the funeral of his valued relative Jonathan Backhouse, and in visits to several other places in the north of England. In allusion to the time passed in the neighbourhood of Ackworth, he writes:—

Fourth day, 10*th mo.*, 26*th.* By railroad to Pontefract; attended the solemn and satisfactory funeral of my late dear friend, William Leatham, who closed his useful life in great peace, trusting in Christ. There was a blessed sense, that the rich man had passed well through "the needle's eye;" but a strong word of warning was given to others, who were of a worldly mind. Afterwards to Ackworth, where we met a cordial reception, and spent a happy evening at the school. The children were collected in the new reading-room, and I told them part of the story of the West Indies; an excellent time with the family after supper. Some Scripture examination, during this visit to Ackworth, afforded satisfactory evidence that the system of Scriptural instruction, which I was enabled to institute about twenty-five years ago, continues to flourish, as is also the case at Sidcot, Croydon, &c. I trust I feel deeply thankful for this result.—"Establish thou the work of my hands upon me, O Lord; the work of my hands establish thou it."

Meanwhile the state of his health continued to awaken anxiety. Referring to it, he says under date

11*th mo.*, 4*th*. Dr. Prout's verdict of my bodily state is by no means favourable. A very strict regimen is ordered, to which, coming as it does from the highest authority, it is my full purpose to render due obedience. I have been a sad lover of sweet things all my life; but now sugar in every degree and form is to be avoided. I feel very quiet about the case, rather strongly hoping that we may be favoured to beat off the enemy, my general health being improved; but if it should be otherwise, I desire to be enabled to say, "It is the Lord, let him do what seemeth him good."

Through all, he endeavoured quietly to press onwards in the path of duty. At the suggestion of his sister Elizabeth Fry, he had been lately building a large and commodious library and reading-room at Cromer, for the use of the fishermen and sailors, which was opened in the twelfth month of this year. It was about this time also, that, after much anxious deliberation, he became convinced that it was his duty to give up the use of all intoxicating beverages, and to encourage his household in a similar line of conduct. Henceforth he gave to the cause of Total Abstinence all the weight that could be derived from his own powerful example, and truly Christian advocacy. In an address upon the subject, which was subsequently published under the title Water is Best, he thus notices the circumstances which led to this important change of opinion and practice:—

"I acknowledge," he says, "that I was accustomed till within the last eighteen months, to take a little wine and beer

with my meals; and while I was most anxious, as a Christian and a minister, to let my 'moderation be known unto all men,' I thought that the use of these beverages was necessary to the enjoyment of health. I was led, however, under the circumstances which I will relate, to abandon this practice, and I have reason to rejoice that I did so, for my health has very considerably improved in consequence.

"Having many inmates in my house, and feeling a great desire to promote their spiritual welfare, I adopted those means which I hoped, under the Divine blessing, would lead them to consideration, and to seriousness. I found, however, that all my efforts were frustrated by *an enemy in my own house.* We were famous for the excellence of our home-brewed beer; and this was hospitably supplied not only to the servants of the establishment, but also to the labourers employed on the estate. Although I cannot say that it was extravagantly used, I believe it was the source of very considerable mischief. It had a tendency to blunt the moral feelings, and to incapacitate the mind to receive the great truths which I was so anxious to impart. I was, at this time, in an infirm state of health, and found it difficult to set an example of total abstinence. But believing with the apostle Paul, that I should avoid placing a 'stumbling block in the way of my brother,' (and, in this sense, I claim all mankind, whether masters or servants, as my brethren,) I felt it to be my duty to abstain from that which was not unlawful in itself, rather than be the occasion of stumbling to others. I called together the members of my establishment, and told them that I felt it to be my duty to discontinue the supply of beer to which they had been accustomed; but ordered a coffee tap to be opened in the hall, and a plentiful supply of hot coffee and bread to be kept for all who chose to partake. This, like other similar changes, was attended with pain; but in the course of a short time matters settled down as quietly and agreeably as ever, and I have great cause to be thankful to the Almighty, that I was led to take this decided step. Now I can leave home for two or three months without care and anxiety, knowing that one great source of evil is

stopped. At this time, as I have already said, my health was feeble, but now I am thankful to say that it is re-established to a degree which, two or three years ago, I should have thought impossible without the use of stimulating beverages; so deep was the sense I entertained of their necessity. I was ordered by some of the greatest medical men in the country, to take wine medicinally, but I could not do it with an easy conscience; and now, in spite of all the dogmas that float on the tide of popular prejudice, I have found, and multitudes have found by experience, that alcoholic beverages are useless to persons in health."

In allusion to the same subject, he writes in his Journal:—

1*st mo.*, 9*th*, 1843. All is peace and happiness this morning. What shall we render unto thee, most gracious God and Father, for all thy benefits? My health and spirits are greatly improved. Our household quiet and comfortable under the reformed system. May the leaven spread!

The work which had of late occupied his attention was now published, at first anonymously, under the title of the Papal and Hierarchical System compared with the Religion of the New Testament.* In this excellent treatise he boldly, but faithfully, sketches the principal corruptions by which man has defiled the purity, and (so far as he has been allowed the sway) weakened or destroyed

*This work was subsequently re-printed with the author's name, under the title of Puseyism Traced to its Root, in a view of the Papal and Hierarchical System, as compared with the Religion of the New Testament. A large edition was published, in a cheap form, which was widely circulated. An edition was also printed uniform with the octavo edition of Joseph John Gurney's works.

the influence of primitive Christianity; powerfully contrasting these corruptions with the noble simplicity of inspired truth. The whole volume deserves the attentive perusal of the reader, as containing, in a condensed form, a clear, and, (upon New Testament grounds,) unanswerable argument for Spiritual Christianity. One passage from the Chapter on the Spiritual Power of the Priesthood deserves to be quoted:—

"Where there is no sacrifice there is no priest; for sacrifice is the essential characteristic of the sacerdotal office. The continuance of that office under the papal and hierarchical system, is nothing better than a recurrence to the old plan of Jewish worship, and is opposed to the simplicity of the truth and the spirituality of the gospel dispensation. A Priest (ἱερεὺς, *sacerdos*) is not only a minister but a mediator; he stands between the people and their God; he offers up sacrifice, first for his own sins, and afterwards for those of the people. But in this glorious gospel day, as we know only 'one God,' so we know only 'one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus, who gave himself a ransom for all.' (1 Tim. ii, 5.) In the distribution of spiritual gifts and offices, we read that the risen and glorified Saviour, 'gave some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ;' we read also of presbyters or elders, of bishops or overseers, of deacons or servants; but among all these we hear nothing whatsoever of the Priest, the ἱερεὺς or *sacerdos*. We must therefore conclude that Jesus is the ONLY Priest of the Christian Church. In him the shadows of the law, and especially the whole sacrificial system, are for ever fulfilled. He has died, once for all, for the sins of the whole world; he is ever present with his people to bless them in the name of his Father; he is their

never-failing advocate and intercessor before the throne of God; he carries the names of all the tribes of the true Israel, as on his breastplate, before the Lord; like Aaron, he bears the iniquity even of their 'holy things.' 'The Lord hath sworn and will not repent,' saith the Father to the Son, 'Thou art a Priest for ever, after the order of Melchisedec.' Uniting in himself the regal and sacerdotal offices, he both mediates and reigns, and supplies, in both respects, the whole need of his universal church. Ecclesiastical systems, invented by men, shall last their season and then vanish. The finest fabrics of human policy in the things of religion, shall perish before the breath of the Lord Almighty; but Jesus Christ, our only High Priest, is 'the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever,' and of the increase of his government and peace there shall be NO END."

The conclusion of the work is at once forcible and characteristic: —

"Between the two systems which have now been developed, between the fulness of the authority of man, and the fulness of the authority of God, in matters of religion, there is, as I believe, no permanent resting place. Mediums have been tried in a variety of forms, and on an extensive scale. But the sentiment which has now been expressed appears to be confirmed by the fact, that a large proportion of the clergy of Episcopal Churches is at this very time notoriously rushing back into the bosom of Popery; retrograde movements of the same nature, (though different in degree,) may be traced in the decrease of original simplicity, and the increase of form and splendour, in the worship of some of the non-conforming bodies. In the mean time, there can be no doubt that spiritual religion, in its native vigour, is more and more diffusing itself among the thousands and tens of thousands of the Israel of God. With these, under whatsoever name, and in whatsoever nation, they may be found, the writer of the pages now about to be concluded, desires to be preserved in

living, heart-felt unity. May the favour of God be upon his children and followers all the world over! May the Sun of Righteousness arise upon them from day to day, and the dews of heaven rest all night upon their branches! And finally, may the law of peace, and purity, and love, without any foul admixtures, overspread this earth, 'as the waters cover the sea.'"

In the spring and summer of this year, he was again engaged, in company with his wife and their friend Josiah Forster, in a lengthened visit to France and some other parts of the Continent of Europe. His sister Elizabeth Fry, accompanied by one of her daughters, was also associated with them during the earlier portions of this journey. In the prospect of this engagement, he writes in his Journal:—

3rd mo., 11*th.* Deep searching of heart has been much my lot, in the earnest desire, that the prospect might close, if not truly of the Lord. I have, however, felt quiet at the root, and an abiding feeling of the rectitude of the movement somewhat increases from day to day. Happily I have no other pressure upon me; and, in quietness and confidence, find a renewal of strength.

4th mo., 15*th.* [At] the Morning Meeting of ministers and elders held in London, last second day, we were finally set at liberty for our mission. It was largely attended by Friends of London Quarterly Meeting, and several from the country, including Samuel Tuke, and Joseph and Junia Price, &c. A more solemn occasion, or a more weighty and deliberate consideration of a religious concern, I have seldom witnessed. A deep stream of religious feeling was permitted to flow amongst us; and through the tender loving-kindness of Him whom we desire to serve, it all flowed in the same direction. It appeared to be the unanimous judgment of the meeting, after a general expression of unity, that we should be set free for the work into which the Lord had condescended to call

us. A certificate to this effect was well drawn up on the spot by our dear friend Josiah Forster, who, for the present, is the companion of our travels.

They left London on the tenth of the fourth month. After describing their progress as far as Boulogne, where they arrived on the 12th, Joseph John Gurney continues:—

Through the kind exertions of our friend Turnbull, a Presbyterian preacher, who had met us before at Dusseldorf, we were enabled to summon a company of Christian friends, chiefly Scotch and English, for the evening, at eight o'clock; about thirty persons. I read John xvi to them; after which we were favoured with a comfortable meeting, concluded by solemn prayer. We parted from our friends, including the Episcopalian minister, a pious, agreeable man; the Scotch minister, and some Baptists, Methodists, and several members both of the Scotch and English churches, in love and peace; retiring to rest with relieved, and, I hope, thankful minds.

Amiens, 4th mo., 16th.

The journey yesterday [from Abbeville] very pleasant and entertaining, through a country divided into varied strips of green and brown, but without hedges, well cultivated, plenty of wheat on the soil. We distributed tracts, and conversed with the amiable, easily-entertained people at Aix à la Cloche, and Picquigny. At the latter place are the remains of an old castle, where Louis the Eleventh, and Edward the Fourth, of England, once met in conference. We wandered about the ruins, which are not very picturesque; but the view from this elevated spot of the rich valley of the Somme, is fine. In this valley we observed a large, apparently new, convent of the *Trappistes*. Thus popery in all its forms, both splendid and frightful, is rising again to view with fresh vigour; and nothing surely but the power of God can ever put down a system, in the maintenance of which

human policy the most refined, and human zeal the most untiring, are for ever at work. Of this *renaissance* of Popery, we had full proof after arriving at this large and beautiful city, as we surveyed the magnificent cathedral, a building of astonishing beauty. The architecture is of the finest gothic; and in the interior simple enough to be extremely attractive. The outside is too much crowded with ornament, yet very striking. As to the proof of Popery *rediviva*, it is to be found in the newly-fitted-up chapels, gay with artificial roses, candles all round, with devotees on their knees before the images, especially those of the virgin; also in the superb, newly gilt pulpit; above all, in the relic of John Baptist's head, of which the red silk or velvet cap under a glass is alone exposed to view. We saw two sweet-looking boys kiss it reverentially, and drop on their knees beside it for a short prayer; after which they turned to us and innocently assured us, that the body of the Baptist was lying under a white-clad altar, which stood hard by, blazing with candles! We observed that the street leading to the cathedral, is called *la rue des corps nus sans tête*, which may have reference to the same part of the Gospel history; or perhaps to martyrs' legends of less authority. Two of the stone figures in the portico are represented carrying their own heads! Confession was going on in one of the chapels; two confessionals being occupied; one by a man, another by a female. Oh! the awful mummery of this dark system!

Clermont, 4th mo., 17th.

While we were examining the cathedral, our indefatigable friend, Josiah Forster, was engaged in preparing our way for the ensuing sabbath, by calling on the minister of the small Protestant church, who willingly agreed to summon his flock to the saloon where his people usually meet, for six o'clock the next evening. His agreeable daughter undertook to go round and give the notice. In the evening, the pious old man spent an hour or two with us. He was once in the navy, and a Papist. But when at Havana, in the course of his voyages, he attended one of the churches there, on the day of a great *fête* in honour

of the Virgin, when he was suddenly struck by the extreme gaudiness and folly of the ceremony, and he cried out, "O for four walls to worship in without all this frippery!" Some time afterwards he was taken prisoner by the English, and stationed at Ashburton; where, being on his parole, he accidentally went into a dissenting meeting-house, and found his prayer fulfilled; four walls to worship in without ceremony, without finery. He was struck to the heart, though he could not understand the minister; learnt the English language: attended the meeting for a few months; and became a Protestant and a Christian.

Yesterday was certainly an interesting, and I hope not unproductive, Sabbath, spent in that large city of 50,000 souls, given up, with little exception, either to superstition or practical infidelity; the former among the women, and the latter among the men; a grievously common case in France! Our little meeting (the four servants present) was held at eleven o'clock, and proved a season of true refreshment. The day was beautiful; and after the meeting my wife and I took a long walk about the *allées* and boulevards; and another long shaded walk, called the Hotore. This part of the town, with the rows of good houses and pleasant promenades, is decidedly handsome. So, indeed, are the streets generally. It is a place of busy manufacture and commerce, though just now in a state of depression.

In the evening, at the appointed hour, we repaired to the humble dwelling of our friend the *pasteur*, who conducted us to the Meeting. It was a congregation of about 80 people; perhaps at last some 10 or 20 more; and a very solemn, favoured meeting it proved. Josiah Forster began by briefly explaining our mode of worship. Soon afterwards I rose, and was enabled to preach for about half an hour in French, with far greater facility than I could have ventured to expect. It was truly given to me of the Lord, and very thankful ought I to be for such a renewed token of his unmerited loving-kindness. My subject was, the internal hearing for ourselves of the life-giving voice of Jesus, beginning with the words of the Sama-

ritans, "Now we believe, not because of thy saying, but we have heard him ourselves," &c.; the spiritual resurrection as a preparation for the last day; (John v;) the new birth and living faith in the blood of Christ. Our beloved sister followed in a lively, fervent exhortation, well interpreted by our friend Josiah Forster. Afterwards I was enabled to conclude the Meeting in prayer, and we returned to our hotel with relieved and thankful minds. Such was our first French Public Meeting. May we be helped by this token for good, and may we give all the praise where alone it is due. About twenty of the people at the meeting were Roman Catholics.

This morning Cadoret and his daughter, and Vorneaux, a colporteur of the Bible Society, who, since the eleventh month, has sold 600 copies of the New Testament in the neighbourhood, breakfasted with us, and our reading was solemn and refreshing; my sister beautifully engaged in prayer. After breakfast, she being but poorly, Josiah Forster, my wife, and I, visited the Bicêtre, being the House of Correction for the department of the Somme, containing about 260 prisoners. We had but little satisfaction in our visit.

Chantilly, 4th mo., 19th.

We spent a pleasant day, yesterday, in a very pleasant country. Clermont is beautifully situated on the brow of a hill; and the views of it which we enjoyed in a quiet stroll along a lovely lane, through orchards of apple trees, well cultivated in strips, and near a fine wood, where we heard a chorus of thrushes and a nightingale or two, were lovely indeed; the air being dry, clear, and stimulant. We then ascended the hill on which the town is built, to the *Prison Centrale pour les Femmes*, a vast, good-looking building, which stands on the summit. It is for the whole of the north of France, and contains 900 prisoners. These prisoners are cared for by the *Sœurs de la Sagesse*, under a superior, 40 in number, who are allowed 800 francs per annum each, but support themselves. There is a school in the prison

for the ignorant; and religious instruction, after the manner of the Roman Catholics, seems to be communicated by a chaplain, and the nuns. The latter lodge in the prison, and serve the whole purpose of officers; no others being admitted except a few inferior servants. Perpetual silence reigns among the women; or, at least, this is the law. A more effective superintendence is required at night. My sister was greatly pleased with the order, cleanliness, and comfort of this prison. The females are employed in lace-making and other kinds of needle-work, &c. One-third of the earnings go towards the expenses of the establishment; one-third for indulgences in the way of food, &c.; and one-third is reserved for them when they leave the prison; but this portion is sent for their use to the mayor of the place to which they belong, their travelling expenses being first paid out of it. An Englishwoman, who had been confined here, went out with a purse of about 200 francs. There is an institution called the *Bon Pasteur*, at Amiens, which affords a refuge for these females when they leave the prison. Many go thither of their own free will, and support themselves, when there, by their work, being again under the superintendence of a sisterhood of nuns. These *Bons Pasteurs* are established, we are told, in many other places besides Amiens. The system of the Romanists puts many instruments into their hands—large sisterhoods of nuns for example —which may be often used for good purposes. The *Sœurs de Charité*, who tend the prisons and the hospitals, paid though they be for their work, and incited by the false notion of merit in their own performances, must nevertheless be reckoned among the alleviators, both physically and morally, of the miseries and evils which oppress mankind. Thus God conducts his great designs, through a machinery of Providence, of which the intricacies are not to be unravelled by human wisdom; and often is he pleased to overrule erroneous systems for good and desirable purposes. We are not, on this account, to give up our principles, which rest on his own unchanging law and attributes. Yet we may well exclaim with Paul— "O the depth of the riches, both of the wisdom and of the

knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out!"

The drive to Chantilly in the afternoon, fifteen miles, was swift and agreeable, through a beautiful champaign country, and over the Oise, a fine river at Creil.

Paris, 4th mo., 19th.

After driving through a succession of little towns, many vineyards, and a gay, fruitful country, we arrived here in safety about two o'clock. We felt the weight of our position and prospects; and fervent are our desires that we may be guided, from day to day, in the way of our duties, and be graciously qualified for the fulfilment of them.

4th mo., 21*st*. Yesterday we all went, at eleven o'clock, to our little week-day meeting, in the Faubourg du Roule; and were favoured with a solemn, refreshing time, in which our hopes and strength were renewed, in the remembrance of that gracious promise, "I will lead the blind by a way that they know not," &c.

At three o'clock my dear wife and I walked to the Pelets, where I had the pleasure of introducing her to our kind friend the countess, who was recumbent on her couch, being very infirm. I remember when I was last in Paris, being engaged in solemn prayer with her, on behalf of her husband's father, who was then very ill. He died last year in the triumphant faith of the Christian. He said in dying, that he could not express the beauty and glory of the scene which lay before him, and on which he was about to enter. From thence to a bazaar, for the benefit of certain schools, where we were much pleased with a number of simple, yet sprightly young women, who were engaged in selling. I talked with Mark Wilks' wife, respecting the present extraordinary inroad on Protestant religious liberty. It appears, that in a certain village, the inhabitants, of their own accord, forsook Popery, and built a place of worship for themselves, applying to the *Société Evangélique*, of Paris, for a minister. They could not obtain one; but a Protestant minister, Roussel, went of his own accord, and ministered to them; was warned off by the police, persevered, and was at last forced away by

the military. A *procès verbal* was commenced against him, and a fine inflicted by the inferior district court. He appealed to the superior court next in order, when his cause was pleaded by Odillon Barrot, but in vain. He has now appealed to the Court of Cassation, which is supreme; and Josiah Forster and I hope to attend the trial to-morrow. The ground of this infliction is a law introduced by Guizot, since the formation of the present ministry, forbidding more than twenty persons to assemble without leave of the *maire* of the district; a law occasioned by some of the plots against the government which had previously transpired. It was, at the time, expressly stated by the government, through Guizot, that the law was intended to have no bearing whatsoever on religious meetings; the charter confirmed by the last revolution, having granted full and entire religious liberty to persons of all creeds. Nevertheless, it is now construed to apply to any attempt to form a new society of Protestants, or open any place of Protestant worship where one had not previously existed; in fact, as a complete prevention of the further development of the Protestant principle. It is evidently a step towards the old plan of uniformity, restriction, and persecution; and is considered by the Protestant party to be highly alarming. The fact seems to be, that the executive power, backed by immense military force, is virtually entering into such a league with the priesthood, as will secure their support of the present dynasty. Thus a new force and spring are given to Popery in its *renaissance;* and the thunder-clouds which are gradually overspreading the heavens, grow darker and thicker. May the Sun of Righteousness arise and disperse them!

4th. mo., 24*th.* On seventh day, Josiah Forster and I had pleasant interviews soon after breakfast with the wife of the Chevalier Eynard, who received us with much cordiality; with the Greek ambassador whom we met when last at Paris; and with Guizot, preparatory to the intercourse mutually wished for between us. He received us affectionately, and we are engaged to dine with him on fifth day. We then called on Isambert, our zealous and steady Anti-Slavery friend and advocate. He

is one of the Judges of the Court of Cassation, the Supreme Court of France, and was kind enough to introduce us, that we might hear the cause of Christian liberty pleaded, in the case already mentioned. The court is held in the old chamber of justice, as I understood, of the Kings of France, a fine old apartment, with a picture of the present king in front; fourteen of the judges assembled; and a large body of Protestants were there to hear; looking, as well they might, low and serious, under the present grievous infraction of the liberty of conscience, proclaimed to them in the fifth article of the Charter of 1830. After the report had been read of the preceding trials in the case, Count Delaborde rose, the advocate of religious freedom, and pleaded the cause, in a speech of nearly two hours, with great clearness, zeal, heart, and force; though the rapidity of his pronunciation sometimes concealed his meaning from me. To his argument he added a good deal of general impressive remark on the subject of the rights of conscience. He quoted an admirable declaration made by Napoleon on the subject; but concluded with a still more forcible reference to Scripture, and to the paramount authority of him, who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life. The judges seemed to me to listen to him with great indifference; touching and interesting as was the appeal. After a dry and feeble answer from some one who represented the *Procureur de Roi*, (the Attorney-General,) the judges retired, and we afterwards learned, that, by a majority of ten against four, they confirmed the decision of the inferior court of Versailles, and thus gave to the dying hopes of the Protestants, a cold-blooded *coup de grace*. I conversed a little with the eloquent Count Delaborde, who had himself been a Roman Catholic, and has become a pious Protestant; also with Roussel, the minister, who had opened the chapel of Senneville, and had been fined in consequence. He says, the chapel continues closed and useless, a mere monument of the increasing power of Popery, and that the poor, pious people are cared for by an *instituteur*, or schoolmaster. I was also introduced to Odillon Barrot, who had pleaded the cause before the court of the district of Versailles. He is an

interesting, warm-hearted man, with a powerful eye, and a forehead finely developed.

Yesterday was our first Parisian Sabbath. Our meeting at the Faubourg du Roule was held at twelve o'clock, and was attended by a considerable number of people, generally English. At six o'clock we repaired to William Toase's Wesleyan meeting-house, by appointment. After a time, it was quite crowded, more so, they said, than ever before; and certainly it was a truly solemn meeting. My dear sister was first engaged, at some length, in exhorting to vital and practical religion, and was well interpreted for by our friend Lucas, a minister among the French Methodists. I afterwards followed on part of John xiv:—"*Je suis le chemin, la vérité, et la vie,*" &c. I trust help was given. The congregation separated in the feeling of much love and sweetness.

CHAPTER XL.

1843. ÆT. 55.

ENGAGEMENTS AT PARIS CONTINUED; DUC DE BROGLIE; GUIZOT; DE TOQUEVILLE; PROTESTANT MEETING; FRENCH BIBLE SOCIETY; VISIT TO THE KING AND QUEEN AT NEUILLY; JOURNEY TO THE SOUTH OF FRANCE; MACON; LYONS; AVIGNON; NISMES; CONGENIES; VISIT TO THE FRIENDS; ILLNESS AT CONGENIES.

Paris, 4th mo., 25th, 1843.

I WISH most sincerely that we may all be preserved from the feeling of dissipation, in the midst of the interesting and ever-shifting scenes which befal us in this place. It requires watchfulness and care, and I do not feel that we are without our difficulties; yet I humbly trust, indeed I fully believe, that the Lord is near to help.

Yesterday morning, (24th,) Josiah Forster and I made a few calls together. Our first was on Baron Rothschild, to establish my pecuniary credit. He was abundantly civil. He seemed to me to have the same kind of acuteness and intelligence as his late brother Nathan, and to be pursuing the same career. I ought to be thankful for the convenience of moneyed facility in this temporal world; one feels it particularly when abroad. May all that I have and am be rightly devoted to the Author of all my blessings!

We then paid our respects to Lord Cowley, the British Ambassador, younger brother of the Duke of Wellington, a sensible, elderly gentleman, who, though very busy, received us kindly. We talked to him about the case of Tahiti and the Sandwich Islands. He said he had received official assurances from the French Government, that the Protestant

missionaries in Tahiti shall be fully protected, and the Independent Sovereignty of the Sandwich Islands acknowledged. At a later hour we called on the Duc de Broglie, of whom I had so often heard, and whom I was really glad to see. He received us in a very friendly manner. His late Duchess, the daughter of La Baronne de Staël, was a woman of decided piety, a Protestant, and died the death of the Christian. She was well known to our sister Fry. The Duke is a liberal Roman Catholic, and is the author of the *projet de loi*, on the subject of emancipation, which has just been published. It is said to contain a vast mass of well-arranged evidence; and, though far from fully satisfactory in its provisions, is probably as good as the Duke could make it. Neither he nor Guizot can be regarded as their own masters in this important matter.

In the evening our rooms were opened to the coloured people, besides several of our own friends. It was a highly interesting occasion. There were perhaps forty of them, chiefly young men—lively, intelligent, polite; affording abundant proofs that "black blood" has no tendency to destroy the powers of the mind. I told them a little about the West Indies, in a French address; then Josiah Forster and I questioned them respecting the condition of the respective islands, &c., with which they were connected. We had representatives from Bourbon, Cayenne, Guadaloupe, Martinique, and Hayti; and they gave us, in a truly vivacious way, much information. Slavery everywhere seems to wear the same characteristics of ignorance and brutality. The slaves appear to get no education in any of the French colonies, and are liable to much cruel treatment. In Hayti, too, education is at a low ebb. It appears that the late revolution there has been bloodless, and that President Boyer has made his escape to Jamaica. We ended with a psalm and a solemn pause. I trust the impression made upon our guests was useful, and that the evening's service would not be in vain. Yet, had we been a little more watchful and faithful, the end might more completely have crowned all.

This morning Josiah Forster and I made agreeable calls on

Vicomte de Tracy, and Passy, Anti-Slavery deputies, of great talent and influence. We were anxious to recommend such a declaration, on the part of the Chamber of Deputies, as would pledge them to the consideration of the new *projet de loi* at the opening of the next session. But this, it appears, is not according to the forms of the French Chamber. Some one in the house will address the needful questions to the ministers, as to their intentions on the point; and it is hoped that their answer will be favourable. We learned, in one quarter, that even the printing of the *Rapport de la Commission* or *projet* was carried in the Cabinet, by Guizot, with difficulty. We must, therefore, reckon him a faithful abolitionist, and conclude that he cannot do all that he would.

We also visited a large school of boys, girls, and infants, under the care of Pressensé and the Protestants; about 800 children. They were at play and at dinner in the yard. We asked the boys many questions from the New Testament, to which they gave ready answers, showing a considerable degree of knowledge. Nothing could exceed their pleasure and liveliness on the occasion. From thence to the Normal School under *La Société Evangélique*, where we found fifteen young men under careful Christian training for the office of schoolmasters. The establishment is intended to be much enlarged, and is likely to operate very favourably on the community. A short interview with Lord B——, is another incident of the present morning. He is somewhat aged, and looks pale; but not out of health. Oh, if he had followed the Star of Bethlehem in its course, and discovered the Prince of Life and Immortality for himself, how truly great he might now have been!

4th mo., 27th. In the evening of the third day we had the company of several ladies and young women, including —— who has passed through many deep afflictions, and has a great attraction towards Friends. Her son, a modest young man of twenty-three, has lost his all by disappointing the wishes of his father and uncle, in absolutely refusing to go into the army, or take any part in military affairs. This is a remarkable instance, and I believe not a solitary one in France.

We had also the company of Köhl, the German traveller, whose works are known in England, and of his brother and sister, all of Bremen. Rigaud, the deputy of the Peace Society, read us a short lecture, and several of us added a few remarks. After a comfortable reading of 1 Cor. xiii, in French, and a short pause, the company separated.

Yesterday morning, having obtained the authorization of the Prefect of Police, Gabriel Dellessère, a man of talent and energy, and very kind to us, Josiah Forster and I visited the new prison, *des jeunes détenus*, now complete; about 500 boys in the establishment, the number made up of all the little vagabonds and thieves, which France, and principally Paris, happen to furnish, who are shut up here by a kind of summary process, according to the will of the magistrates; not so much because deserving their terms of imprisonment, (some of which are for three, four, five, or six years,) as under the consideration, that they will be themselves benefited by the system of care and discipline. Many are sent to the establishment by their own parents. The whole is arranged on the *système cellulaire*. It is solitary confinement, as it regards their fellows in bondage, but alleviated by the frequent visits of their teachers and keepers, &c., also by a very fairly comfortable diet, meat four times a week, and plenty of bread; constant employment, school learning, and some handicraft business, filling up the day in succession. There are a large number of corridors, all well warmed; each corridor under the care of a superintending officer, who acts both as schoolmaster and *maître de metier* to the boys inhabiting it. The boys are taught in matters of religion, by two monks, twenty-three at a time, in a room divided into little departments, so as not to see each other, with a desk in the centre. They kneel before the Host (without seeing it) at the sound of a bell, every Sabbath day. Each boy is allowed half an hour's run during the day, in one of the four airy court-yards. Each cell is provided with a comfortable bed, and suitable provision for reading, writing, and cyphering, besides the implements of the work on which the inmate is engaged. I observed no want of neatness, air, or comfort

in the cells. The books for religious instruction consisted chiefly of extracts from the New Testament, which the boys get by heart, and Romish Catechisms. We visited many of the boys in their cells, some of them very young, ranging from twelve to eighteen years. It may appear somewhat strange, but it is no more than the truth, that as far as we could judge, they seemed, without exception, healthy and happy. I must say it is an excellent specimen of the separate system, however tyrannical so long an imprisonment may be.

In the evening we dined with our kind friends the Pelets, meeting the old Countess, Charles Malet and his mother, General Meynadier, and Admiral Baudin, *Directeur des Bagnes* (galleys,) at Toulon—a man of high station, who was converted from Popery and has become quite serious.

After dinner, several persons joined the company, the most interesting of whom were De Toqueville, the American traveller, a small, intelligent, benevolent, lively Frenchman, and his friend Beaumont, a fine-looking, energetic young man, much disposed to be useful to his fellow-men. They are both deputies, of high reputation, much interested in the cause of prison reform and anti-slavery. Beaumont informed me that the Parliamentary Commission had made much use of my Winter in the West Indies. The evening was an interesting one, and I hope was productive of some good. It seems to have left a good impression on our friends. Yet it would have been satisfactory, could we have arrived at somewhat more of quietness and solemnity. These blessings we have enjoyed, through mercy, rather richly, at our meeting this morning; some twenty or thirty persons present; many greatly affected. We were all three engaged in ministry.

4th mo., 30*th.* On fifth day (the 27th) we went to dine with Guizot, who received us with great politeness and kindness. His mother and children were of the party, also Rosine Chabaud, *Directeur de la Bibliothèque Royale*, and our kind friend the Duc de Broglie.

We stayed rather more than two hours, during which we had a good deal of free conversation with him. Our main topics were—first, the Abolition of Slavery; second, the

Preservation of Peace; and third, Religious Liberty. We did not learn from him that it was the intention of Government to act fully on the *projet de loi* proposed by the Commission; but he assured us, that the subject of abolition would be duly brought forward at the commencement of the next session, and that the children under seven years of age would be set free. It seemed as if he could not encourage much hope beyond this, except in the way of amelioration. We thought he spoke with sincerity, on the subject, and that he truly feels with us; but there can be little doubt he has difficulties both in the cabinet and from the throne. On the subject of peace he spoke decidedly; saying, that there was far less danger of any interruption of it, than was the case when we were here two years ago. He also spoke decidedly on the point of religious liberty, declaring his own opinion, in opposition to the general sentiment of the Protestants, that it is making progress, and will advance more and more. He seemed fully to agree in our view of the advantages derived to a nation, from freedom of thought and action on the subject, and from dissent. This stirring of the waters is the means of driving people to a deeper consideration and feeling of those main principles of religion, on which the welfare of the community essentially depends. Josiah Forster spoke in the plainest manner on the Tahiti case and its radical injustice; which Guizot did not attempt to deny, but adverted to parallel instances in the conduct of Great Britain. He said, however, that the facts had been exaggerated; that the forcible interference of the French had been without the authority of the Government; and that the Protestant missionaries will be left at their full liberty; that we need not alarm ourselves on the subject. For my own part, I fully believe it is a bad case. The very fact of Tahiti's becoming a station for French troops, together with the probability that this military force will play into the hands of the Roman Catholic priesthood there established, seem to leave but little hope for the Protestant mission, or for the true moral and religious welfare of the aborigines.

I had much agreeable conversation with Guizot's mother,

who is evidently a mature and lively Christian. There was a bright glow diffused over the occasion, and we parted under the feelings of friendship.

Sixth day was one of great interest, and I think I may add, of some importance. A company of our friends, interested in prisons, assembled at nine o'clock in the morning to breakfast, some of them very interesting persons. They were Moreau Christophe and Bluet, inspectors, the latter an architect, and *occupé des bâtiments;* De Toqueville, Beaumont, and Remusat, deputies, and active and interested members of the prison committee of the house; Remusat, late Minister of the Interior, also an active agent of the government in these matters. These gentlemen were joined by Le Chevalier, *Directrice Générale des Prisons de France pour les Femmes*, who came with our friend E. Malet. They were all present at our usual reading of the Scriptures. After breakfast we had a good open discussion on prisons, and on the new *projet de loi*, which proposes to enact the cellular or separate system for all the prisons in France. The idea is to isolate the criminals from each other, but not from those who can help and do them good; solitude with a variety of helps and alleviations, of which the youths in the prison of La Roquette already afford a specimen. I have digested our own views on the subject, specifying the various alleviations and accompaniments of the system which we deem necessary, in a paper addressed to our friend De Toqueville. With him, Beaumont, and Remusat, I was greatly pleased; they may truly be said to be fine men, intellectual, liberal, ardent, highly talented. O that pure religion might master them all! Moreau Christophe is also an interesting man. As far as we know they are all Roman Catholics. In the evening we had a large and highly interesting company at our hotel, including the Greek Ambassador, Colletti, and about thirty young Greeks, students, and others. It was a truly animating occasion. After the party was seated I made a short speech in French, with a view of stimulating them in the pursuit of literature, virtue, and religion. My sister then addressed them by the help of the Duc de Broglie's kind interpretation;

also Josiah Forster; and some of the Greeks themselves spoke in answer to our inquiries on the state of education, books, &c.; highly pleased and animated they seemed to be; many of them were from Greece proper; others from the Turkish dominions. We concluded by reading Acts xvii, the visit of Paul to Athens, &c.; after which, I had a little to express in ministry. Numerous little books were then distributed, and our intelligent, ardent, and apparently high-minded guests, expressed their hearty pleasure and gratitude on leaving us. I trust this labour of love was not in vain.

4th mo., 30*th.* I may record with humble gratitude the privileges of the Sabbath day which is just past. It was certainly a day of much favour. [After our meeting in the morning at the Faubourg du Roule,] we repaired at four o'clock, P. M., to the excellent *locale*, Rue du Phot, No. X, for the temporary use of which, as a place of worship, we have obtained a regular authorization from the Prefect of Police. About 100 persons assembled, among them about fifteen young Greeks. It was, through mercy, a solemn, favoured meeting. I knelt down soon after its commencement, and poured forth a prayer in French; after which my sister addressed the company in a very lively and powerful manner; first the serious, and next the worldly. She was well interpreted by our friend Lucas. I was afterwards enabled to preach with some degree, I trust, of life and clearness, on the divinity of Christ, and the evidences of it in Scripture; and on the grand doctrines of the atonement, and the work of the Spirit. The word preached seemed to be well understood, and gladly received. A few observations on the daily reading of Scripture concluded the meeting, which was accompanied by a blessed feeling of solemnity and comfort. Books and tracts were distributed in the ante-room.

In the evening we had a large company of the English visitors now in the hotel, with whom we were favoured with a solemn reading in the Epistle to the Philippians, and my sister was engaged in prayer. The Countess Pelet dined with us alone, and her husband afterwards joined the circle. We are much bound to them, and they to us, in Christian love.

Third day, 5th mo., 2nd. At noon, Josiah Forster and I repaired to the Rue du Phot, where we attended a crowded meeting of the Society, "*pour les intérêts généraux du Protestantisme,*" Admiral Verhueil in the chair. The report was read by the young Count Gasparin, and the meeting was afterwards addressed by Frossard, Monod, Vermeil, and other pastors. The society embraces a variety of objects; a house of study and protection for young Protestant students, at the Paris colleges; the formation of a place of confinement for young Protestant criminals, and the condition of the question of religious liberty. I was happily able to understand the chief part of what was spoken, and was greatly interested, especially by F. Monod's speech, in which the subject of religious liberty, and the right conduct of Christians under persecution, was admirably handled. Josiah Forster concluded the meeting with a few timely sentences, which were cordially received.

In the evening we had a large company of Greeks. Our object was to form an association for the translation, printing, and diffusion of useful little books, moral, religious, and literary, for the use of Greece. I hope the seed of such a society was sown, but the speaking was rather rapid and confusing; a sweet solemnity was afterwards felt in the reading of Psalm xc.

Fourth day, 5th mo., 3rd. Attended the meeting of the Protestant Bible Society, at the Oratoire. It was a large meeting, but by no means equalling that of the day before in interest. Both Josiah Forster and I spoke. I told them of our experience in Norfolk, (their distribution was only 5000 for the year in all France,) and recommended the plan of Bible associations.

5th mo., 5th. The meeting of the French and Foreign Bible Society. It was well attended; Colonel Tronchin in the chair. Count Delaborde read the report. I spoke third, after a good enlightening speech from Pressensé, and dwelt on the two great points in the Bible Society, *Simplicité de but*—the whole Bible and the Bible only, and *Catholicité* in principle—so that all the friends of genuine

Christianity can cordially unite in it. I also spoke of the most successful means — Bible Associations. On this subject I was followed by Chevalier Eynard, who proposed a definite plan, which was cordially adopted by the meeting, of small weekly subscriptions. In the evening we met a large company, of Protestants chiefly, at the house of my sister's friend André, the wife of a wealthy banker; one of the leading Protestant families, of old standing. It was an interesting scene, and gave a good idea of the texture of the most respectable French society. An opportunity was kindly given us of a short religious communication before the party separated. I expressed a few sentences in French, against conformity to the world, and by way of encouragement in the Christian course to all present, and on the preservation of unity. My sister followed very sweetly, through the interpretation of our friend Frossard, and the people seemed full of love towards us on our departure.

5th mo., 8*th.* * * * * The *pasteurs* from town and country assembled for the late meetings, came to a *déjûner à la fourchette*, 32 or 33 in number. We had a very solemn reading before breakfast, in Ephesians iv and vi. After which my sister spoke well; and, under a sweetly constraining influence, I was led to pour forth my prayers for them. The *déjûner* was orderly and agreeable. At the suggestion of our dear sister, loved and honoured as she is amongst them all, the *pasteurs* from various parts gave us an account, in turn, of four points; first the state of religion in their own flocks; second, the state of the Roman Catholics in the neighbourhood; third, the condition of the schools; fourth, the state of the population both Protestant and Roman Catholic, as it regards the distribution of the Scriptures. The reports were in general, though with some decided exceptions, very favourable as to the revival and spread of vital religion among the Protestants. Some spirituality in the midst of forms was acknowledged as having been observed among the Romanists, but the general account, as it relates to them, confirmed the idea of the increasing influence and activity of the more objectionable parts of the system. As to schools, it was evident that

the Roman Catholics have the better of the Protestants, making a great point of having able masters, and other advantages which superior wealth and power command. Yet education in many places is carefully attended to by the Protestants, and a pious minister from Orleans described a remarkable visitation of the Spirit with which his schools had lately been favoured. A general testimony was given, that the Protestant population is well supplied with the Scriptures, and a door for the reception of them among the Roman Catholics is remarkably kept open by the colporteurs. *Pasteur* Vermeil, of Paris, a very superior man, complained much of the practice prevailing amongst decided Protestants, of attending the best Roman Catholic preaching, which is so managed as to attract them; the gospel being, as it were, thrown out to them from Romish pulpits as a bait. In the meantime the most absurd notions are in some places circulated respecting the faith of the Protestants. An excellent "elder," an advocate from Normandy, I believe, spoke of the desirableness of spreading pamphlets declarative of their orthodox faith, in those truths which the Roman Catholics themselves acknowledge, but without controversy. A pastor present expressed his anxiety at the fact, that many English, travelling or residing in France, fall under Roman Catholic influence, and become converts to Popery. My sister made some excellent remarks on the necessity of unity amongst themselves, and charity towards all, making honourable mention of the Methodists. This exhortation to love and unity was well confirmed by Josiah Forster; who supplied the company abundantly with books, particularly my works on the West Indies, Love to God, and on the Principles of Friends. I made some observations on the danger and disgrace of neology, and the necessity of a firm holding of the fundamental doctrine of our Lord's divinity. All seemed pleased, satisfied, and grateful. Indeed it was an eminently favoured occasion, one I believe which will long be held in remembrance.

In the evening Guizot dined with us alone. We had much pleasant and useful conversation with him at dinner and afterwards. The introduction of the New Testament into prisons

was one topic well discussed, in which he promised well, and was thoroughly one with us in the sentiment, that every cell in the prisons should be furnished with an entire copy, and not merely with extracts. We had much conversation on religious liberty, &c. He spoke on all points with great candour and kindness, and as far as I could judge in the character of a Christian statesman. It is impossible not to feel a warm and hearty regard for him.

In the evening of sixth day, the 12th, our anti-slavery friends assembled at the hotel. We had previously spent a morning half hour, very agreeably, with the Duc de Broglie, who came in the evening, and took the chair. It was a highly interesting occasion, present, (besides the Duc de B—,) de Tracy, Lafayette, (son of the General,) Carnot, Thayer, de Toqueville, Isambert, Odillon Barrot, Duc de Harcourt, St. Antoine, Passy, de Pusy, Lacrosse, Hain, Roger, &c., in all eighteen. After the reading of a communication from the London committee, I addressed them on the Christian fundamental principles of the Anti-Slavery Society, and on the subject in an economic point of view, endeavouring to correct mistakes, &c. Several of the company spoke. The Government is to be questioned in the Chamber as to their intentions respecting the *projet de loi*, and when they will bring it forward. The first step has certainly been taken in the publication of the *projet*, and, on the whole, hope prevails. The evening was highly animating and interesting. I was particularly pleased with Odillon Barrot, whose fine noble face is just of a piece with his large and liberal sentiments.

5th mo., 13*th*. We were refreshed this morning with the happy intelligence, that dearest J. H. and Anna were safely arrived. They are well, and it is a great joy to meet again. An interesting call from L'abbé ——, who openly confessed to me his disbelief in many of the absurdities of Popery, pointing out, in plain terms, the moral dangers both of celibacy and confession. He wished, however, to know how we were to come at unity without the authoritative dicta of the church. I told him that, on all essential points, the Scriptures are sufficient as an exterior standard; that, on minor points, differences are

not hurtful, rather the contrary; and that as to true unity, it was the simple result of our being baptized by one Spirit into one body. I also explained to him the grounds on which we admit the preaching of women, with which he seemed satisfied.

I felt very unequal to our evening party, but we were mercifully helped. It was very large, about 100 I believe, including Count and Countess Pelet, Baron and Baroness Mallet and family, Charles and Louisa Mallet, Lafarelle and his wife, General Menaisier, Vermeil, Countess Laystere, (Lafayette's daughter,) Lady Isabella Chabot and her daughter, (ladies to the Queen,) and Monod our interpreter. It was understood to be a *réunion religieuse*. I read most of John iii, and afterwards spoke in French on the new birth and on faith in Christ, to a quiet and attentive audience. After a solemn pause, my dear wife addressed the assembly with great clearness and force, on the words of Daniel to Belshazzar, &c., then my sister, in excellent counsel and exhortation. In conclusion, prayer devolved on me. This opportunity has afforded us great relief. Many Roman Catholics as well as Protestants were present, and it was a solid meeting. My wife's faithful address appeared to produce a great impression.

First day, 5th mo., 14th. The day has passed off to our satisfaction. The Morning Meeting was a time of favour, but not quite on the same level as our meeting at four o'clock at the Rue du Phot, which was largely attended, amongst others by De Toqueville, Moreau Christophe, Baron Raget, the Eynards, many of the Greeks, &c., &c. I spoke at length on the subject of the kingdom of Christ; the means of entrance, the baptism of the Spirit; the means of being sustained as members of this kingdom, eating the flesh and drinking the blood of Christ spiritually. A full answer was given to the question, who is the King who governs this kingdom, and how does he conduct his reign? I was enabled to speak with much greater facility in French, than on any former occasion, and was afterwards engaged in prayer for the people of this city and country, the King and his family, &c. My sister followed me in ministry with good effect. It was, on the whole, a time of remarkable relief. Count and Countess Pelet dined with

us. In the evening we had the English and Americans now at the hotel, a large company; and a truly solemn meeting after the reading of Matthew x and xi. A gentleman from Liverpool expressed his gratitude in a very touching manner. Thus the visit to this place ends, through the tender mercy of our God, with the best wine.

5th mo., 16*th*. Our intended departure for Fontainbleau was prevented by a note from Guizot, informing us of the King's intention to receive us the next morning. Beranger, Peer of France, a pious Roman Catholic, much interested in prisons, called, and some others. In the evening we had Count and Countess Pelet, De Toqueville and his wife, Moreau Christophe, Vicomte Dessonville, Lafarelle, and Monod to interpret. My sister wished to lay before them her view of the evils still prevalent in the French prisons. It was, I trust, a time of useful remark and discussion. We concluded with reading a few verses in John xv, after which I preached a plain English sermon to three important men—Pelet, Christophe, and de Toqueville—reminding them of the importance of their responsibilities as public men, and of the only principle by which they could be enabled to perform them aright. My sister afterwards presented each of them with a copy of the English Bible with references. Thus our staying another day at Paris did not seem to be quite in vain.

Fontainbleau, 5th mo., 17th.

[This morning] we went in our carriage with post-horses to Neuilly, and arrived at the *chateau* at eleven o'clock. After a short waiting, we were ushered into the drawing-room, where we found the Queen and Princess Adelaide at work with their ladies; three gentlemen standing in attendance. The Queen looked a little thinned by grief * and age since I saw her before, but was very kind and interesting. Princess Adelaide very plain and simple in her appearance, with all the air of a truly good person. The King soon came in, and gave us a gentlemanlike welcome, desiring us to resume our seats, and

* It will be recollected that the death of her eldest son, the Duke of Orleans, had then but recently occurred.

sitting by us in a sociable way. My sister spoke to him a little on the state of his prisons, of the dangers of the proposed cellular system, and on the necessity of its alleviations. I added a little, describing the system as practised at Philadelphia. I then spoke of the West Indies; referred to the diminution of produce of late years, explained the cause, mentioned the favourable change in the practice of the planters, and the consequently improved state of things, and increasing production of sugar; also the good behaviour of the free blacks in Antigua, who had agreed not to ask higher wages, they being paid at a low figure, notwithstanding the increased demand for their labour arising from the late earthquake. I told the King, that, since I had seen him last, I had conversed with the Kings of Holland and of Denmark, who were looking to France for an example, and pressed on him the great duty of abolition as far as I could. He seemed to me to be devoid of prejudice against the measure, but pleaded the usual difficulty, "*C'est l'argent.*" I hope, however, that some impression was made. My dear wife then asked for silence. This was readily granted, and she was enabled with great clearness and force to address them; expressing her desire, that the best of blessings might descend upon the King and Queen, and upon all the royal family; assuring them that her heart had been touched by the remembrance, that even Kings and Princes are not exempt from the common lot of humanity; and, adverting to the bitter draught of adversity, of which they had so largely partaken, she reminded them of the declaration of Scripture, that the Lord doth not willingly afflict, nor grieve the children of men, but that his mercy is "from everlasting to everlasting upon them that fear him, and his righteousness unto children's children, to such as keep his covenant, and to those that remember his commandments to do them."

The impression made was great; and all the three royal personages warmly expressed their gratitude for this "prayer," as the King called it. My sister Fry followed shortly in sweet expressions of her sympathy; and of her desire that these light afflictions, which are but for a moment, might be so received

on their parts, as to work out for them a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory. I then told them that in our last meeting in Paris I had been led to pray publicly for the King and Queen of the French, that they might be permitted, in due season to exchange their temporal crown for one eternal, unfading, and full of glory. This seemed to touch them. "Ah! that is the only crown," said the Queen. Before we separated, I spoke to the King on the subject of peace, and told him how much he lived in the hearts of Englishmen, in his known character of the patron of peace. He cordially responded to this view, adding, that when he was resident in America, his favourite toast was "a speedy and general peace." He well remembered attending a Friends' meeting in Philadelphia, "some fifty years ago, before you were born," said he, addressing my wife. He shook hands warmly with us on our departure, and we returned to our hotel, with very pleasing impressions respecting those whom we had just visited, and in much peace.

Joseph John Gurney, with his wife and daughter, now pursued their journey towards the south of France and Switzerland, leaving Elizabeth Fry and her daughter still engaged in Paris.

5th mo., 19*th*. Comfortable journey through Burgundy, &c., from Fontainbleau to Auxerre; the country abounding in vineyards, and divided into innumerable small strips, the effect, as I suppose, of the law of division of property. It seems very doubtful whether this law tends to the moral and social improvement of the community. It is not exactly natural, and impedes the course of human industry, talent, and zeal. Yet it must be owned, that the people seem to be very much at their ease.

5th mo., 22*nd*. [From Chalons sur Saone] an agreeable journey by the banks of the beautiful Saone brought us first to Tournus, where an *instituteur* (Thierry) performs the part of *pasteur* to a flock of Protestants, (about 150,) chiefly poor converted Roman Catholics, in the town and neighbourhood. His school was pretty fair, and I have no doubt he is doing

much good in a very simple way. I hesitated whether I ought not to stop for a meeting, but felt impelled to go on, though there seemed little probability of obtaining a meeting at Macon, two stages further, to which I had been looking. There, however, we arrived about five o'clock, at the comfortable Hotel de l'Europe, and soon obtained an interview with Zipperlin, a German by birth, the *pasteur* of a flock of about 300 Protestants here, chiefly gathered from among the Roman Catholics. He is a man in early middle life, of warm heart, sound principles, and good talents. He agreed to summon his flock for the evening at eight o'clock, or such of them as could be obtained; promising some twenty or thirty. But on our arrival at the truly simple and unadorned chapel, we found about 100 decent persons assembled; the men as numerous as the women: Zipperlin went through his own service (simple and lively in its way) of a short hymn, short prayer, chapter in Scripture—1 John, iii, and a few remarks, in which he kindly introduced us, speaking in the true spirit of a Christian brother. We kept our seats quietly the while. He then requested silence on our behalf. After a comfortable pause, I rose, and was enabled to address the congregation, in French, under some precious feeling of the unction which qualifies; showing the characteristics of the true church; the necessary means of entrance into it; the nature and operation of saving faith in Christ; the sanctifying influence of the Spirit, and the necessity of walking worthy of our vocation; the race here, the prize hereafter. My dear wife spoke afterwards with much sweetness, and I felt true peace in interpreting for her. The meeting concluded with prayer.

Lyons, 5th mo., 27th.

Our way has gradually opened here, I hope, to useful and important service; but it has been a time of some bodily indisposition, and of much weight of religious exercise; perhaps, I might say, secret depression and conflict of mind. The state of things in this place, in a religious point of view, is decidedly interesting. The Roman Catholics are in great force,

and very zealous and determined. The Jesuits have the sway amongst them, and Lyons is the centre of the vast penny-a-week subscription which is now regularly raised by the Romish population of France for the propagation of their faith. So much greater is the zeal of Lyons than of Paris, that whereas the latter, with her million of inhabitants, raised 80,000 francs last year, Lyons, with 230,000 inhabitants, raised 140,000 francs. We are told that there is a great deal of sincere piety amongst them; that many are seeking rest for their souls; and several hundreds have been converted by evangelical preaching, who now regularly attend the evangelical chapel. The Protestants, about 10,000 in number, are, for the most part, dead and negligent in religion, attending no place of worship, and buried in the world. There is a considerable congregation, of the more respectable classes, who meet at the "Temple," under the care of the Consistory and *pasteur* Buisson, and his colleagues, who are opposed to evangelical religion. Adolphe Monod, who, after his conversion, boldly preached the gospel among them, was finally excluded. This led to the formation of the little evangelical church, which has been gradually increasing ever since; and now they have an excellent chapel, which will hold nearly 1000 people. These are chiefly converts from the lower classes of the Roman Catholics; simple-hearted, and well affected; many of them, it is hoped, Christians indeed. The ministry of this chapel is conducted by three *pasteurs*, Cordes, Fische, and Laught; Adolphe Monod having removed several years since to Montauban, where he is one of the professors.

On fourth day, (the 24th) *pasteur* Cordes, who has been long in England, called upon us, and gave us heartily the right hand of fellowship. The widow Evesque, to whom we had brought a letter, and who lives at a beautiful place in the country, came to us soon afterwards. We were much pleased with them both. In the evening, *pasteur* Cordes accompanied us to the chapel, it being their regular night of service; but in consequence of violent rain, only about sixty people were present. After the usual service—short and simple—Fische, who presided, introduced me to the people, and, after a short silence, I addressed them for more than half an hour, on the

true scope, freedom, and spirituality of the gospel. I was afterwards engaged in prayer. The people seemed very loving, and we retired to rest with a measure of peace and joy in the Lord.

On fifth day, (the 25th,) we drove to the widow Evesque's country house, and dined with her at three o'clock; the garden and views of Lyons, from the hill on which the house stands, are lovely. We met Cordes and his wife, and enjoyed ourselves at a thorough French dinner, as much as the prospect of another meeting in the evening would permit; a short religious opportunity after dinner. At the chapel, in the evening, we found a much larger congregation; from 300 to 400 people, perhaps. I first clearly explained our view of the ministry, and how impossible it was for me to preach without the right qualification. After a solemn silence, I poured forth prayer under some enlivening touches of a divine unction; and was afterwards much engaged in preaching the gospel, for which strength and clearness were given. I was led particularly to dwell on the true character of the One church of God, and of the importance of neither adding to the simple religion of the New Testament, nor taking any thing from it. Love and peace seemed to flow abundantly at the close of the meeting. The people were very cordial, and, once again, we retired to rest with peaceful and thankful hearts.

On sixth day, (the 21st,) we took two interesting walks in the course of the morning; one to the Rhone, a splendid river, seen, even here, with a frame-work of mountains; the other, to the chapel of the Virgin Mary, at the top of a neighbouring hill, which innumerable pilgrims visit, and there deposit their absurd little pictures, and waxen images of the parts of their bodies for which they require healing. The whole chapel is hung with these offerings, and with idolatrous inscriptions in verse and prose to the Virgin. Nothing can be more distinctly Pagan than the whole affair. Yet there was an appearance of unmoved and statue-like devotion in some of the people who were kneeling on the floor. Over the door-way is an inscription, in which the people of Lyons publicly ascribe their

preservation from cholera, on two occasions, to the intercession of Mary. From the top of the observatory, hard by this temple of Diana, we enjoyed a splendid view of this great city; of the course of the Saone and Rhone, and of their junction; of a vast tract of fertile country, clad in the greenness of the early summer; and of the snow-clad Alps in the distance, our first, and not to be forgotten, sight of these glorious mountains. Through the telescope we minutely examined some Roman remains at a distance—two aqueducts, and a small temple built in honour of Augustus.

First day, 5th mo., 28th. A memorable day, for which we have reason to be very thankful. The services of it flowed on in their own course, under what, I humbly believe, was divine guidance. First our own little, quiet, solemn meeting at ten o'clock. I then went, somewhat refreshed, to the Evangelical chapel, where I found a very considerable congregation. I took and kept my seat quietly; Laught was preaching. After he had ended, an opportunity was kindly given me of taking my farewell, which I was enabled to do under a sweet solemnity—"Finally, brethren, farewell, be perfect," &c. I visited the library attached to the chapel; attended and stirred up a little committee for distributing the Bible; and then, under the friendly guidance of one of the brethren, found my way to the neat apartment of Gezler, a sick man. I had a precious sitting in that family; they seemed to be truly spiritually-minded people. After a good rest at the hotel, I again went to the chapel to be present at the end of the English Church service: about ten persons present. Collins, sent by the Colonial Society, the clergyman. He kindly allowed me to address his tiny flock, which I did, calling them to a watchful walk before men. I afterwards invited them to our evening meeting at the hotel. This was held at seven o'clock, and proved a highly satisfactory occasion. Buisson had given notice of it in the "Temple." Both our large rooms were crowded. I first addressed them shortly on the slave trade and slavery, and on the right management of prisoners. I then read Psalm ciii, after which we fell into silence. This was broken by my dear wife, who spoke with

great clearness and effect, pleading for sound, simple, practical religion; interpreted for by our young friend Perrin. After she had concluded, and a short silence had intervened, I was enabled to preach the gospel at some length, unfolding the subject of Christianity, as calculated, in its several parts, to excite the strongest motives of the human mind—fear, hope, love—showing that the grand peculiarities of the truth as it is in Jesus, were absolutely essential. The meeting closed in much solemnity. A few of our friends stayed with us afterwards, and very sweet was the love which bound us together. The day ended in much peace, and in the feeling that our work at Lyons was finished.

Avignon, 5th mo., 31st.

We took the boat from Lyons about nine o'clock, and enjoyed a delightful voyage to this place; the river magnificent, the weather delightful, and the scenery pleasing, but not so picturesque as north of Valence. Our readings and conversations in the steamer were satisfactory, with some distribution of tracts; the people, as usual, amiable and easy to please. On board, amongst others, were Gerandi, late member of the chamber of deputies, and superintendent of the king's private demesnes; *Senateur* Harrier, of Frankfort, much occupied about prisons, and bent, like others on the continent, on the cellular system; also *l'abbé* Cocquereau, who went to St. Helena to fetch the remains of Napoleon; a very lively personage. He assured me, that when they opened the coffin of Napoleon, his countenance and person were in perfect preservation, exactly like those portraits of him to which one is accustomed. I asked him if it was true, that the Emperor became religious before he died. This he fully confirmed, having, as he said, received from those who were with him full evidence of it. The Emperor declared he was of the Apostolic Roman Catholic Church; ordered an altar to be prepared (*dressé*) for him in spite of Bertrand's unwillingness; confessed to a priest, who spent many hours in private with him shortly before he died; received the communion, extreme unction, and other forms of that church. I inquired whether all this was matter of form, or whether he

really confessed his faith in Jesus Christ as the Saviour of the world. The Abbé declared that he did so fully and clearly. What amount of satisfaction one ought to feel in such a case, I know not. The most satisfactory feature would have been *deep* repentance for his many sins, and especially for the unmeasured and unmeasurable shedding of blood. The old palace of the Popes has an imposing appearance as we approach this interesting old city by the Rhone. The warmth and pleasantness of the air, and beautiful verdure of elms, planes, &c., give a new feeling of life to us. It was here and in this hotel, (the Hotel de l'Europe,) that my beloved young brother-in-law, Robert Fowler, died of a violent fever, which he appears to have caught in Spain. In the evening, we drove to the Cemetery, and saw the peaceful spot, marked by a simple stone bearing his name, and shadowed by four young cypress trees, where his remains are deposited. It was to me a touching spectacle, full of remembrances, at once happy and melancholy. * * *

5th mo., 31*st*. Pierron the landlord, and his wife, gave us an interesting account of dear Robert's illness and death. Pierron read the Scriptures to him, which appears to have been very satisfactory. He was remarkably patient and resigned; but did not give up the hope of recovery until the last day. Almost always in the attitude of contemplation and mental prayer. Poor fellow! he seems to have been most kindly attended to by these dear people; and there is a sweet feeling over my mind that his soul rests in Jesus.

We have been visiting the old palace of the Popes, where we had some serious conversation with a few of the soldiers, for it is now the barracks. An old lady showed us the dungeons, *salle de jugemens*, and places of torture, used under the Popes, in the Inquisition. On the wall of one of the dungeons were several inscriptions graven by the poor sufferers. One was "the truth of God shall endure for ever and ever," in Latin. The place where they were burned was also shown to us; the station of the wheel; the furnace for branding; the stone vessel in which they were plunged into boiling water, &c. Also the chamber in which eighty-four aristocrats

were decapitated under Robespierre; the traces of their blood pointed out, &c. How far these scenes of horror were exaggerated to us, I know not; but, I fear, there is much of truth in the awful recital. The *chateau* was partly demolished at the time of the Revolution. A pleasant visit to the Hotel des Invalides, where we found Bonaparte's old soldiers, enjoying themselves under the delightful shade of the avenues of the gardens. We declared the truth as it is in Jesus to several little companies of them, and appeared to be pretty well understood. Afterwards, I called on a lady named Imer, the aunt, by marriage, of Frank Courtois, of Toulouse, evidently an enlightened and pious woman.

It was nearly nine o'clock in the evening when the *Pasteur* Frossard accompanied us to his school-room, where we found about fifty people assembled, as many as the room would contain; numbers, both Roman Catholics and Protestants, had been sent away for want of room. We sat together for a time in solemn silence; after which I rose with the words, "Fear not, little flock; for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom." It was a solemn occasion, ending in fervent prayer. Several there seemed truly grateful, and all of them warm and hearty.

Nismes, 6th mo., 1st.

[Before leaving Avignon this morning] we had an opportunity of religious intercourse with our truly kind and pious host and hostess of the Hotel de l'Europe. They are full of tender recollections of my dear brother, whose grave we have now left, cleared of weeds and covered with turf, under the pleasant shade of the four young cypress trees. We parted from these kind friends in Christian love. Afterwards a little party of Protestants called upon us; Frossard, Gebhard and his wife, our friend Imer, and others; with whom we read Gal. v, and after the subsequent silence, we were both led into ministry. A real solemnity was over us; and love and peace seemed to flow sweetly at the close of this affecting and interesting visit to Avignon. On our way to Nismes, we visited that splendid relic of Roman architecture, the Pont du Gard, a ruined aqueduct. The ruin is striking and in-

teresting, and the surrounding scenery very picturesque. It is quite a privilege to behold such things, and is far indeed from interrupting the flow of better and holier things. I love true Christian liberty in such matters.

Our kind friend Lydia, and afterwards Christine, Majolier, called upon us; the latter, our dear and affectionate friend and helper, dined with us, and then accompanied us to their week-day meeting, which is held in the girls' school-room on a fifth day evening. The whole flock was assembled, including the children, about forty; and the dear aged widow of Louis Majolier, who now lives here with her daughters. It was a solemn, encouraging time, in which consolation was given to the mourners; prayer at the conclusion. My dear wife spoke sweetly on the benefit of silence. Tears flowed abundantly. After the meeting was concluded, the girls despoiled their pretty garden, in their zeal to load us with flowers; and we returned to our hotel, well satisfied with the first step in the visit to Friends of the south of France.

6th mo., 2nd. A very interesting visit to the school in the morning. It was a gratification to give so much pleasure to the children, and to receive the tokens of their affection and gratitude. They are evidently well taught and trained. On our way home we visited La Fontaine; fine public walks, with old Roman baths; also the Amphitheatre, which presents a wonderful proof of the splendour, wealth, and skill, as well as barbarity of ancient times. Seldom have I looked on a more imposing spectacle. In the afternoon we drove a few miles into the country, with Christine, to visit some friends of hers, named Sagnier, who amuse themselves with an establishment of silk-worms. It is just the height of the season; and we were much interested by the examination of those 300,000 worms; some feeding; some busily spinning; others already buried in their cocoons. About thirty of the principal Protestants met us in the evening, to whom I gave an account of our visit to Silesia, and of the two systems of prison discipline practised in America. Some serious remarks concluded the evening. I endeavoured, in the best sense, to feel my way, and to go as far as circumstances admitted. Christine, who is a private

teacher here, has no small place in the regard and affection of the people.

First day, (6th mo.,) 4th, was one of peculiar favour. The meetings were held at the school; morning, ten o'clock; evening, six o'clock. Many, besides Friends, attended in the morning; it was a very weighty, anointed meeting, in which true solemnity was felt, and the freedom and spirituality of the gospel dispensation fully unfolded. Anna went afterwards to the Protestant first-day school. Otherwise we were quiet till the evening, when a large assembly were well accommodated in the three adjoining apartments at the school. I was enabled to preach at large, and with clearness, on Christ's being made unto us of God, wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption. It was a great favour to be helped through this service.

After detailing various other religious engagements at Nismes, and in its neighbourhood, Joseph John Gurney continues:—

Fifth day. A most interesting morning. Our last meeting for worship with the Friends and the children of the school was truly memorable. I was led to unfold the nature and effects of our distinguishing principles, also the history of the first rise of the Society; and very solemn was the effusion of prayer at the close. This meeting leaves me without a burden as it regards this place. Since the meeting, we have been rambling over that astonishing relic of antiquity, the Roman Amphitheatre, with E. Frossard, who has been kindly explaining to us its several parts. What strange scenes have been enacted there! Sham sea-fights; gladiatorship; fights with wild beasts; cruel martyrdoms. What multitudes of the three classes, patricians, *equites*, plebeians, whose respective "*loca*" are still marked, as well as those in front for the *familiæ insignes*, ladies and gentlemen, while the common people, both male and female, thronged the galleries, and crowded the seats of stone. Twenty-three thousand could be seated at once; and the building is so constructed as to allow of their dispersing in a few minutes.

During our drive to Congenies our driver lost the control of his horses, as we were going down a hill, and we were in considerable danger for a few minutes, but preservation was round about us, and no harm occurred, either to ourselves or our carriage. Surely we have abundant cause for thankfulness! We arrived at Congenies in the evening, in time for meeting. It was large, attended by the Friends generally, and many others, some of whom were disturbing enough; but we had, nevertheless, a good meeting, in which we were both engaged in ministry. I was led to unfold the teaching of the Lord; by the Scriptures; by afflictions; by his Spirit. The simple-hearted Friends crowded round us, and seemed delighted to see us, and we found ample, though humble, accommodation at the house of the Majolier family, where we are most kindly entertained. Much peace rested on our settlement here.

Sixth day. A day of quiet repose at Congenies, without an attempt at any exertion beyond reading, writing, drawing, walking, and talking with the Friends. The weather was delightful; and it is interesting to find ourselves in the midst of the vine, the olive, the fig, the pomegranate, and the almond tree. The wine produced here is inferior, and is used almost entirely in the distilleries, for brandy. The vineyards at present pay badly, and I have been thinking that the soil might be turned, with advantage, to a better use. It produces wheat, barley, and oats, without difficulty. We enjoyed a fine view of the village, the surrounding country, and the distant mountains of the Cevennes, from the top of a rocky hill, which we climbed in the evening. On the whole, it was a day of inward peace, not devoid of its twin sister on earth, deep inward poverty! To this, some of us are surely no strangers.

Seventh day. We have begun our family visit in good earnest. Seven sittings this morning. I believe they were not entered upon by either of us without some preparatory baptism of secret depression; but so far we can acknowledge that the Lord has been graciously with us, on each successive occasion, not withholding a measure of his own anointing.

There are several simple-hearted Friends here; but it was in a family of Methodists, father, mother, and six sons, (the aged grandmother, sister of the widow Majolier, being the only Friend of the party,) that there was the most remarkable flow of the heavenly oil. The eldest son was on his bed of sickness; once a soldier, now evidently a child of the Lord.

Whilst thus engaged at Congenies, Joseph John Gurney was attacked with fever, which, for a time, awakened considerable uneasiness. The symptoms, however, gradually subsided; and, after an interval of rest, he was enabled to conclude his labours in this part of France.

Second day, 6th mo., 26th. We are now at Nismes. The complaint gradually subsided on fifth and sixth days, and yesterday the way opened unexpectedly, for attending the meeting of Friends of Congenies, which was a time of much quiet and satisfactory feeling. Notwithstanding my weakness, I felt constrained to appoint a public meeting at Calvisson, a neighbouring town, for the evening; a concern in which my wife was evidently a deeply-feeling partner; hundreds of people met; many of them rough and ungodly in a high degree. But strength was given me to deliver the gospel message, and my dear wife was afterwards memorably engaged, partly in the language of awful warning. Christine performed her part well as interpreter, and we returned to Congenies, unhurt, and in peace.

We came forward to Nismes, with little fatigue, yet I am but very feeble. Sweet and solemn was the stamp of divine love and peace which rested on our departure from Congenies, where we have been most kindly and generously treated, and where I feel that our work is done. The Lord keep our dear Friends of that meeting under the shadow of his wings. The Lord lift up the light of his countenance upon them, and give them peace!

CHAPTER XLI.

1843. ÆT. 55—56.

JOURNEY THROUGH SAVOY INTO SWITZERLAND; CHAMBERRY; ANNECI; GENEVA; COUNTESS DE SELLON; LAUSANNE; NEUFCHATEL; ZURICH; BASLE; STRASBURG; STUTGARD; VISIT TO THE KING AND QUEEN OF WURTEMBERG; BRUSSELS; CALAIS.

PROCEEDING by easy stages, Joseph John Gurney pursued his journey by way of Savoy towards Switzerland.

Grenoble, 7th mo., 1st.

We have been travelling through a lovely country and have enjoyed a sense of true peace. In the afternoon of fifth day, we drove about thirty miles through the valley of the Isere, a beautiful river, now very full from the late rains, to St. Marcellin; distributing on our way numerous tracts and little books. Our drive yesterday morning, of four stages, through a still more picturesque part of this lovely valley, was really charming. The richness of the valley, the occasional catches of the broad silver stream of the Isere, and the noble mountains on either side, not to mention the neat houses, and pleasant, prosperous-looking population, gave us real pleasure. We conversed at Tullins with one of about thirty converts from Popery, who have lately been brought, with little of human instrumentality, to the knowledge of the truth,—Martinez, a flax-dresser, and were pleased with his spirit and appearance. We arrived at this beautiful place in time for dinner. In the evening we walked out to the *quai*, where a splendid, and not-to-be-forgotten view of the snowy Alps, their tops illuminated by the sun, burst unexpectedly upon us. This

morning my dear wife and I have been again feasting on these delicious views. This apparently thriving town on the Isere, of nearly 30,000 inhabitants, is environed with mountains. Some of these are always snow-capped; but after a wet and cold spring, this is more than usually the case at present; and glorious in the view of those who can say, "My Father made them all," is the aspect which they present.

Chamberry, 7th mo., 3rd.

Soon after the last entry *Pasteur* Bonifas called; a man of somewhat advanced years; very kind and agreeable, and devoted to the cause of Christ. His wife is a cousin of Guizot's, and they have the care of nine young ladies, with the assistance of an English governess. It was finally agreed, that he should give notice at the close of his morning worship, of a meeting to be held by me, after the manner of Friends, in the afternoon. Yesterday morning, first day, we sat down to our little private meeting, which was a time of true refreshment. I was much engaged in prayer. About two o'clock we went to the "Temple." Somewhat more than one hundred persons present, including about twenty soldiers, perhaps more. The pulpit was delivered up to me; and I believe a meeting was truly held, after the manner of Friends. I explained our views of worship; and, after a solemn silence, rose with the words, the "Sceptre shall not depart from Judah," &c.; on which I was enabled to preach fully, declaring the glorious gospel at considerable length. Afterwards solemn prayer ensued. At the close I ventured to give notice of a meeting to be held in the evening, at our hotel; half-past seven. We returned home in a good degree of peace. To our comfort, a large and most desirable assembly met in the evening, a larger meeting in a private house than had ever before been known at Grenoble. We read part of Romans viii; explaining that Scripture reading was our constant practice on a First day evening. After a solemn silence, my dear wife addressed the assembly in a close, searching, but truly evangelical discourse. The lady who kindly undertook to interpret failed in her attempt,

and the office devolved on me. There was a sweet and precious solemnity over us, and I was enabled to do it with ease to myself, and comfort to us both. After she had finished, I was much enlarged in ministry. It was a remarkably solid and satisfactory meeting. Thus after deep humiliation, poverty, and weakness, the Lord was again pleased to open the way for service among many who are evidently hungering and thirsting after righteousness. The result was great peace.

This morning we paid a highly interesting visit to the *pasteur* and his family, including the school. We have since travelled about 40 miles to this place, through such scenery as I had never met with before. The rich valley of the Isere, adorned with trellissed vines, walnut, chesnut, and other trees, and ripening corn; and the silver stream ever and anon extending the whole way through a glorious defile of mountains; those on our right lofty and regularly stratified limestone rocks, many of them covered with brushwood to a great height; and those on the left, the Alps of the Mont-Cenis range, covered with snow. The population appeared healthy, well-clad, industrious, and at their ease; many haymaking, in picturesque groups. After passing the Savoy *Douane* with much ease, we arrived at the comfortable Hôtel de la Poste; and, though somewhat fatigued and feeble, have much cause for thankfulness in being quietly here.

Anneci, 7th mo., 4th.

After a day of considerable feebleness, and a drive of four stages through a very fertile country, without very much to interest, except the magnificent view of the valley of Chamberry on leaving it, we came to this lovely spot in time for an hour's rest before a five o'clock dinner. My wife and I enjoyed our quiet Scripture reading, &c., as we came along. It is, however, affecting to be passing through a country in which the people are wholly in the hands of a useless military force on the one hand, and of numberless ecclesiastics on the other. It is surely a land of darkness; and so strict is the Government of Savoy, that not a religious tract can be distributed by the Christian traveller with impunity. We have heard of an

English gentleman being thrown into prison for some months for this offence! O that the light of the gospel may, in some unexpected manner, and in despite of all human or diabolical powers, break forth amongst them!

Anneci is a pretty town of 12,000 inhabitants, the second in Savoy, after Chambery, situated on the borders of a lovely mountain-girt lake, four leagues in length. We have greatly enjoyed a row of an hour or two on these waters this evening, and seem to be now concluding our day, in a measure of true peace.

Geneva, 7th mo., 5th.

The Hôtel des Bergues, where we have taken up our quarters, promises to be a delightful temporary home. It is on the borders of the lake, which our apartments face; and before us, at the distance of 60 miles, the summit and shoulder of Mont Blanc, white with snow, are distinctly visible above the long slope of a dark mountain in front of them. The atmosphere is clear, and the town looks clean and bright. We are well pleased, I trust thankful, to be here; a place I have long thought about and looked towards. I have felt but feeble this evening, and we may probably pass a day or two in surveying the lake, before we attempt a beginning of service.

7th mo., 10*th*. Our excursion to the other end of the lake answered well. The weather continued delightful; and nothing could be more lovely than the lake and the surrounding scenery as we passed along, especially towards the upper end, where the mountains, overhanging the south coast, are truly sublime. Not much less beautiful are the green cultivated slopes of the northern shore, adorned with pretty villages and towns, and backed by the range of the Jura. We reached Vevay in the evening. There we found just such a resting-place as I wanted, facing the end of the lake, and mountain scenery of the noblest character. The Dent du Midi, covered with snow, was full in sight. We greatly enjoyed our quiet evening there on fifth day. * * Our voyage back to Geneva was very pleasant. In the course of it we made an interesting acquaintance with the Princess Mary, of Wurtemberg, a very pleasing personage, who recognized me from the

description which her sister, the Princess of Orange, had given her of our visit at the Hague. Princess Mary is travelling with her husband, Count Niepberg, the son of the gentleman who married the Empress, Marie Louise. On our arrival at Geneva, on sixth day evening, we were met by my old friend the *Pasteur* Gaussen, who is full of recollections of his visit to Earlham, of my brother and sister Cunningham, and others of the family. He is, indeed, a warm-hearted Christian friend. He warmly invited me to "preach" at the Oratoire on First day evening, but so I was not led.

On seventh day we received an early visit from the Countess de Sellon, and her two unmarried daughters, very agreeable people. The Countess took me to *Pasteur* Barde, an evangelical clergyman of the National Church, with whom I was much pleased, and at whose house I met another *pasteur*, the brother-in-law of Cordes, of Lyons. We concluded to hold our first meeting at the hotel, and I afterwards went to Gaussen to inform him of our conclusion. He was a little disappointed I think, but kindly agreed to give notice of it, in the Oratoire after the morning service.

In the afternoon we drove to *La Fenêtre*, the delightful country residence of the Countess de Sellon, where there is a fine view of the lake, and, when the sky is clear, of Mont Blanc. We had a good religious opportunity in her family. Her late husband was a man of high character and great philanthropy, the founder of the Peace Society here; and I humbly trust, died the death of the Christian. I believed myself led to quote the passage, "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, &c.," and afterwards found that these words are inscribed on his monument. We then repaired to Gaussen's very pretty retreat, close to Geneva, where we met a pleasant company; Sir Culling Eardley Smith, Hope, Hare, the English clergyman, Perrot, an old friend of the Cunninghams, very hearty, and several ladies, chiefly Swiss. After tea I told them about Silesia, America, &c., in French, and we ended with Psalm xxiii. I think it might be said that true Christian love flowed amongst us. We spent First day quietly in our hotel. In the morning we received a very pleasant call from

the Princess Mary and her companion. Our little quiet meeting afterwards, was truly refreshing and settling, my dear wife being sweetly engaged in prayer.

At six o'clock in the evening, many assembled in our large apartment; including the Sellons, Gaussen's daughter and sister, himself prevented by over-fatigue, Hare, the clergyman, and others; so as pretty much to fill the room, notwithstanding the rough weather. It was, I trust, a favoured meeting. After a long pause, I first explained our views of worship, and spoke a little of the true baptism. My dear wife followed in a flow of encouragement towards the true Christians then assembled. I had great comfort in interpreting for her. Afterwards it was given to me to enlarge on the true nature of the Christian church; the mode of entrance into it; the faith of its living members in all the essential truths of Christianity; the nourishment and refreshment given to them on their journey, the body and blood of Christ, and the waters of life; the government and priesthood of Christ over this universal spiritual body; and the glorious termination, the day of judgment, and the final victory of the saints. The immediate influence and guidance of the Spirit were much enlarged upon; and I trust many hearts responded to the doctrine. Solemn prayer concluded the meeting.

Having been again joined at Geneva by their friend Josiah Forster, Joseph John Gurney writes:—

7*th mo.*, 19*th*. Our sabbath was a peaceful and solemn one. *Pasteur* Cordes, from Lyons, came in the middle of our morning meeting. Afterwards a kind call, with hearty invitations from the Saladins and Perrots. The evening meeting, at six o'clock, was respectably attended, and I was enabled to declare the truth to an attentive audience. It was, I believe, a good meeting, of which we received various testimonies afterwards. *Pasteur* Barde and his wife of the company. After the meeting a quiet and truly pleasant

evening. Josiah Forster read to us the excellent epistle of the last Yearly Meeting, and other documents; the day closing with a sweet solemnity. Second day evening pleasantly spent with our friend Perrot, at his beautiful place, surveying the lake. There we met an agreeable Christian party, and the evening concluded with Scripture reading, and a very touching religious opportunity. There is much that is valuable as well as spiritual in the Genevese; the prevailing character more analogous to that of the English than that of the French. Yesterday evening we repaired to the Casino, where 500 or 600 people collected, including nine pastors, many young men, but a majority of ladies. Much facility was afforded me in giving the account of the West Indies, and in arguing the whole case of emancipation, showing the working of Christian principle both in causing it, and in its results. When that subject was finished, I spoke shortly, but, I believe, strongly, on the slavery under which we all are by nature; of its miserable consequences; and of the only deliverance, through the great Emancipator of the human race. There was a very solemn feeling over the meeting at its close. Josiah Forster spoke at the beginning and the end shortly. A true friend and helper he is to me.

7th mo., 23rd. We were favoured with an excellent meeting at Lausanne. Our friend Scholl, who came to us before the meeting, had done his work well in preparing our way. The Oratoire was well filled, several *pasteurs* and other respectable people present. It was a solemn time, and I was enabled to feel the flowing of the holy oil, in the simple preaching of the gospel. The next morning Charles Cook came to breakfast, the apostle of the Methodists on the continent, who, I believe, has been very useful; also a very clever man, Gauthiez, who has the care of the Normal school (which he conducts on Christian principles) for the instruction of the schoolmasters of the whole *Canton de Vaud.* This Canton contains 180,000 inhabitants, its government strictly democratic; radicalism is found here, as elsewhere, to be much opposed to evangelical truth. Yet true liberty and the gospel are surely near allies! Before our departure by the

boat, the Professor Vinet came to us, a man of great worth and talent, who has written very ably on religious liberty, the separation of Church from state, &c. He is a modest, retiring person, his countenance bespeaking his power. He liked the meeting, and gave us the right hand of fellowship. We were glad to return to the delightful Vevay, and its sublime lake and mountain scenery. There also we held a good meeting in the Oratoire, but not numerous, as the notice was short. Matter flowed, and much solemnity and sweetness were to be felt. The *pasteur* Grenier, (whom dearest Priscilla had known and helped at Nice, when his wife was ill,) Baup and Dol were present, and we afterwards drank tea at Quonod's, a pious lawyer and magistrate, married to a ward of Lord Melbourne's. The evening was pleasant, and ended in religious solemnity. Baup, a truly pleasing young man, once minister of the French church in London, breakfasted with us in the morning; I addressed him shortly. Several of our kind friends accompanied us, with some difficulty, on account of the waves, to the steamer. Our voyage home was to me refreshing and agreeable, though I had passed a poor night, not without mental plunges which sometimes beset me.

7*th mo.*, 25*th*. The *déjeûner* with the pastors and others at Geneva, yesterday, was certainly a highly interesting and satisfactory occasion. All prejudices seemed melted away, and hearty brotherly love was the general feeling. During the remainder of the day, until the evening, a feeling of fatigue was prevalent with me; but we had some intimate conversation with the Baroness de Staël, who made us a kind call. In the evening, to Colonel Tronchin's, at Bésanges, where we met about fifty people, including Merle D'Aubigné. We walked to the Chalet, which the Colonel has built as a refuge for convalescent invalids, presided over by a Protestant *sœur de Charité*. It is a lovely spot, and every thing in truly Christian order; nineteen female patients. Colonel Tronchin is a man of large property, who seems abundantly willing to spend and be spent for the advancement of the kingdom of Christ.

After our return from the Chalet, Dr. H——, of Glasgow, related the particulars of the late wondrous secession from the Church of Scotland, in which 480 evangelical ministers, Dr. Chalmers at their head, have left the church, on two grounds: — first, the non-intrusion principle, which the Church in Synod had decreed before the secession; to the effect that no minister should be forced on any parish, by patrons, whether the Crown, or individuals, without the consent of the communicant parishioners, or against their veto. The evangelical ministers, who had, of late, gradually increased to a decided majority in the Synod, adopted this resolution, with a view of so far popularising the Church, as might satisfy the doubts, and check the course of those who were inclined to join the former dissenting secession; which had arisen out of the vain efforts of the late Dr. Andrew Thompson, and others, to get the system of patronage abolished by Act of Parliament. In forming this decision, the Synod went in direct opposition to the law of the land.* Afterwards a number of ministers who supported the law, in opposition to the decree of the Synod, were unfrocked by the ecclesiastical power.—Secondly, the principle of spiritual independence, namely, that the church is a spiritual body, and is capable in

* This may, perhaps, be thought to be too strongly stated. The law of the land can hardly be said to have been distinctly defined upon the question, until the decision of the House of Lords, in the Auchterarder case, in 1839, (five years after the "Veto Act" passed the General Assembly,) and the great difference of opinion amongst the Scotch judges, (where the judgment against the right of veto passed only by a majority of eight to five,) would seem almost to justify Dr. Chalmers and his friends in their previous belief, that the General Assembly had not exceeded its jurisdiction, in passing the Veto Act. The Act appears to have received the sanction of some of the leading Scotch lawyers of the day, if not of Lord Brougham himself. See Dr. Chalmers' Life, vol. iii, p. 362, n. The judgment of the House of Lords, however, set at rest the question of law. The subject is discussed with great clearness and force by both Lord Brougham, and Lord Cottenham. See 6 Clark and Finnelly's Reports in the House of Lords, pp. 646—756.

inalienable right, and bound in Christian duty, to arrange its own affairs, as it pleases. Finding it impossible to carry out these two principles in the face of the law, the whole party seceded, our dear friend Dr. Chalmers at their head, stoutly maintaining, at the same time, both the doctrines and discipline of the Church of Scotland, and as stoutly declaring that they were still opposed to the voluntary system, and held it to be the bounden duty of the State to support the Church, and so to provide the means of religious instruction for the people. In point of fact, however, it is perfectly clear that the new body, as Dr. H—— observed, is, like the former seceders from the same church, fairly driven into dissent. It is surely an idea, without the smallest practical foundation, that the State is to support the church, without ever meddling in its affairs. The world chooses to be paid for such patronage. There seems to be no alternative between the subjection of the church to the civil power, and absolute liberty and independence; in other words, a clear divorce between the two parties. These are evidently the views of Merle D'Aubigné, Gaussen, and other evangelical men in Switzerland, especially our friend Vinet, of Lausanne; whose writings on the subject display great power of intellect, a lively fancy for illustration, and a nice sense of truth.

After Dr. H—— had finished, my wife and I were invited to speak. I read the first few verses of Romans viii, and, after a little pause, spoke freely on the blessed privileges of true Christians, and of the faithfulness of our God and Saviour; at the same time calling to watchfulness, humility, and prayer, reminding the company of the exhortation—"Let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall." My wife addressed them, with much solemn emphasis, in a similar strain; and great was the love which seemed to flow towards us at the breaking up of the company. This morning, as we passed by Colonel Saladin's, we found a flock of our kind friends waiting on the road to bid us their last hearty adieu—a scene not soon to be forgotten; and quite a little crown to our visit at Geneva.

7th mo., 28th. At Neufchatel, Professor Petavel and his wife met us, invited us to tea, and informed us that a meeting

was appointed for the evening at the Oratoire. They are pious and hearty people, much alive to the guidance of the Spirit, and attached to the principles of Friends, so far as they know them. They are great friends of our dear friends John and Martha Yeardley, who appear to have paid them a very timely visit, when a beloved son of the family was at the point of death. We drank tea with them, and after a time of silence and ministry, we all went together to the Oratoire. There a considerable assembly was collected — chiefly women. It was a solemn meeting. In connection with the 35th of Isaiah, I was led to unfold the spiritual reign of Christ, and its blessed effects in changing the hearts and regulating the conduct of men. We afterwards visited the professor's aged mother on her bed of sickness, and ministered to her, as our divine Master was pleased to give us ability. Thus the day ended in peace.

After breakfast the next morning, we received some interesting visits from several of the persons who had attended the evening meeting; among the rest, Perrot, formerly one of the most zealous pastors in the canton, but who found himself stayed in his course, called to silence, to solitude, to introversion of soul. He is now living a life of pious retirement. I reminded him of the cloud resting on the tabernacle. The Israelites were not permitted to journey forwards while it was so; whether for a day, a week, a month, or even a year. But no sooner did it rise and move onward, than they were bound to follow it in the obedience of faith. I believed it would be so with him, and that his present inaction was but a preparation for future service.

Yesterday we took our slow, but pleasant, journey to Berne, passing by the northern part of the lake Neufchatel, and in sight of the small lake Morat. The country pleasant; the wild flowers delightful; the snowy Jung-frau and neighbouring peaks beautifully in sight, during the latter part of the journey. The approach to Berne through a long avenue of limes, very pretty. Arrived to an eight o'clock dinner.

This morning, after some necessary arrangements for our meeting, we started for Hofwyl, about eight miles through a pleasant country, adorned with Bernese cottages, and well

cultivated in corn, &c. Our visit to the pastor Fellenburg and his family, of about two hours, was highly interesting. He is an old man of seventy, but full of energy, talent, and benevolence; a genius for the work which engages him, and in which he has been occupied more than forty years. He has a fine expressive countenance, and converses well. It is in vain to attempt the description of his system, but the chief points are to elucidate and embody all theoretical knowledge by facts, and so to subordinate all things to the moral nature of man, as to regenerate society by the mere force of education. It is a system which seems to take as its basis, a supposed native capacity in man to become and to be *good through culture!* Yet Christianity is by no means disregarded. It is said to be preached by a Protestant one Sabbath, and by a Roman Catholic the next, in a chapel of the institution; the New Testament is used in the schools, and a certain religious instruction given; and the whole moral system of Fellenburg passes under its name. Yet we could not think that Jesus Christ, *the crucified One*, the propitiation for the sins of the whole world, was the foundation on which our philanthropic and devoted friend was building. He said some things which sadly evinced the contrary. Yet we could not but admire and esteem him. By nature he is surely endowed in no common degree, and his conduct is, by all we hear, truly virtuous. It is for *virtue*, indeed, that he pleads, systematizes, and acts, rather than for the doctrines of grace and sanctification.

The agriculture of Hofwyl surprised me. The whole territory reminded me of Holkham in Norfolk—once uncultivated, now well and productively farmed. Fellenburg's *élèves* are in four divisions. The young gentlemen in his own house; forty in number, or somewhat more. The children of the middle class, about sixty-five, in a second house; and those of the poor in a third house, about forty. The three schools united in worship. The boys of number one were just about to commence their vacation of four weeks, to be spent in a walk about Switzerland, under the care, of course, of suitable masters.

In a time of religious retirement with Fellenburg and his family, Josiah Forster and I plainly stated our Christian sentiments, and were answered by our aged friend, with great kindness. I trust we parted from them in Christian love, and that this love was mutual.

Berne, first day afternoon, 7th mo., 30th.

We have found an agreeable resting-place here. Our dear friend Sophia Wurstemburger joined us yesterday morning, and after some close consideration, we were favoured to arrange our plans satisfactorily for the week. The latter part of the morning was pleasantly spent in a visit to an institution in the country, for the reformation of naughty boys, who are divided into families after the example of the *Rauhe haus*, near Hamburg. The children, nineteen in number, were industriously at work, and cheerfully gathered round us, listening attentively to a few sentences of Christian counsel. Christian care and instruction, cleanliness and industry, appear to prevail in this institution. May it be productive of real good, as we believe it is! On our way home, we called at a boarding-school for poor orphan girls, under thorough Christian care. We all fell into silence under a feeling of good, and the children were addressed by each of us.

The evening we spent at the sequestered abode of Sophia Wurstemburger's parents. There we enjoyed a memorable view of the Bernese Alps covered with snow. Who can describe their magnificence? It is but seldom that the clouds have lately allowed any view of them. We gazed, and gazed, and gazed for about an hour; receiving abundant information, geographical and historical, from our host.

The picture left on the mind by this mountain range, (like that of Mont Blanc and his companions, and of the lower Alps from Grenoble,) is a treasure for life. Surely we may read of the Creator, for some good purpose, in the book of these "everlasting hills." We parted from our kind friends after satisfactory religious communication.

This morning, our little private meeting was, to my feelings, a time of fervent exercise of soul, and some sweet solemnity

I have since visited the prison, and was kindly favoured with an opportunity of addressing about 480 prisoners, all assembled in their chapel, under the interpretation into German of pastor Fellenberg. They seemed attentive and serious; but alas! I fear it is a hard soil to work upon. Four hundred and eighty criminals for a Canton containing 400,000 inhabitants, (1 in 800,) is too large a proportion; and all this in spite of schools, pastors, and a catechetical, formal knowledge of religion, which is general even among the mountaineers. The secret which explains the phenomenon, is the prevalence of drunkenness. So much for even the light wines of the continent! Re-commitments, one quarter. The prisoners work together in companies, and are well employed.

They now proceeded to Zurich by way of Interlaken, from which latter place they visited Grindelwald.

Grindelwald, (writes Joseph John Gurney,) is charming indeed, beyond any thing in nature that I ever saw, except perhaps, Niagara; but we had not time to visit both its glaciers, only the lower one, to and from which we walked and scrambled with much true pleasure. Its magnificent cavern of white and blue ice, (which changes its shape daily, and which when we visited it was peculiarly fine, say 150 feet high, and broad and deep in proportion,) can never be forgotten while memory lasts. This glacier is propelling itself, by degrees, more and more into the valley, and brings with it, and pushes before it, large fragments of rock, so that Agassiz's method of accounting for the boulder-stones, by the action of glaciers, is not without some practical foundation.

From the hotel at Grindelwald we enjoyed a delightful view of the two glaciers, and the Wetterhorn and Finsteraarhorn towering above them, in the perfection of snowy whiteness. The clouds still obscured the Schreckhorn: but sunshine was upon the general picture; on the green valley; on the pastures no less vividly green; on the sides of the mountains, with woods interspersed, and Bernese *chalets* scattered here and there; on the picturesque spired church and pretty village; on

the glaciers; on the dark-brown rocks immediately below them, and on the almost magical masses of snow above! O these mountain horns in their pointedness and whiteness! who can forget their beauty and sublimity?

The great Eigher unveiled himself as we descended from Grindelwald towards Interlaken, and when we arrived at the latter place, Jung-frau, in all her beauty, was full in sight.

Humbling, yet substantially relieving to my feelings, was the "Quakers' Meeting" which we held that evening in the Salon de Société at the Belvidere, with some sixteen or eighteen ladies and gentlemen, mostly, to all appearance, of the butterflies of this earth; but they settled into quietness, and received with kindness the plain doctrine which I was led to preach to them, on the Christian's stewardship.

Zurich, 2nd day morning, 8th mo., 7th.

On sixth day, the 5th, we journeyed from Entlebuch quietly and pleasantly enough to Lucerne; where we found a pleasant abode in a house belonging to the Swan Inn, our balcony surveying the beautiful lake and admirable range of mountains, Righi, Pilatus, and their companions, with the snowy Alps behind. After calling on Calame, the deputy from Neufchatel to the Diet, which is held here; and after endeavouring to arrange a meeting in the evening with Bost, a pious young man, a shorthand writer to the deputation from the Canton de Vaud at the Swiss Diet, but preparing for the ministry, we spent the early evening in a delightful row on the lovely lake, so far as to give us a view of the four arms which it spreads forth into the respective Cantons of Uri, Schwitz, Unterwald, and Lucerne. Nothing can be more charming than the scenery; and when the sun was setting, after our return, the pink and purple hues with which the mountains were tinted, and the bright green of the lake, gave a transitory effect of colouring, which I have rarely seen equalled. Bost and his wife spent two hours with us in the evening; pious, agreeable young people. Lucerne is a Roman Catholic Canton, and the few Protestants are under depression. If any man becomes a Protestant, he is deprived of

his citizenship, and becomes an outlaw, the priesthood so bears sway in the government; but the Jesuits are not yet admitted. The Diet was sitting here—Lucerne, Berne, and Zurich received it, each two years, in succession. The Cantons are sovereign states; but certain points are placed, by mutual compact, under the authority of the Diet. The Diet has the power to call on the Cantons for proportionate supplies of soldiers, in case of national need. All the male inhabitants are for a time soldierized when young; a foolish practice, which cannot fail to do much harm; one cause, doubtless, of the low state of morals, which is prevalent even in free, mountainous, picturesque Switzerland. Ten hours' journey on seventh day, the 5th, brought us to Zurich. We stopped two hours at Zug, the minute and shabby capital, of 3000 inhabitants, of the smallest state, entirely Roman Catholic. It is situated on the pretty little lake of the same name, on one side flat, on the other crowned with the Righi and other mountains. Talked with a Capuchin prior, of whom there are ten in the town; he was clothed in coarse garments, had the air of piety, and had been visiting an invalid. The road from Zug to Zurich is over a long hill; in descending which, we enjoyed a delightful view of the lake of Zurich and the numerous bright-looking villages on its bank. Zurich itself is a neat prosperous town, as pleasant as the "villages" of New England, about 18,000 inhabitants, and a thriving populous *voisinage;* the manufactory of silk being the chief employment. In the evening, we received a friendly visit from our kind and effective helper Matilda Escher, who has been translating into French my work on the Sabbath, and who had already arranged our meeting for First day evening, to be held at her father's house. Thus we found our work prepared, and we ended the week in health and peace.

In the morning of yesterday, a clear prospect opened before us of seeing our beloved friend the Countess Pelet and her husband. For this purpose, my dear wife, Anna, and I drove over to Baden, twelve miles, and spent an interesting and satisfactory hour with our dear friends, who were delighted to see us. Baden is a pretty Clifton-like place, though by no

means equal to it, on the Limat, in Argovie. In that Roman Catholic Canton, the government, for political ends, has lately suppressed all the monasteries and convents, which has occasioned great excitement in these parts, and occupies the chief attention of the Diet, being contrary to the federal compact. The Protestant members are opposed to it, as an act contrary to religious liberty. We returned to Zurich in time for dinner; and at half-past six o'clock, repaired to the house of the Escher family, where we found about sixty persons, including several pastors and many ladies, already gathered into silence. The solemnity of the occasion was affecting. I was led to speak at length on 1 Cor. i.—"Ye see your calling, brethren," &c., showing the true wisdom and true philosophy which are to be found in Christianity, its applicability to the motives of the human mind, and its results in justification, sanctification, full and final redemption. I was interpreted for into German, by our friend Keller, who keeps a school here, knows English well, and is a serious man. We had afterwards much friendly conversation with the assembled circle, including the Antistes Fuessli, the successor of Gessner, and Professor Langé, of theology, successor of Strauss, the neologist, who was excluded from the office by a popular revolution in 1839. The people, it seems, respect religion; and we trust the life of it is increasingly known and felt.

Zurich, second day evening.

We received calls this morning from Professor Langé and others of our Christian friends; after which we went, all four together, guided by our young friend Barbara Usteri, to call on Louisa Lavater, the single daughter of the honoured writer and preacher of that name. After a life devoted to the service of his Redeemer, he was shot in 1801 by one of Massena's soldiers at Zurich, and died after a year of suffering. Gessner, his son-in-law, was Antistes of the clergy here for many years, and died in great peace, at a very advanced age, only last week. Louisa Lavater is a refined and interesting woman, but very infirm. She received our visit and Gospel message with joy. We then went to her elder sister, the widow of

Gessner, whom we found content and even rejoicing in the Lord, in her bereavement, in the belief of her husband's happiness. We afterwards called on Gessner's daughter, the wife of our friend Usteri, and the mother of four pleasing daughters and three sons. She greatly feels her father's death, and was much affected by the words of ministry which we addressed to her. The evening has been very pleasantly spent at the country-house, by the lake, of our friends, the Eschers. There we met two country pastors, evangelical men, and some pious ladies, friends of the Countess Pelet. We enjoyed the beauty of the place and the company of our friends, and the evening concluded with the reading of 1 John ii, followed by silence and ministry. Thus ends a comfortable day. Lovely looked the lake, and bright the clean white dwellings of the people, under the moonlight, on our return home.

Basle, 8th mo., 11th.

Yesterday we set off for this place; and after a hot, but not unpleasant journey, arrived here by moonlight at ten o'clock. The country not very interesting, except that much of the road runs within sight of the noble sweeping Rhine. About twelve miles short of Basle we stopt at Beugen, where we visited the institution for the boarding and education of destitute children, twenty-five girls and forty-five boys; and of young schoolmasters, from twenty to twenty-five in number, under the care of the *Pasteur* Zeller, who, with his simple pious wife, has governed this institution twenty-three years. It has been supported by voluntary contributions. We had a pleasant conversation with Zeller, who is a zealous interesting person, somewhat aged and weakened in body and memory, but full of love; then two satisfactory opportunities with the young masters, and with the children. The Christian order of the institution is striking, and many are the instances of the good effects produced among those who have left the school. Surely the blessing of the Lord rests on this Christian undertaking.

8th mo., 12*th*. Yesterday morning Josiah Forster and I called on Hoffman, at the mission-house; a person eminent

both for talent and piety, who is also a professor or director at the university here; and on Spittler, secretary of the Bible Society, who is a very pleasing devoted person. In the evening we repaired to the mission-house, where about forty met us. With them we held a quiet solemn meeting, in which I spoke for about an hour, on the nature and operation of the New Covenant. Prayer also was offered in the early part of it. I trust the exercise of the meeting was not in vain, yet I felt low and discouraged afterwards. This morning I have been with Josiah Forster, Spittler, and Dr. Pinkerton, (who, with his daughter Millicent, is here much to our comfort,) to Chrishona, once a Roman Catholic church, on the summit of a wooded hill, about two leagues hence, on the borders of the Black Forest. After having been in ruins for a long period, it was placed by the local government here in the hands of our friend Spittler, who, in a small adjoining house, has nine young men under the care of Schlater, a pious pastor. They work for their living, and travel as *colporteurs*, being carefully educated by the pastor, who has mixed congregations on the Sabbath, of Lutherans, *Réformés*, and Roman Catholics. It is a little light set on a hill; yet the want of any female helper or care-taker is a great defect. We found a poor wandering Armenian there, whom Spittler has taken in, and is educating. Dr. Pinkerton addressed him beautifully in flowing Russ; and we had a good religious opportunity with these Protestant young men and their preceptor. This Government comprises at present only the town, with 22,000 inhabitants, and three villages; the whole country district, containing seventy villages, having broken off into independence by a revolution, which cost 200 lives and a battle in the neighbouring woods, some years ago. This was a Radical movement, and the new Government at once dismissed the evangelical pastors, thirty in number; but as they left the parishes at liberty to dismiss the new ones, and choose others, after a certain time Christian men have again been gradually introduced. Thus the Lord works out his own gracious purposes, notwithstanding all the rage, and folly, and perverseness of men. May it be so more and more!

Second day morning. We have great cause for thankfulness in the prospect, this morning, of leaving Basle for Strasburg, and in the retrospect of the labours of yesterday. These were considerable in amount, as it regards myself. At five o'clock, accompanied by one of the young missionaries, who speaks English, Josiah Forster and I went to the prison; Dr. Pinkerton and another gentleman followed. It was a touching visit, seventy or eighty men and boys; good order; but chains about the necks of many. I read part of Luke xv, in German, and addressed them at some length. Josiah Forster also spoke, and there was great attention and some feeling. We sat with the women separately. Dr. Pinkerton addressed them well; and abundant was their weeping. At six o'clock to the Mission House, where we found a very respectable assembly, much larger than before. Sweet and solemn was our meeting. I spoke in French for about an hour, on baptism into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. I trust the subject was clearly unfolded; and a spiritual view of the baptism here spoken of seemed to be well received. The main scope of my address, however, was the virtue and excellence of the whole truth, the folly of attempting to sever its essential parts, and the importance of holding them in just and even balances. Practical exhortation followed, and earnest prayer for Basle, for Switzerland, and for the world. Afterwards we partook of the truly simple supper of this large family; W. Hoffman and his wife, a few of their friends, and thirty-eight young missionaries; eleven more expected. After supper I addressed the young men, under Hoffman's interpretation; exhorting them to faithfulness, diligence, watchfulness, devotion: reminding them also that nothing but the true unction can rightly direct into, and qualify for, the Lord's work on the earth. Josiah Forster addressed them in German, and this truly interesting occasion ended with solemn prayer. The young men were delighted to receive my sister Fry's Text Book before we separated. There is much of genuine seriousness and great simplicity apparent in these young Christians. They mostly come from Wurtemburg; and it is my belief

that they are and will be blessed in their work, and will be found as a dew from the Lord among many nations. Western Africa, (the Danish Gold Coast,) and parts of Hindostan, are the principal sphere of the missions of this institution Hoffman is a first-rate man, learned, talented, and pious. He is professor of theology at the little university here. Josiah Forster has been visiting a good orphan asylum this morning. It is surprising how many Christian institutions are maintained in this country. A simple desire to spend and be spent for Christ, and for the advancement of his kingdom, seems to animate many. I have desired to take a lesson out of such a book, and to be more divested of self-indulgence. I find that the Essays in German, translated by the late Professor Blumhardt, have been pretty largely circulated. There is still, however, a stock in hand, and our friend Hoffman has undertaken to make some arrangement for their further distribution.

Carlsruhe, 8th mo., 16th.

I trust we are rightly here on our way to Stutgard, though it has been somewhat painful to me to leave the Rhine this afternoon, which would so easily have borne us so far and so rapidly homewards. Left it, however, we have, for a week's *détour*, in the belief that a visit to Stutgard forms part of our duty; though we are more than usually ignorant what service may await us there, or whether any. We have endeavoured, not without fervent prayer, to commit our way to the Lord, so that we may humbly confide that He is still condescending to guide us. We may reverently acknowledge that He has remarkably opened our way since I last wrote. We left Basle about noon, on second day, the 14th, and took the railroad at "St." Louis. Our journey was quiet and easy, though the weather was very hot; and we arrived at the handsome old city of Strasburg, containing 70,000 inhabitants, about five o'clock. The tall, taper, and elegant Cathedral was seen towering aloft, long before we reached the city. Late in the evening we received kind calls from the *Pasteur* Haerter, and Professor Cuvier, of the *Academie*. They are both pious men of an excellent liberal spirit. Cuvier is a friend of William Allen's, and a relation

of the late celebrated naturalist; and we felt much united to him in spirit. Haerter proposed to make over to us a meeting of the Evangelical Society to be held the next evening, and to give notice of the same in a missionary meeting to be held in the morning. We consented to this kind proposition, at the same time explaining to him our views of worship and method of proceeding. Josiah Forster and I drove out to Neuhoff, an establishment for the instruction and education, (the French make a vital distinction between the two things—the giving of knowledge and the training of character)—of orphans and other destitute children, about 65, under the care of Becker, who was absent; but we were kindly received by two young men, and were well pleased with the cleanliness, civility, and cleverness of the children. They are well clad, well fed, well taught, and, we trust, well educated; and when old enough, placed out in trades, which they learn at the school. The pleasant opportunity we had with them, after dinner, reminded me of olden times at Ackworth.

Afternoon, called on Sir George Shee, our minister at Stutgard, then in the hotel; who gave me a kind reception, and an excellent account of the religious freedom, the well balanced monarchy, well-working constitution, good government, and generally happy condition of the kingdom of Wurtemburg. Yet it is small, (1,700,000 inhabitants,) without rivers, without much commerce, and the land poor.

In the evening *Pasteur* Haerter conducted us to the Oratoire, which was well filled with an excellent congregation, who, I found, expected an account of the West Indies. This corresponded with my original feeling, and I had no difficulty in complying with the wish; but after speaking on this subject about twenty minutes, I found my heart and soul turned to more serious subjects, and had to dwell largely on the character and offices of the Great Liberator of the human race—"The Lord our Righteousness." I had to unfold the wondrous significance of this name. His divine as well as human character. His righteousness imputed to us through faith, and in virtue of his obedience unto death,

even the death of the cross; and imparted to us by his living power, by the gift and influence of His Holy Spirit. Almost as soon as I sat down, my dear wife spoke to my great comfort, showing that there is no standing still in religion, and pressing the necessity of consistency, devotion, advancement. Josiah Forster added some sentences of lively exhortation, and I was enabled to conclude the meeting in fervent prayer, in which *France* was not forgotten. Thus was the way opened without even a day's delay, for very relieving service at Strasburg: in fact, I suppose for concluding (for the present year at least) our service in France.

Strasburg is a fortified town, with an arsenal which is said to contain arms for 300,000 men. No sooner do we enter upon the German states, than we find soldiers, who, in case of a conflict, would doubtless be ranged with the forces of the larger powers on either side. Dreadful would the conflict be, should it ever come.

Stutgard, 8th mo., 19th.

Yesterday morning Josiah Forster and I, under an almost burning sun, threaded the streets of this agreeable little metropolis, (40,000 inhabitants,) and made calls on the sister and brother's wife of our dear friend Dr. Steinkopff, and on Stoffaker, an agreeable pastor, talking only German. Heering, the "Christliche Kauffman," to whom we were strongly recommended, is absent. In the afternoon we drove (an hour and a half) to Kornthal, the *valley of corn;* a well-cultivated district, partly redeemed from the waste and from the forest; inhabited by a colony of 800 people, under the surveillance of Hoffman, the father of our friend at Basle, and the father, truly, of the colony. All the children call him "*Grosspapa.*" This colony was established twenty-four years ago, by permission of the present King, to avoid their emigrating. This they were about to do because they could not conscientiously submit to a heterodox liturgy which had been introduced. This liturgy has again been reformed; but these Christian people adhere to their Kornthal, and prosper in it. They appeared to us contented, industrious, and happy; temperate in their habits, and for the most part religious.

The children of the colony are well educated, and there is a

large seminary in the place for 120 girls, from various parts; a well-regulated Christian boarding-school; also a refuge for destitute little children. An excellent spirit pervades, and has long pervaded, this Christian community. The now aged Hoffman, and his simple-hearted wife, gave us a cordial reception; regaled us with milk, and bread and butter; and summoned the people to an evening meeting in the chapel. Including the boys and girls, there were a few hundreds present; many labouring men, notwithstanding the harvest. After successive failures on the part of two men; one of the girls (from India) interpreted for me, while I unfolded the precious doctrines contained in the first few verses of Psa. ciii. Josiah Forster addressed them well in German, and prayer (still interpreted by the girl, who was really helped for her service) concluded the meeting. But O the obstructions of a foreign tongue!

This morning, after a pleasant call from Hoffaker and other Christian friends, we drove to Ludwigsburg, about three leagues, a pretty clean town, where the king has a second palace, and where there is a vast prison containing 900 male criminals. These are confined for terms not exceeding six years. There is now a separate prison elsewhere for women, and another for longer terms of imprisonment and for life; the latter seems to be a common sentence, and one which, from its hopelessness, cannot fail to lead to a deterioration of character. Capital punishment is still executed for murder: one or two cases in the year. The whole number of prisoners in the state, 1700; one for each 1000. I suppose this to be about the usual proportion. In this country, which has no outlets, no colonies, the only possible stowage of criminals is in prisons; of which more are building; for crime seems to increase. The number of recommitments at Ludwigsburg is very great. Klett, the truly Christian director, tells us that they have been almost all recommitted, from this or other prisons, and some four times. Yet we were pleased with the order, cleanliness, and Christian care to be found at Ludwigsburg. We had several rather comforting religious opportunities in the different wards; Josiah Forster well and kindly

interpreting for us. The prisoners were very attentive, and some of them showed unaffected sorrow. Instances of reformation occasionally take place. Our sister Fry's visit to this prison is gratefully remembered.

8th mo., *22nd.* The time hitherto spent here has been interesting, and we humbly hope not in vain. First day was a good Sabbath, though feelings of poverty and weakness mentally, and some bodily indisposition, were not wanting. My mind was a good deal occupied during the day by the subject of Christ dwelling in his people. In the evening we repaired to the place appointed for our meeting, the house of a respectable citizen, where three contiguous rooms were pretty well filled, and we were favoured with a solemn, good meeting. I had several texts before me in reference to that vital subject, which seemed to arise in the meeting with power, and which I believed it right to quote in German, with a few remarks, that the foundation of the subject might be clearly laid. Who is He who thus dwells in us, who are they in whom He dwells, how does He dwell in them, and what is the effect? I was afterwards very fairly interpreted for by a kind elderly Christian friend who had formerly been a missionary in Africa. Josiah Forster further explained our views and principles, I thought, with much life and propriety. The silence which prevailed in the meeting was great; and love seemed to flow.

Yesterday morning, although no news had arrived of the king's approach, and the meeting was well over, there was to be felt flatness and lowness in the prospect of quitting Stutgard. After breakfast a friend called with a message from a pious lady, (Reilen,) begging us to hold another meeting at her house in the evening, to which we thought it right to assent. She afterwards called herself; she is one of the thirsters and seekers, longing for the true settlement. We had some ministry for her in private, as well as for our pious interpreter, who told us much of the dying hours of his late wife, who appears to have enjoyed, on her departure, an almost cloudless view of glory. In the afternoon, one of the servants of the palace called to inform us that the king was arrived. Josiah

Forster and I thereupon went to our minister's, and were attended to the palace by his kind *attaché*. We laid our wishes before one of the *aides-de-camp*, and have, with Koster, seen General Spitzenburg, the other *aide-de-camp* this morning. We have now nothing to do but to await the answer quietly.

At half-past seven to our friend Reilen's, where a much larger assembly was awaiting us than before; the rooms crowded. It was indeed a solemn, refreshing meeting. After a few preparatory sentences, first from Josiah Forster, and then from me, in German, we settled into comfortable silence. I afterwards rose, with the conversation between our Saviour and Martha before me; and, under the same interpretation as before, unfolded at some length those views of the life-giving influence of the Spirit of Christ, which have always been held by Friends. There was, I trust, much of true waiting upon the Lord in this meeting.

* * * * *

This afternoon our friend Koster called to inform us that we were to visit the King and Queen at the country palace of Rosenstein at six o'clock; a remarkable opening after all our delays and doubts. Afterwards Josiah Forster and I called on Archdeacon Knapp, an enlightened and pious clergyman.

A pleasant drive through the beautiful pleasure-grounds brought us to the palace of Rosenstein, at six o'clock; and we were soon introduced into the drawing-room, where a glittering company of courtiers rather puzzled us, for we knew not which was the King. At last we were ushered into a balcony overlooking the garden, river, &c., where we soon found that we were with the King, the Queen, the Crown Prince, the two unmarried Princesses, &c. We spoke to them in French and English, on the slave trade, the abolition of slavery in our colonies, and prison discipline; Ludwigsburg; the cellular system; the Eastern Penitentiary at Philadelphia; and above all, the importance of promoting Christian instruction at the University of Tubingen and in the schools. The King spoke of the late change for the better in Tubingen, by the introduction of orthodox professors, and seemed much interested in the subject. My dear wife then proposed to the Queen

our sitting down in silence with the family, which was immediately assented to. I was led to address them in French, explaining the object of our journey, and our lively interest in their family, as well as in the people over whom the King reigned; dwelling on Christianity as the only true means of making man happy, and expressing our desire that divine grace, even the good Spirit of the Lord, might be bestowed upon them all, to qualify them for the fulfilment of their great responsibilities, and to prepare them for a blessed eternity. My dear wife afterwards knelt down in fervent supplication. At the conclusion the King rose, and shook hands warmly with us, expressing his thanks for the visit. We also exchanged kind greetings with the Queen and her son and daughters. I left my book on the West Indies with the King, and the Essay on Love to God with the Queen. Thus ended our long-felt concern towards this royal family; the interview was short, but we humbly trust that the impression left is a good one, and that He who led into the service will bless it.

Having arrived at Brussels, Joseph John Gurney writes: —

First day afternoon, 8th mo., 27th. In the course of seventh day, we made, or renewed, several agreeable acquaintances. Amongst them, Panchaud, a pious French Independent minister, who has raised a little congregation, chiefly from the Roman Catholics; and Tiddy, the agreeable and active agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, whose colporteurs are doing great things in this dark, dark land. This Scriptural distribution has given rise to an extraordinary awakening among many, including even several priests; and the consequence, or at least the accompaniment, has been the establishment of several evangelical missionary stations, and several hopeful schools. The work, by all accounts, continues to make favourable progress; and it is greatly facilitated by the entire religious freedom which is enjoyed, by virtue of the charter granted on the accession of the present King.

In the mean time, Popery is active, domineering and showy,

in a very high degree. A grand procession, in honour of their idol "Mary," took place lately. The "Queen of Heaven" was crowned by the Archbishop; the Queen of the Belgians gave a jewel of value for the crown; and the semi-Protestant King added the sanction of his attendance. All this is sad and weak; but will probably defeat its own ends. In the evening we received a visit from my old friend, Grimshaw, (the author of the life of Legh Richmond,) and his daughters: also from the Baron du Bois de Ferrieres, a superior person every way; once a Roman Catholic, now a zealous Protestant, and President of the Evangelical Society here. He married an English lady, whose two female cousins live with her, and are eminent here for untiring good doing. Our evening was very pleasant; and Brussels turns out, so far, a bright point at the conclusion of our mission. That the mission might end well was my earnest prayer, vocally expressed this morning in our quiet little meeting. A meeting is appointed to be held this evening, in the *salle* below. I feel the weight of the engagement, and write these lines under that peculiar sense of lownesss which generally precedes such occasions. May the Lord graciously condescend to be with us, with his own holy and blessed anointing! We look hopefully, and even joyfully, forward, to an early flight homeward to-morrow morning.

Calais, 8th mo., 29th.

The lowness and flatness which I felt last First day afternoon at Brussels, proved to be the preparation for a favoured meeting. In the evening, at half-past seven, or nearly eight o'clock, the large *salle* of the hotel became completely filled with a very respectable company; among others, Panchaud and his wife, Boucher, Grimshaw, Count Arrivabene, &c. After a time of silence, and a few introductory sentences from Josiah Forster, I preached the gospel, I trust, in its fulness, from Isaiah lxi, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me," &c.—adverting to the anointing of Christ after his baptism in Jordan; his divine and prophetical character, and his gracious offices as unfolded in this passage; the binding up of the broken heart; the liberation of the captives, &c. I dwelt particularly on

liberation from the yoke of ceremonies; from the condemnation of the law; from the power and influence of sin; then the consolation which is not to be anticipated before a thorough cleansing, but which follows it; beauty for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, &c. I spoke in French for the last time, I trust for the present, and the gift of clearness and fluency was graciously bestowed. Prayer also flowed, to my own comfort, towards the close of the meeting, which Josiah Forster ended with a Christian farewell.

The feeling of relief after this meeting was great, and the next morning, yesterday, I felt quite at ease; happy and peaceful; ready to go home — an experience which was, I believe, shared by all our little party.

Here, in quietness and seclusion from the world, we can rest for a few hours; take a calm and thoughtful retrospect of the deeply interesting journey which is now brought so near to its close; and hopefully commit ourselves for the future, to that gracious and holy Being, who has hitherto helped us, and who will, as we humbly trust, help us to the end.

CHAPTER XLII.

1843—44. ÆT. 56.

TOTAL ABSTINENCE MEETING AT NORWICH; MARRIAGE OF HIS DAUGHTER; PUBLICATION OF HIS LAST WORK, THOUGHTS ON HABIT AND DISCIPLINE; JOURNEY IN FRANCE; BOULOGNE; ROUEN; PARIS; ORLEANS; TOURS; METTRAY; SAUMUR; NANTES; LA ROCHELLE; BORDEAUX; ST. FOY; NERAC; PAU.

ONCE more settled at Earlham, Joseph John Gurney writes: —

9th mo., 5th. Great peace, and even joy, are our portion on returning to our beloved home; and I cannot describe the quiet happiness which has been permitted us this morning, as we have roamed about the pleasure-grounds. Bless the Lord, O my soul! may, indeed, be the language of each heart amongst us! How can we forget his benefits, which are renewed every morning? Health of body and peace of mind are the precious gifts now graciously bestowed, and bestowed on those who deserve them not; at least, I am sure that this is the case with myself.

9th mo., 9th. On fifth day evening, my dear wife and I attended the Great "Teetotal" Meeting, held at Norwich, on the arrival of "Father" Matthew; and, at the bishop's earnest request, I took the chair, in the declared character of a *pledged teetotaller.** I spoke fully, but carefully, on the subject; and

*Joseph John Gurney signed the total abstinence pledge at the house of his friend Richard Dykes Alexander, at Ipswich, on the 8th of the 4th month, 1843.

the bishop afterwards, extremely well. "Father" Matthew is a very pleasing, and, as I fully believe, a very upright man; winning his way by his kindness and sincerity. I cannot doubt his being an instrument, in the divine hand, for extensive usefulness.

I look back on my own part in this matter, with calmness and content; and for the true freedom of total abstinence, for the comfortable health and good animal spirits which go along with it, I am truly and increasingly thankful.

10*th mo.*, 3*rd.* Last week passed off very satisfactorily. The Bible Society Meeting, on fourth day, was excellent, after a very comfortable and uniting breakfast party, at Earlham. Many pious men assembled there, notwithstanding the weather. The meeting itself was not large, the weather being unfavourable; but much better attended by the clergy than that of last year. I felt helped in speaking on the state of the continent; dividing the population, not utterly careless of such things, into three great classes; those who take away from Scripture; those who add to it; and those who desire to adhere to its contents, without either diminution or addition.* There was much of love and harmony prevailing. In the evening we had a comfortable meeting of ministers and elders, R. and P. Alsop being with us, and returning with us to Earlham, which they have since pleasantly made their home during the progress of their family visit to our meeting. The Quarterly Meeting was well attended, and very satisfactory; Robert Alsop was well engaged in the meeting for worship; and his wife in prayer. Afterwards, at a joint conference, my dear wife and I made a report of our continental journey, retaining our certificate. There was a good feeling over us all. At the close of a quiet meeting for business, I was bowed before our gracious Lord, in vocal prayer.

10*th mo.*, 9*th.* * * * On sixth day we had about fifty of our Norwich Friends here, with the Alsops. It was a scene of quiet, but heartfelt enjoyment. We were favoured with a

*Joseph John Gurney's Speech on this occasion was afterwards published in a separate form.

very refreshing religious opportunity round the table in the dining-room, before the company broke up. · Yesterday evening, also, we had a party of those who had been left out; and we felt peace and pleasure in entertaining some humble Christians.

The approaching marriage of his beloved daughter was an event to which he now looked forward with deep interest.

10*th mo.*, 16*th.* [After one of his frequent affectionate allusions to his wife.]—My other nearest earthly dependencies appear much in the way of being dislocated. Such a term seems to apply to dearest Anna's approaching removal to a distance, although under such happy and desirable circumstances; and my sister Fry's prolonged and deep illness is to me a truly affecting dispensation. She calls for our tenderest sympathy. Yet can we rejoice in the support and quietness of soul so graciously bestowed upon her.

10*th mo.*, 25*th.* After our comfortable family reading this morning, I expressed my desire that, in the view of the approaching event so deeply interesting to us all, we might be enabled to dwell near to the Fountain of light and life; and to move and live under the influence of that grace which can alone qualify for every duty, sanctify all the pleasures of life, and enable us rightly to bear its pains. We are favoured with the feeling of much quietness in the prospect; somewhat of a satisfying sense, that all is right. * * *

Dear Anna's school children have just been crowding the hall to receive new bonnets, on the occasion of her marriage. Her labours of love for their benefit have been great and persevering; and I think it evident, from their demeanour, that she has not laboured in vain. Truly she will carry the blessing of many along with her.

On the 8th of the 11th mo., his daughter was married to John Church Backhouse, of Blackwell, near Darlington.

He afterwards writes:—

11*th mo.*, 13*th.* Surely we cannot review the past week without a feeling of reverent gratitude, adoration, and praise; for the God of all grace has dealt mercifully with us.

The marriage took place on fourth day the 8th; the meeting house in Goat lane thronged. After our large company was seated, a good silence spread over us, and supplication fell to my lot under feelings of great solemnity; after which the pair spoke well; dear H. C. Backhouse prayed for a blessing on their covenant; then William Forster, who has been our sympathizing and able helper throughout, was excellently engaged on the fear of God. We returned home in peace, and sat down to the marriage-feast, about fifty-five in number. Before leaving the table, we were favoured with a memorable opportunity. It was, indeed, a most happy day; but I shed some tears of heartfelt grief, when I had fairly lost my child.

11*th mo.*, 20*th.* Should the way open for my retiring entirely from the cares of business, I should be truly thankful. The prospect of such a possibility brings great tranquillity over me. I do wish with all simplicity to devote myself to the service of my Lord; and to quiet, heart-searching preparation for an awful and unseen, yet I humbly trust, happy futurity. "Gather up thy wares out of the land, O thou inhabitant of the fortress!" We have truly gratifying and satisfying accounts of our darling married child. This is another call for humble gratitude.

12*th mo.*, 6*th.* On third day morning, in last week, my dearest wife and I set off for Upton. We continued there until the following second day morning; and a highly interesting time we had. Our principal object was to visit our dearest sister Fry. With her we had many precious interviews, and low as she has been brought, and sometimes closely tried, we were cheered with a pretty firm hope of her partial recovery.

On sixth day I was much interested in attending the "Meeting for Sufferings;" at the close of which I was engaged in fervent prayer for William Allen; whose life is, to all

appearance, gradually, but rather rapidly, drawing to its close. First day was one of uncommon exercise to the relief of our minds. A solemn meeting at Plaistow in the morning. In the afternoon, to Tottenham meeting, which was sweet and solemn. My exercise of mind, that all might truly come by the door into the sheepfold, was responded to by Maria Fox in a truly touching prayer. After calling on Ann Hodgkin, for whom we felt much in the absence of her devoted husband, we took tea with Josiah and Rachel Forster, to our mutual pleasure and comfort. Then to the Barclay's, where we met a large family circle of young people, to whom I was led to unfold the great principles which we profess as a Society, with some degree, I trust, of clearness and life; we returned late to Upton in peace, and home on second day.

TO ————————

Earlham, 12th mo., 8th, 1843.

I send thee by Post a little tract on Baptism, written by William Dell; an old Cambridge divine, who lived shortly before the rise of Friends. I have just received a few copies, and have been so much interested in the perusal of one of them, that I thought I might, in the freedom of friendship, send it to thee, marked as it is by my own pencil. It was the means of clearing the views of a clergyman near Holt, in Norfolk, and the consequence was that he gave up his preferment, and retired from the Church of England. The contents are, I think, well worthy of quiet and deep consideration.

Whilst on a short visit to his daughter, at Blackwell, near Darlington, he writes:—

TO HIS SISTER ELIZABETH FRY.

Blackwell, 1st mo., 5th, 1844.

I think thou wilt be enabled to rejoice with us in the peace and happiness we are now enjoying under our dear son and daughter's roof. Their settlement is most comfortable and

satisfactory, and this is a lovely spot indeed. The views from the terrace of the Tees in its peaceful meanderings are quite charming, and the house is very pleasant and convenient. It is a favoured allotment for our dearest Anna; and *we* find it a delightful retreat and resting-place.

To return to the Journal:—

On second day, (1st mo., 22nd,) I concluded (against the apparent laws both of prudence and comfort,) to go, without my dearest wife, to London, in order to attend the funeral of our late lamented friend Maria Fox, of Tottenham. This act of faith and obedience was rewarded as well as justified by the events of the week. It was indeed a memorable time; the funeral large, and peculiarly weighty and solemn. I found a decidedly open door for service in ministry at meeting, on the "day of mourning for Jerusalem;" also in prayer near the grave; sweet visit to J. and A. Hodgkin, and a large company, and truly solemn occasion, at S. Fox's in the evening. * * *

[Returned home] on seventh day after a very sweet, and to me consoling, interview with my dearest sister Fry.

2nd mo., 19*th*. Yesterday, in the afternoon meeting, Frances Page spoke sweetly on the New Jerusalem. The same passages had been previously on my own mind, and I added a few sentences. If the inquiry be raised in any mind, where that better country, and that city which hath foundations are, it is enough for the Christian to know that they are where Christ is, and lives, and reigns in glory. The —— family here to tea and supper; I was peacefully reminded of the words, "They cannot recompense thee, but thou shalt be recompensed at the resurrection of the just."

My mind has been somewhat anxious on the question—whether I ought to subscribe to the Anti-Corn Law League; and I do desire to be brought to the right conclusion. The principles of free trade are certainly good Christian principles; and if they are promoted on Christian grounds, and in a right manner, it seems to be a branch of politics in which it may

be not only lawful, but right, to take a reasonable share. Yet evil must not be done that good may come; and, at present, I doubt the working of the machine.

2nd mo., 26th. Another week has flown away, and finds us in possession of many rich blessings. After some indisposition, I am better again; the accounts of our dearest sister have been considerably alleviated; and now we are cheered and comforted by the presence amongst us, once more, of our darling child and her husband, from Blackwell, who arrived safe and well on seventh day; and great is our happiness in being together. Our Sabbath yesterday has left a peaceful and salutary impression. I was much engaged in the morning meeting, in ministering on the words — "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life." Fidelity in rightly filling up our measure and sphere of influence, in the right direction, fully and perseveringly; to be effected only by *thorough* submission to the operation of divine power.

In the spring of this year, was published the last, but not the least useful, of Joseph John Gurney's more extended writings—Thoughts on Habit and Discipline. The subject had been long before his mind. For many years his life had been a continued endeavour after the subjection of his own mind and heart to the highest moral and religious discipline; and if, especially on such a subject, example and experience must ever give weight to precept, the reader who now turns to this little volume, will not peruse it with the less interest or instruction, as he marks the course through which Joseph John Gurney became, by grace, what he was. To write a useful, rather than a profound or learned work, was his principal aim.

"Amidst many more serious avocations," to use his own words in the preface, "the composition of the present work has been the pleasant occupation of occasional leisure hours.

Little as it is laboured, and capable as it is of much improvement, I am induced to publish it, in the hope that it may be of *some* use to the lately risen, and now rising generation.

"It consists of three divisions. The FIRST contains general remarks on the nature and operation of Habit and Discipline. It is the philosophy of the subject, though in a low sense of the term, and in a very familiar guise. The SECOND relates to BAD HABIT, that grand instrument in the hand of Satan, for enslaving, enchaining, and finally destroying mankind. The THIRD to GOOD HABIT, which is the appointed means, under the natural and moral government of God, and in connection with a providential scheme of DISCIPLINE, for our improvement in ability, knowledge, wisdom, and virtue.

"GOOD HABIT is considered in its application, FIRST, to the movements and uses of the body; SECONDLY, to art, that useful result of the joint exercise of body and mind; THIRDLY, to intellectual capacities and pursuits; FOURTHLY, to morals; and FIFTHLY, to religion.

"Heartily do I desire that those who are now in the early vigour of their bodily and mental powers, may become subject in all things, to the salutary power of GOOD HABIT. Under the influence of the Holy Spirit, which can alone change and sanctify the heart of man, they will find in the friendly sway of this 'magistrate of man's life,' this genial nurse and mistress of our faculties, a preparation for all that is useful and honourable in time, and for all that is pure and joyous in eternity."

The work has been frequently reprinted and widely circulated, and has been introduced, as it deserves, into several important educational establishments. May its circulation and perusal be blessed more and more!

Being now desirous of completing his labours on the Continent, Joseph John Gurney, in the third month of this year, again left England, in company with his wife and their valued friend, Josiah Forster.

Their journey southward extended as far as Bordeaux, Toulouse, and Pau. They returned to England in the fifth month to attend the Yearly Meeting, and afterwards concluded their engagement by a visit to the Channel Islands. The particulars of this journey are detailed in a series of letters to his daughter, from which the following extracts are taken:—

Abbeville, 5th day evening, 3rd mo., 21st, 1844.

My Dearest Anna,

Blustering was the wind, and snow-capped the waves, when we got on board the "Ramsgate" steamer, at Folkstone, yesterday morning, for our voyage to Boulogne; and finely tossed were we on the passage. The sea was what the sailors call lumpy, the waves being at times prodigious, and our boat seemed to labour very hard to get along.

After four hours and nearly a half, we all felt it a favour, as well as a relief, to make the quiet harbour of Boulogne in safety. In the evening we met forty or fifty pious people in the Wesleyan chapel; and the deep stillness of the meeting afforded a salutary and agreeable contrast to the bellowing and dashing of the ocean, which had half overpowered us in the morning. Josiah Forster said a few words to explain our views; and, after a period of profound quietness, I was enabled to preach from Col. i.—"Giving thanks unto the Father, who hath made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light," &c. The view arose vividly before me of the nature and character of that inheritance, and of that radical change of heart, and sanctifying work of the Spirit, in which alone our meetness for it can consist. The meeting ended in much solemnity, after vocal prayer. Lyon, the pious, agreeable Minister, afterwards told me, that he was engaged in a course of lectures on this same Epistle, and that he had intended on that evening to address the people on *the very text* which I had preached from — having come just so far in the Epistle. He seemed delighted at the coincidence, which I thought was best explained by our good old view of

the guidance of the Spirit. He breakfasted with us this morning, and we parted from him in the feeling of Christian love.

We are all well and comfortable to-day. We left Boulogne about ten o'clock; enjoyed our journey; read the Bible, French Testament, Thomas Shillitoe's Journal, and Life of Adam Clark; and distributed many tracts *en passant*. * *

Rouen, First day, 3rd mo., 24th.

We arrived here in time for a late evening dinner, and spent most of yesterday in making the needful arrangements for our meeting to-day. In the afternoon, Josiah Forster and I drove about two miles to *le petit Quevilly*, where a gentleman and lady named Lecointe have opened, on their own beautifully situated and wooded estate, a refuge for young criminals, of whom they have now twenty-four under their care, who are sent to them, instead of to the prison of the department, by order of the government. I believe Lecointe purchased the estate lately, (about 50 acres,) for the purpose. He is *philanthrophe philosophe* (they say) rather than *Chrétien*, but seems very amiable, and much devoted to his object. There is no barring and bolting here. The gates are open and the boys can escape if they choose; but they continue faithfully there for their appointed time on parole, and seem happily engaged in gardening, cutting down wood, carpentering, and other healthy employments. A good school is kept for them every afternoon, where they seem to be well taught. They looked truly civilized; read well to us, and listened to our French addresses during their supper with much propriety. There is a fine old Norman chapel on the premises, where they meet for worship; their religious instruction being under the care of a Roman Catholic chaplain. On the whole it was to me the most agreeable institution of the kind I have seen; yet wanting in the grand fundamental article of sound Christian influence and example. The Government pays a considerable part of the expense, the rest is provided for by a *Société de Patronage*.

Paris, 3rd mo., 27th.

I wrote to thee last from Rouen, on first day, after our quiet little morning meeting. At three o'clock in the afternoon,

Josiah Forster and I repaired to the workshops (connected with the railroad) of Buddicomb, Allcard, and Co., at Chartreux, where, in a large room, we held a good open meeting, with about two hundred of the English workmen, wives, and children. It was to me a time of close exercise and close ministry. The habits which these poor fellows very generally fall into, of drinking French brandy to excess, and of other dissipation, have done much to deteriorate their moral condition. They listened with much attention, and behaved quietly.

We returned to our hotel to dinner, and at seven o'clock went to the Protestant "Temple," which is a fine old Gothic building, formerly Roman Catholic, and almost like a cathedral. Josiah Forster and I looked singular enough there, sitting with our hats on, on two chairs in front of the pulpit, which would not hold us both. We found ourselves surrounded by a considerable congregation, and truly I deeply felt the weight and responsibility of our circumstances. Josiah Forster's introductory sentences were much to the point, and after some time of silence, I was enabled to address them for about an hour in French, from the 1st of Hebrews; the comparative claims of the law and the gospel; the divinity of Him by whom the latter is administered; and the necessity of looking to Him *alone* in the course of Christian experience, as the one appointed and all-sufficient Mediator. The meeting closed peacefully after prayer; and much satisfaction was expressed by Paumier, the minister, and many others. Thus our day ended well. The next morning Paumier breakfasted with us. We felt much indebted to him for his cordial help, and left a subscription for his Protestant school, which our donations in 1817 appear to have been the means of founding, or at least of greatly improving. I well remember then visiting him with thy uncles Buxton, Cunningham, and Gurney; and as far as I could perceive, he is much unaltered, after a lapse of 27 years.

We left Rouen by the Railroad on second day, with the impression that there is a true work of grace going forward in that city and its vicinity.

Here (at Paris) the way for some important service seems to be opening upon us, and our friends are as kind as ever. I spent about an hour yesterday with the Pelets; the two Countesses full of warmth and love, and the Count kind and polite as usual. La Baronne de Stäel has also called, and is engaged to come and see thy mother again to-day. We are engaged to meet her at dinner at the Duc de Broglie's, on seventh day, and to dine at the Pelet's on second day next week. John Scoble and Geo. W. Alexander, from the Anti-Slavery Society, are in this Hotel. The former has been writing an excellent *brochure* on the *Rapport de la Commission Royale sur l'Esclavage*, which is to be translated and published. We have agreed to hold an Anti-Slavery meeting in the great *salle à manger*, on sixth day evening, and are engaged to-day in arranging our invitations. I wish we may get a full meeting, and may be enabled to do the great cause some justice.

To-morrow we propose to hold our week-day meeting at the old place, and a public one in the evening at the Methodist Chapel. First day is likely to be full of similar engagements. The weight of these concerns has been felt to be heavy, especially during the hours of infirmity which so often fall to my lot at night; but there is a feeling through all of much peace, and we may, I trust, say with Paul, "If God be for us, who can be against us?"

When we were here last year, the Protestants were much alarmed by the obvious and close union of the Government with the Roman Catholic Church. Now the tables are somewhat turned; for a warm controversy has arisen between the Bishops and the Government, on the subject of education; which is at present under the direction of the University of Paris, subject to the still higher authority of the government, through its Minister of Public Instruction. The clergy, under the pretence of liberty, are wanting to get the whole affair into their own hands; and are loudly calling for the abolition of this authority in the University. In this they are joined by many pious Protestants, who cling to the principle of entire freedom of education. The clergy are said to have even

threatened the Government with excommunication, and it is difficult to conjecture what will be the issue.

Paris, 4th mo., 4th, 1844.

* * * We had an interview with the Duchess of Orleans, by appointment, yesterday morning. She received us alone at the Tuilleries in the kindest and most open manner, and interested us all very deeply. She is simple, refined, unaffected, and warm hearted; of a slender frame, and sweet, pleasing countenance. She spoke very affectionately of thy aunt Fry, and after some easy friendly conversation, thy mother proposed silence, which was immediately complied with. Soon afterwards, she addressed the Duchess (who speaks and understands English well) with remarkable force and clearness; expressing the deep and tender sympathy which she had felt for her before leaving England, citing various passages of Scripture relating to those sudden and terrible afflictions which are sometimes permitted, and contrasting them with others depicting the rich and abundant consolations of the gospel; declaring her belief, that, should further troubles assail her, she would be supported and comforted, quoting the 20th Psalm, "the Lord hear thee in the day of trouble," &c., and that her prayers for herself and her children were and would be answered. The scene was truly touching. I afterwards intimated that I felt led into prayer, on which the Duchess rose and shut an open door, and then quietly knelt down beside me, while I poured forth a heartfelt prayer for herself and the young Princes. Josiah Forster afterwards exhorted her to faithfulness in the maintenance of her own Christian principles, and of her covenant with her God. It was a precious meeting, one not soon to be forgotten. A very different one, but also memorable, was with Odillon Barrot, whom Josiah Forster and I visited in his cabinet. He has lost his only daughter, and his noble countenance seemed marred with grief. I asked for silence, and ministered to him in some degree of life I trust. He thanked me heartily. The Countess Pelet had sent him a letter of

sympathy and religious exhortation, with the New Testament, that very morning. What a fine thing it would be, were he to become truly subject to the yoke of Christ!

* * * * *

Our *réunions*, public and private, have been of an interesting character. First, last fifth day evening, at the Wesleyan chapel, with a handful of English, solemn and sweet. Secondly, the same evening, at Pressensé's, a large religious company, to whom both Josiah Forster and I had shortly to minister. Thirdly, the anti-slavery meeting in the great *salle à manger* of this hotel, last sixth day, about seventy people, including three Roman Catholic abbés, two Protestant pastors, &c. It was a highly interesting evening. I spoke for an hour in French without difficulty, on the grand Christian principle which lies at the foundation of the subject; on the safety of immediate emancipation, in its physical, moral, and religious effects on the negroes; on the comparative non-importance of the mere sugar question; and on the favourable accounts lately received, even on that subordinate point. Scoble spoke well in English, on indemnity and other points, which I had left; and we did not conclude until near eleven. Lastly, on third day we had a pretty large number of young students of the University, from Greece, Moldavia, Guadaloupe, Martinique, Senegal, &c. They gave severally lively accounts of their respective countries. The young Moldavians who came to Paris with their slaves, were especially interesting; and were well inoculated with anti-slavery principles. Their slaves were set free on touching French ground.

Tours, 4th mo., 10th, 1844.

Nearly a week has elapsed since I despatched my last Journal, and how am I to record all the events, great and little, of this interval? I wish I may not quite fail in the attempt, for time for writing is an article not at my command. But to revert to last week, I wrote to thee, on fifth day morning, just before our concluding little meeting at the

Faubourg du Roule. At five o'clock, Josiah Forster and I repaired to the office of the minister of Foreign Affairs, where we saw Guizot, and conversed with him some ten or fifteen minutes. He was very kind to us, and detailed the particulars of the intended measure to be introduced in the present session, not *for* but *towards* the abolition of slavery. It does not amount to much, but may nevertheless be accepted as a first step; it being clearly understood that the Government regards it only in that light. In the evening of the day now described, a large company of our serious friends assembled at our hotel; the Count Pelet and his mother, the Baron Malet, Charles Malet and his sister, Cuvier (Lutheran minister) and his wife, La Baronne de Staël and her brother the Duc de Broglie, Mark Vernet, *Pasteurs* Vermeil, Frederick Monod, and Grandpierre, with their wives, the five young missionaries, under the care of the last, General Menardier, Mark Wilks, and many others, including the Countess of Roden and her daughter; about sixty in all, or somewhat more. It was a happy evening. After much conversation, we read Eph. iv, "I therefore, the prisoner of the Lord, beseech you that ye walk worthy," &c. After the reading, I had to address them at some length on charity and unity, and on some great objects which Christians can pursue, and ought to pursue together, without distinction of sect or party; namely, the abolition of slavery, the distribution of the Holy Scriptures, and the promotion of peace; observing also that all would be in vain, without the life and power of religion. Josiah Forster afterwards spoke of the actual state of Paris, its sins and its hopes. There seemed to be a flow of love and friendship towards and amongst us, when the company separated.

The next morning (sixth day) we were quite free in mind and circumstances for leaving Paris; and, having taken our seats in a comfortable carriage, or rather apartment, were rolled off at a great rate on the railway for Orleans; passing through a pleasant, well-cultivated country, partly near the banks of the Seine, producing more of grass and corn, than of the vine. We arrived at Orleans, a fine old city of some 40,000 inhabi-

tants, at four o'clock; and were met at the station, by our warm-hearted friend, the Protestant *Pasteur* Duchemin. At seven o'clock in the evening we repaired to the Oratoire, where a good meeting was held with about one hundred and fifty persons. I trust the unction which can alone prepare for such service was not withheld. The next morning Josiah Forster and I breakfasted with Duchemin and his wife and children, with whom we had a comforting family sitting. Afterwards, my dear wife met us at the *Maison des Orphelines*, where nearly fifty orphan girls are boarded and educated by the Protestants. Rossolloty, the other *pasteur*, his wife and others, were present. We addressed the children, and distributed little books amongst them; and lively indeed was their reception of us and ours. We were reminded of the girls' school at Nismes.

The following first day was a memorable one. Josiah Forster and I went with Duchemin, after breakfast, about an hour's drive into the country, to Tournus, a little village, finely situated on the banks of the Loire. The day was delightfully fine, as the weather here has generally been, and the lovely river looked blue and beautiful. About 100 people, simple-hearted country folks, chiefly little proprietors, assembled by degrees in the Protestant "Temple," and as it was a high "Sacrament Sunday," our friend the *pasteur* took ample time for the performance of his own service. We sat quietly near the door until all was over, when Duchemin kindly introduced us to the people, and lively and relieving, indeed, was the short Friends' meeting which ensued. I felt peculiar life in preaching on "*Je suis le vrai cep, et mon père est le vigneron*," (John. xv. 1,) and the meeting ended with fervent prayer. Many of the people seemed really touched, and all attentive and affectionate. A kind *charron* (wheelwright) invited us to dinner. We much liked the look of the country-people; there seems to be little or no poverty either in town or country; and Duchemin thinks that the division of land among all the children, which is the law of France, works well in preventing pauperism. No person may leave more than a

small proportion to the "church," and only a fourth to any public charity unless he is childless.

In the evening we all three repaired to the Protestant "Temple," at Orleans, and were soon seated in the face of a congregation of about 200; with full liberty to pursue our own course. I preached for about an hour on the resurrection of Christ; and on Paul's doctrine, that being reconciled to God "by the death of his Son," much more "being reconciled, we are saved by his life." He lives to apply his precious blood to our heart and conscience. He is our advocate with the Father. He quickens us by his Spirit. The meeting ended in the feeling of solemnity, and in the flowing of love and good-will.

On second day, the 8th, a somewhat dull and fatiguing journey, cheered, however, by the nearly constant view of the Loire, brought us to Blois, in about six hours. Edward Wakefield and his wife were waiting for us at the Hotel D'Angleterre, and very kind they were to us. We walked with them before dinner to view the castle, which is the scene of many historic recollections. Here Catherine of Medicis held her court. Here the Duke of Guise was murdered; and here we saw the *Oubliettes*, the deep places into which the wretched captives of olden times were thrown, from a height of ninety feet, on to knives, &c., that they might perish in the midst of torture. Such contrivances are to be seen elsewhere in the old castles of France. * * *

Angers, 4th mo., 12th, 1844.

In the evening of second day, the 8th, we all went to Edward Wakefield's agreeable residence, overlooking the river, where, in pursuance of our wish, a large company of English were assembled, many from Norfolk, and some French people. I read Philippians ii and iii, and the company were afterwards plainly addressed, both in French and English. It was a pretty good meeting. Conformity to the world, and the necessity of the contrary, were subjects much before us.

Our drive to Tours, the next morning, was of four hours;

very pleasant, excellent roads, through a fertile country, half corn and half vines, and by the side of the Loire, now a grand favourite. As we approached Tours, we observed many houses, Petra-like, formed by excavation of the light sandstone rock, which towers over the river, though at such a distance as to make room for the road, and some garden grounds. Tours is a very handsome place, entered by a noble bridge over the Loire; which is, at least, as broad as the Thames, at London. The purity of its waters has been celebrated by De Sevigné. The cathedral towers over one of its banks. A long handsome street, the Rue Royale, intersected by others at right angles; and beautiful promenades on the side opposite to the river. After our arrival, yesterday, Josiah Forster and I spent the evening with a company chiefly English. The pious young Protestant minister, Morache, met us, and has kindly agreed to give us the use of his "Temple" for our meeting this evening, and to give notice of it to his friends.

Fourth day, the ninth, was one of lively interest. After breakfast Josiah Forster and I visited the Protestant schools, which were satisfactory. Afterwards we all three went in an open barouche, about four miles to Mettray, the famous agricultural colony for naughty boys; criminals who have escaped conviction, &c.; vagabonds transferred from La Requette, the prison for the *Jeunes détenus* in Paris, and others.* There we were most kindly received by De Metz and Brettiniere, the two volunteer Directors, who showed us about for some hours. The plan is to substitute family arrangement for prison discipline; the whole society being divided into

* See an interesting account of the Reformatory Institution at Mettray, published by Whittaker, 1853: — "The laws of France," says the writer, "permit the acquittal of children accused of crime, on the ground of their having *acted without discernment*, (*agi sans discernement*) but they are retained under the guardianship of the state for a term of years, until they have been educated, trained in moral habits, and placed in situations in which they may earn their own livelihood by industrial labor. For the reception of children of this class M. de Metz devised and founded at Mettray the first Agricultural Colony.

families of about forty each, occupying distinct, but nearly contiguous houses. Here they are fed, taught, lodged, and governed by a *Père de famille*, no women allowed, except the *Sœurs de Charité* in the hospital, (which I think a defect;) two *sous chefs*, and two *frères ainés*, or monitors, chosen by the other boys. They work in distinct shops, according to their respective trades; tailors, smiths, carpenters, &c., and in the gardens and fields. No punishments except dry bread and solitary confinement for a time. Nothing can exceed the happy order which appears to prevail. During the hours of recreation the *pères de famille*, *sous chefs*, monitors, and boys, all gathered round us, with the directors, and several visitors; and we were favored with a solemn meeting in the open air.

Brettiniere is a Roman Catholic, somewhat serious, and reads and explains the Scriptures to the boys. It is by far the best Institution of the kind I ever saw as to external order, comfort, industry, and effect. Yet one deeply feels that vital, enlightened Christianity, in the room of masses, &c., &c., is the thing wanted.

In the evening we went to our meeting; a fine congregation, chiefly French, including several Roman Catholics. "*Les jours viennent, dit L'eternel, quand je susciterai à David un germe juste.*" I trust the best of influences was not withheld.

Yesterday morning, before we left Tours for Saumur, we visited the new prison on the *cellular* or solitary system. It was to me a highly interesting sight; very much resembling the Eastern Penitentiary in Philadelphia. I went to it with a feeling of dread, lest I should find it a scene of suffering. But this, with little exception, is not the case. It is admirably built and arranged, and we found the poor solitary ones generally comfortable. Several who had been in other prisons expressed their preference for their present isolation. They are here only for a year at the furthest; so that it is not solitude severe or hopeless.

Forty-five miles along the beautiful Loire, brought us to Saumur, a delightful drive, *campagne riante*. Saumur is a

fine old town, crowned by a noble castle. We arrived at five o'clock, and though the Pastor Duvivier was absent, we succeeded in obtaining a *réunion* of about thirty religious people at the Hotel de Londres, at eight in the evening; dear simple-hearted people, they reminded us of our friends at Congenies. We were favoured with a lively solemn meeting; no reading; but a time of much tender feeling; I trust, of that influence which is precious above all things. The office and operation of the Holy Spirit was the subject immediately before us. I had much pleasure in interpreting for my wife. This morning many of them came to bid us a hearty farewell. After a comforting, though short, private week-day meeting, we came to Angers, an interesting old town of 40,000 inhabitants.

Bordeaux, sixth day, 4th mo., 19th, 1844.

Most interesting has been the past week; and, on the whole, productive and satisfactory. I wrote last from Angers. A few scattered Protestants there have not zeal enough even to meet for divine worship, and Popery is dominant. Josiah Forster, in his morning walk, saw a curious specimen of idolatry. He was talking to a shopwoman at the door of her *magazine*, when she suddenly knelt down. A priest was passing by with a box containing the host, which he was carrying to an invalid. "*C'est le bon Dieu*," said she, and our dear friend's argument seemed to have but little effect in convincing her of the contrary.

At Nantes (a large town of about 85,000 inhabitants) we called on the Protestant Pastor Rapolet, whom we found living in a third story. He is apparently pious, intellectual, and interesting; gave us a cordial reception, though we had no introduction to him; and at once promised to lend his "temple" for our meeting, and to give full notice of it to his flock. We agreed to hold it on the following afternoon.

Our Sabbath day was fruitful. Our usual little meeting quiet and comfortable; afterwards a walk on the quay, which is fine, though the recollections of blood hang about this part of the Loire. It was the scene of the *noyards*, those wholesale

murders by drowning, effected by the opening of a trap-door, by strings from the shore, in the boats which had been filled with the unhappy aristocrats, their wives and children. About 6,000 people are said to have been destroyed here in this way, under the orders of Carrière, in 1793; probably the largest horror of the French revolution.

On our return, we received a call from La Veuve Dolsée, a Protestant lady of wealth and influence, much devoted to the cause of religion; at half-past three to the meeting; which, after a discouraging appearance at first, soon became numerous, so that the deep exercise of mind, through which I had been passing, met with a fully corresponding result. I had to dwell on the great contrast between the terrors of the law, and the blessings of the gospel, in Heb. xii. Many seemed affected; especially a French lady, the mother of six children, who ran after us in the street, to ask us whether we should hold any more meetings. In the evening, a number of English, with a few French, resorted to the hotel, and we had a good reading and sitting with them. Books were distributed as usual, and Christian love flowed freely. Rapolet was with us again the next morning, and interested us much; he is a spiritually-minded man, of very delicate health.

Second day, the 15th. Short and easy journey to Bourbon Vendée, a town built in the centre of that district by Napoleon, for the purpose of securing its peaceable conduct. An idle place; erected by the will of man, and not in the order of nature and Providence. A few Protestants, with whom we conversed, seemed dull enough; not so a battalion of soldiers, who were most eager for our little Scripture extracts. These we gave in abundance, and determined applicants they were. I longed to preach the Gospel to them, and to a certain extent was enabled to do so.

The journey to La Rochelle, of about 40 miles, was pleasant and easy. This place, once the stronghold of Protestantism, suffered intensely from the wars of religion, early in the 17th century; the inhabitants being reduced from 30,000 to 17,000. It is now a trading port, and contains a respectable little body of

Protestants, under the care of two ministers—Dalmes, Evangelical; Fau, Socinian. The former is talented and warm-hearted, and we found that he had invited his friends for a *réunion* that evening at his own house. It was a crowded assembly; about one hundred, I should think; very much like our meetings at Stutgard. Much seriousness and attention prevailed. The next morning Dalmes and his interesting wife, with a lady who once lived as French governess with the Wilberforce family, her niece, husband, and another gentleman breakfasted with us. We left our books with them, and parted from them in much love.

On fourth day, the 17th; journey over a flat, marshy country, in sight of the sea; first to Rochefort, on the beautiful Charente, where there is a great naval arsenal and dock; afterwards to Saintes, the little capital of Saintonges, in the midst of a fruitful country, famous for brandy. Our meeting was held at the Hotel de Ville, the "Temple" being under repair; about one hundred persons — one-third Roman Catholics, chiefly gentlemen. It was a deeply interesting occasion. I had felt a particular concern for the place, and spoke with more fluency than ever before, in French, on Isaiah ii. The people were very cordial, both Protestants and Roman Catholics. I had a sad, coughing night afterwards; but a poor preparation for a long day's journey, on fifth day, from Saintes to Bordeaux, about 77 miles; but the road is admirable. We stopped for an early dinner at Blaie, on the Gironde, where the Duchess of Berri was imprisoned after the Revolution of 1830; an old château renewed as a modern fortress. The Dordogne and Garonne unite within sight of Blaie, and form the Gironde. In going from Blaie to Bordeaux, (30 miles,) we passed over the Dordogne, at Cussac, by a new and magnificent suspension bridge; and over the Garonne, by the finest stone bridge in France, on entering Bordeaux. These several rivers are splendid. The Dordogne, at Cussac, truly American; and the Garonne, at Bordeaux, magnificent indeed. We have appointed a public meeting in the Casino for to-morrow afternoon.

We hope to have an anti-slavery meeting in this pro-slavery town, for second day evening; and to move on next

third day to "St." Foy and other places, where meetings may be held on our way to Toulouse. * * *

Mirande, Sixth day night, 4th mo., 26th, 1844.

Here we are on our route for Pau, within a short day's journey of it, and within sight of the snowy, rocky, peaked Pyrenees, to our no small satisfaction and pleasure. My last journal was despatched on seventh day, the 20th, from Bordeaux, and very full of interest has our life been since. After the usual time of suspense, and apparent doubt and difficulty, Bordeaux flourished like a garden of flowers. Our Sabbath there was peculiarly interesting. Our little meeting in the morning was attended by a young friend named Rowntree, at Bordeaux for his health, in evident decline; also by an English family, who had received him as their inmate. It was a time of deep seriousness, and was, I trust, blessed to his soul. In the afternoon we repaired to the Casino, a large room which we had hired for our public meeting, having ventured to advertise it in the journals. We found a large promiscuous assembly ready to receive us. Peculiarly critical, though after much exercise of mind satisfactory and relieving, was the meeting; many Roman Catholics present. I spoke on the prophecies respecting our Saviour, and the fulfilment of them as described in the New Testament; and on the divine authority of the whole Scripture; explaining and enforcing the necessity of a free and diligent perusal of it. Then showing that even this would not do, except we actually come to Christ, of whom the Scriptures testify—"Ye will not come unto me, that ye might have life." The impression made was evidently very considerable.

In the evening, after dinner, Josiah Forster and I repaired to the Protestant "Temple," and in a *salle* adjoining it, met the *pasteur* Maillard and his flock, of about 150, chiefly women. He gave us a good opportunity of addressing them, and they seemed not a little warmed up on the occasion. The pastors here are rather high church; but they gradually melted down, and were all love and unity towards us before we parted. From the "Temple," we went to the house of

La Harpe, a pious gentleman, whose son, the brother of the minister and professor at Geneva, is the pastor of a small Independent congregation. The young man married Dr. Malan's daughter. We found him surrounded by about twenty-five or thirty persons, to whom he was ministering. Here, also, I found an open door for service. On second day morning we had much satisfaction in visiting the Protestant schools; boys and girls; about 100 each; on the British system, and in excellent order. We addressed the children, and left our subscription. We were attended by the Inspector of all the schools of the department, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant, containing 56,000 children; himself a Protestant. Under his care, the New Testament is freely used in all these schools. It must be allowed that the French are doing much in the way of primary schools; the government insisting on them, and the towns, &c., paying for them; and I have not yet seen one which was not in good order. The *measure* of education is also a little above us; at all events, above our Norwich Lancasterian schools.

In the evening, we again repaired to the Casino, to tell the people my West Indian story. We found a large and genteel assembly, in the greatest order, about 400 or 500 people, apparently. Nothing could exceed their willing attention. I was enabled to get through the service comfortably, so as to leave a strong impression against slavery, in this notoriously pro-slavery place; at the same time interweaving a few plain gospel truths for the benefit of the Roman Catholics. Warm and kind feeling seemed to follow this meeting. The *pasteur* Maillard and his daughter, with some others, accompanied us to the hotel. In the morning of third day, the 23rd, we received a call from an enlightened Roman Catholic, who had been at the meeting; and who was very full of information on mendicity, prison-discipline, colonies for the poor, and capital punishment; taking a correct and very philanthropic view of these several subjects. * * *

We were pleased enough, after all the real *baptism* that Bordeaux had cost us, to move out of the place in peace and

safety; and a journey of about thirty-five miles, brought us along a pleasant garden-like country to "St." Foy. In looking back on "St." Foy, I can only say, that the rapid development of our affairs there was marvellous. There is a large Protestant College in the town. The Director Pellis took up our cause, Martin soon joining him, and by eight o'clock in the evening, (we having not arrived until nearly four,) about 500 people were collected; half of them Roman Catholics. It was an excellent meeting; thirsty the soil, abundant the watering graciously permitted. I was led to a full declaration of the blessed gospel, and the congregation was remarkably hushed into silence before and after it. The next morning, after visiting the *Colonie Agricole*, we crossed the beautiful Dordogne in a boat, and saw the normal school for girls, under the care of a lady named Dufruis; it seems a valuable institution. Thence to the college, where we found 100 young Protestants under tuition, from childhood to manhood. We held a favoured meeting with them, the Professors, and Director. I felt much drawn to the young people in the love of the gospel, and had much to say to them on the right method of studying the Scriptures; taking a view of the history, prophecies, doctrine, and precepts. Josiah Forster also addressed them at some length. Afterwards, I took the opportunity, (having the flower of Protestant France before me, for it is, I believe, the only institution of the kind,) to impress them with sound Anti-Slavery principles. Nothing could be more lively than their attention. After a satisfactory visit to a large boys' school, and a luncheon at the inn, we left the town, a crowd of our warm-hearted friends and others surrounding us as we took our leave. Certainly there seems to be an open door for Christian labours of love at "St." Foy, and the population in the surrounding district is said to be in a very awakened state, large numbers being in the practice of reading the Scriptures daily in their families. This remark applies chiefly to the Protestants, who are numerous; but the Roman Catholics are also, many of them, turning in a right direction. A drive of two hours, through a flat, but pleasant and fertile

country, brought us to Berjerac, a town of 6000 or 7000 inhabitants, where there are also many Protestants. The *pasteur* Strigue had appointed the meeting at his own house, where we met about fifty people in the evening. No Friends could have desired a greater degree of outward silence than prevailed among them.

On fifth day we made an earlier start than usual, having appointed a meeting at Nerac for the evening at a distance of about 70 miles. This was a little *de trop*, but we could not very well avoid it, and the road is capital, the country hilly and open; the people eager for tracts.

The two dear simple-hearted pastors were ready to receive us. When we entered the meeting we found hundreds of people, Protestants and Roman Catholics; and a very open time it proved. We were allowed to conduct it in our own way. It was given to me to hold out a full and free invitation to the Saviour, without distinction of nation, name, or class. The next morning the two pastors breakfasted with us, and we had afterwards a very relieving time with them. I was enabled fully to explain to them, in answer to their numerous questions, the Scriptural ground of our distinguishing views. They seemed to be in a teachable spirit, and offered no objection to our remarks, but expressed their cordial satisfaction with the visit. The points before us were the immediate and perceptible guidance of the Spirit, Baptism and the Supper, the Christian Ministry, women's preaching, Friends' discipline, &c. We left the place with easy, happy minds, and after an agreeable journey, passing through the old picturesque town of Auch, arrived at Mirande.

Pau, first day, 4th mo., 28th.

Our journey yesterday from Mirande was very agreeable, the range of the Pyrenees being frequently in view, and magnificently so from the tops of some of the hills. My wife and I rode outside until driven in by a thunder storm. The Hotel de France clean and comfortable, and the place highly interesting and beautiful from its situation. Here is the old

castle where Henry IV. was born; and here, also, the humble dwelling where the wife of a saddler gave birth to Bernadotte, the late king of Sweden; two kings of comparatively good character, who, however, both changed their religion to obtain or keep a throne. The terrace close by the inn commands a splendid view of the range of the Pyrenees, crowned with snow, the *Pic du Midi* being in the middle of the scene. Below the snow mountains, are green wooded hills, and at the foot of these a rich valley, with the Adour running through it. The public walks here are called the Park, delightful indeed for the scenery. Seldom, if ever, have we seen a more lovely spot; and greatly should we enjoy penetrating into the heart of these glorious mountains, and visiting the *Eaux Bonnes*, the *Eaux Chaudes*, &c., &c., but duty calls us in another direction. A meeting in the Protestant temple is appointed for this evening. A good building has been erected for the joint and separate use of French and English, chiefly through the liberality of the Duchess of Gordon. The pastor here is of the Genevese Evangelical School, and very brotherly and friendly. I conceive it quite a favour that we have been brought to this delightful spot, which will not fail to leave a charming picture on our memory.

Now, at the extreme point of our journey, we have to acknowledge that our divine Lord and Master has hitherto dealt most graciously with us, preserving us in body and soul, and opening our way before us. May we all serve, worship, and obey him, as his willing-hearted yoke-bearers, more and more!

CHAPTER XLIII.

1844. ÆT. 56.

JOURNEY IN FRANCE CONTINUED; PAU; TOULOUSE; SAVERDUN; MONTAUBAN; ORLEANS; PARIS; ATTENDANCE OF YEARLY MEETING; VOYAGE TO GUERNSEY; JERSEY; LABOURS THERE; LECTURE ON TOTAL ABSTINENCE; WATER IS BEST; RETURN HOME.

Montauban, 5th mo., 5th, 1844.

I AM glad to have a quiet hour this morning to fetch up my journal after our heart-searching, yet comforting little meeting in our Hotel. We have some important engagements in prospect; a public meeting for worship this evening, a meeting with the students to-morrow at one o'clock, and one on Anti-Slavery and the West Indies to-morrow evening. We hope to start on third day morning for Orleans, trusting that we may arrive there in time for our next Sabbath. Our last, as thou wilt remember, was spent at that loveliest of all the places we have seen in France — Pau.

I think I mentioned our morning walk in the park attached to the old castle, the birth-place of Henry IV., and the exquisite beauty of the scene. Fine woods in the foreground before us, the river Adour winding through extremely green meadows with pretty villages, green wooded hills beyond, and the jagged pyramids of snow in the fine range of the Pyrenees forming the back-ground and framework of the picture. We repeated this walk on second day before our departure, in company with the agreeable minister of the English Church, who breakfasted with us, as did Buscarlet, the French Independent Pastor, and Lebrat, a schoolmaster, who is doing much among a body of Protestants

of old date, in the midst of the Mountains of Ossean. The flock consists of little cultivators and proprietors, who have subscribed largely for the erection of a school-house. We, of course, cheerfully contributed to help those who were thus willing to help themselves.

Our meeting on first day evening was held in the Protestant "Temple," used by both English and French, and was a very favoured one. I have seldom felt a greater relief of mind in the full declaration of the gospel of our Holy Redeemer. First, on the divine character; and secondly, on the ground and nature of the spiritual government of Christ. The unction was graciously permitted to flow for our help in the needful hour; and this was remarkably the case the next morning, in our sitting with our friends.

We left Pau about noon, and passed through a little town where they were holding a cattle and sheep market, (the sheep mostly brown and black, with soft silky wool,) multitudes of the picturesque-looking country people were thronging the place, and intense was their eagerness to obtain our tracts. No sooner had we driven off, than I remembered that had I been more watchful, I might have ascended the back seat or box of the carriage, and addressed them on subjects of vital importance; and I carried along with me for many a mile, the painful feeling of irretrievable omission; but it was want of watchfulness, not of willingness, I believe. It is highly needful to be always alive to the passing calls of duty, on a journey like this.

We again lodged at Mirande, (the road so far being the same as we had travelled in going to Pau,) rose early next morning, and after a long and very tedious journey through a fertile and diversified country, arrived at Toulouse to dinner on third day. Our kind friends, the three brothers Courtois, had prepared accommodation for us at a clean and comfortable abode in a narrow street. Toulouse is composed of such, its 80,000 inhabitants being much crowded, and is rather unusually destitute of outward charms. Frank, Louis, and Armande Courtois, are remarkable men; bankers in good reputation, but devoted, heart and hand, to every good word

and work. They have a book society, which includes 2000 libraries in different parts of France; they publishing the books at Toulouse; all for edification. They have also three Protestant schools (for boys, girls, and infants) under their care, and hold two or three meetings for worship and instruction, every week, in a humble chapel attached to their house; they have been engaged in public controversy with the Bishop of Toulouse, who had foolishly challenged the Protestant versions of Scripture; and lastly have founded the Asylum at Saverdun, for orphan and otherwise destitute Protestant boys, about eighty in number. These truly Christian young men are blessed with Christian wives, and they all live together in one large house, occupying a whole court. They have a pious mother who is English; and their uncles, who reside near them, are of the same mind and purpose as themselves. Thus this family, so well known in the religious world, are the centre of action for all good purposes in the south of France; and are aided by Chabrand, one of the pastors of Toulouse, and by Adolphe Monod and De Félice, two evangelical professors at the university at this place.* It is really a privilege to have made an acquaintance, I might truly say, to have formed a friendship, with such a family. They had appointed a meeting for us in their own chapel for eight o'clock in the evening, which was much crowded, and ended well.

On fourth day we drove to Saverdun, due south, thirty miles; dined with D'Ounous, the President of the Committee of the Orphan Institution; an aged gentleman of piety, formerly member of the Chamber of Deputies for the district, who with his wife, son, and son's wife, received us with warm hospitality; and in the evening we had a crowded and very solemn public meeting in the school-room. One of the poor boys had died of consumption that very morning, which suggested many solemn reflections. The different members of the Committee, the Director and his wife, (excellent people,) and the two Schoolmasters, seemed all glad to receive us. After the

* The letter, it will be observed, is dated at Montauban.

meeting, I told the boys a little about America, and greatly were they interested. It was a time of much divine favour.

On fifth day morning we again visited, and more thoroughly inspected the Institution; and I explained to the boys the Ackworth method of obtaining a knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, which seemed well approved both by them and their teachers, who propose to adopt it. After taking leave of our kind friends, we returned to Toulouse to dinner, and in the evening held a second meeting *chez les Courtois*, no other more public place being obtainable. An expectation having been given that I would address the people on Slavery, I felt most easy, after a good silence, to speak on the more serious parts of that subject, and then was enabled to turn to that great work of Redemption, through our Divine Saviour, of which we all stood in need. Thy dear mother followed me in the same strain, and the meeting ended well. The Courtois were so pressing that we should continue with them the following day, that we thought it best to consent. We accordingly went to breakfast with them, and were favoured with an excellent family sitting afterwards.

Just after we sat down the Abbé Maurette came in, who has lately renounced popery, and is now under prosecution at law as a libeller, for the spirited book which he has since published against the clergy. He is a man of high character, but a little too fiery in some of his expressions. He was urged to leave the country for Canada, but refuses, and determines to take all consequences. He seemed deeply interested by our little meeting; and thy mother's ministry, though she knew not who or what he was, just fitted his case. Thus are we graciously furnished from time to time, with proofs of the truth of that precious doctrine of the immediate guidance of the Holy Spirit, which it is our privilege, as a religious body, (may it be always so,) steadily to maintain. We then visited the three schools, and after a few quiet hours at the hotel returned to the Courtois to dinner. We were met by the *recteur* of the great Academy here, who superintends the education of three whole departments; a liberal Roman Catholic and agreeable man.

In the evening many influential gentlemen and some ladies joined our circle, and at the earnest request of the Courtois, I made them an hour's speech or more on Slavery and the West Indies. They seemed much satisfied and interested; though, for my own part, I was nervous and somewhat confused. Our friends took a most affectionate leave of us yesterday morning, when we were glad to leave that busy scene and close city, and pursue our journey in quiet, (though, for a long way, through a violent thunder storm,) to this much more airy and agreeable place on the banks of the beautiful Tarne, the "Plateaux" in fine weather, commanding a distant view of the Pyrenees. Nothing can be more comfortable than our quarters. It is like having the undisturbed use of a commodious French château, with everything needful at our command; the people of the house simple-hearted and sociable, as well as clean. We soon came into contact with A. Monod, professor of Theology. De Félice, another of the professors, and Marzial, the dear old pastor, who are all thoroughly willing to help us; the two former, men of first-rate talent, as well as decided piety. May we be helped through our weighty engagements by the "MIGHTY ONE" on whom help is laid.

Paris, Hotel Bedford, 5th mo., 14th, 1844.

Here we are once more, just for this single day, preparing for our flight homeward. We have many mercies to recount in the retrospect of the last week or ten days. No place has proved more interesting to us than Montauban. I had long felt a wish to go there, and a drawing of Christian love and interest towards the young men of the university, (all studying for the ministry,) and the professors. Of the latter there are six. Marzial, the evangelical pastor of the town, freely gave up his evening meeting on first day to us. It was held in a large school-room attached to the "Temple," and proved an occasion of much interest; many of the students were there, and I trust that some divine help was graciously afforded, as I endeavoured to develop the doctrines contained in our Lord's words in the last chapter of the Revelation—"Behold I come quickly. I am the *root* and the *offspring* of

David," &c. The dear old pastor, when prayer had been offered, concluded the meeting with a paternal blessing, and we afterwards spent an hour with a company of Christian friends, at Monod's.

The next day was one of peculiar interest. Monod breakfasted with us; and we had afterwards some intimate conversation with him. His duties at the university are very much of a paternal character; and the students seem to gather round him. They were summoned to his house, to meet us, at one o'clock. In the meantime, Josiah Forster and I called on ———, who was very polite, and soon returned our call, but our grounds of unity with him were small, and he declined joining the meeting of young men; which was attended by nearly the whole of them, and our three friendly Professors. I walked with the students in the shady garden, amidst the ceaseless songs of the nightingales, and quite enjoyed myself. We then settled down in a truly quiet, solemn meeting. I had much to say to them, for my mind and heart were full towards them. The danger of adding to the truth, and building on the one foundation with wood, hay, and stubble. The still greater danger of taking away from the truth, and especially of depriving it of its fundamental pillars; the awful punishment of this, the taking away of our names from "the book of life;" the true preparation for the ministry of the gospel, even the baptism of the Holy Ghost, and of fire; and the necessity of a constant dependence on the divine anointing, as the great qualification for the work. Much seriousness and solemnity prevailed.* * * I can hardly describe the relief which I felt when it was over. We had a sitting afterwards with Babut, a brother-in-law of Monod's, living under the same roof, who has long been afflicted by a most painful spinal affection. Then followed visits to an excellent institution for thirty-eight orphan girls; well managed, and extremely clean; also to a Protestant Refuge for destitute old women. A public Anti-slavery meeting, with the approbation of the Mayor, was appointed for the evening. Many hundreds attended it, and there were crowds at the door unable to get in. We had issued a hand-bill on the subject,

with the aid of our friend De Félice, and of a pious, active Protestant gentleman, *Le Notaire* Borell. I spoke with much ease on the subject; comparing the several results of slavery and of emancipation, as I had myself witnessed them, in an economical, physical, moral, and religious point of view. Nothing could exceed the attention of the audience; all the students, or nearly all, were present; and a great many of the respectable citizens, both Roman Catholic and Protestant. De Félice, who is a man of superior powers, both as a writer and speaker, is remarkably alive to this great question, and I hope will become an important helper in the cause. It would have been worth our going to Montauban had it been only to make his acquaintance, and that of A. Monod.

On third day, we had the three Professors, and some Christian friends to breakfast; and parted with them in a flow of hearty good-will, after an interesting time of Scripture reading, silence, and ministry. Books were distributed in abundance, and we left the place at noon, after visiting an excellent establishment for Protestant young ladies, kept by a pious Moravian. So ended our deeply interesting *séjour* at Montauban.*

* The following letter from G. de Félice shows the impression made by Joseph John Gurney's visit to Montauban.

Montauban, le 14 Decembre.

Je m'empresse, chers amis, de vous communiquer, autant que me le permettent des souvenirs déjà éloignés, quelques détails sur le séjour de M. J. J. Gurney à Montauban.

Il arriva dans les premiers jours du mois de Mai, 1844, accompagné de sa respectable épouse et de M. Josiah Forster. Sa haute réputation de piété, de philanthropie, et de libéralité Chrétienne, l'avait précédé dans notre ville, et nous fûmes heureux de faire la connaissance personelle d'un homme qui avait rendu de si éminents services à la sainte cause de la réligion.

M. Gurney s'était proposé deux objets principaux dans son voyage: l'un d'annoncer en toute occasion favorable les grandes vérités de la foi évangélique; l'autre de plaider spécialement la question de l'affranchissement des Noirs dans les Colonies Françaises.

Fidèle à cette double mission, M. Gurney s'empressa d'abord de tenir plusieurs assemblées d'édification. Le Dimanche, 5me Mai,

On their way to Paris, from Montauban, they passed through Brives, Limoges, and Orleans.

"At Brives," writes Joseph John Gurney, "lives la Baronne le Clerc, the sister of Stephen Grellet, a lady-like elderly widow, surrounded by children and grandchildren. She is a Roman Catholic, much devoted, and yet liberal; very refined and pleasing. We called on her before we left the town, on fifth day; and, in a comfortable sitting, were brought to a feeling of sympathy with her. * * *

Limoges is the birth-place of Stephen Grellet; and his elder brother Joseph, also a Friend, who once lived at Nottingham, now resides here with his Roman Catholic wife. They both

il présida à la réunion du soir, qui a lieu dans une salle du temple des Carmes. L'auditoire était nombreux, et l'impression produite par les paroles de cet excellent ami fut profonde. Il y apporta cette admirable simplicité, ce caractère serieux, cette force de pensée et d'expression, qui étaient les traits distinctifs de ses qualités oratoires. Il observa quelques formes particulières à la communion des *Amis*, entre autres les intervalles de *silence* usités dans leur culte; mais ces particularités, loin de choquer l'assemblée, ne servirent qu'à augmenter le recueillement et l'édification générale.

Le lendemain, 6me Mai, eut lieu une autre réunion dans la maison d'un de nos amis. Les étudiants de la Faculté de théologie y avaint été spécialement convoqués, et y étaient fort nombreux. * * *

Outre ces deux assemblées, M. et Madame Gurney nous édifièrent dans des réunions plus intimes, et firent d'abondantes distributions de livres pieux à leurs amis. En résumé, leur séjour à Montauban fut pour nous tous un moyen de réveil et de rafraichissement.

J'arrive au second objet du voyage de M. J. J. Gurney. Dès son arrivée dans notre ville, il s'addressa aux personnes qu'il jugeait les mieux disposées à s'interesser au sort des pauvres esclaves. Déjà d'autres membres de '*l'Anti-Slavery Society*,' notamment M.M. Alexander et Wiffen avaient appellé notre attention sur ce sujet et tenu des réunions particulières pour nous exhorter à travailler en faveur de l'emancipation des Noirs. Mais M. Gurney fit un grand pas de plus; il examina le désir de soutenir cette cause dans une assemblée *publique*.

spent the evening with us, and he came again to an early breakfast. We felt much sympathy with this quiet, worthy man, who is, I trust, (in the midst of darkness and superstition,) preserved steady to his principles. * * *

Our kind friend Duchemin came to us at our Inn, at Orleans, on seventh day evening, and informed us of his arrangement for the Sabbath day's work, then ensuing; fifteen miles into the country, to Villeneuve, in the morning; the meeting appointed at eleven o'clock; an afternoon meeting at Tournon, on our way back, the village where I had before held a meeting; and a third in the evening, at Orleans. I was sufficiently recovered from my cold and fatigue, to meet this arrangement, and thy dear mother

L'exécution d'un tel projet était délicate et difficile; car l'opinion de la plupart des Français n'est pas favorablement disposée pour les Anglais qui viennent leur recommander l'emancipation des esclaves. Il y a des différences de religion, de mœurs, de nationalité, qui sont des barrières presque infranchissables. Mais M. Gurney ne se laissa point décourager, et nous avions pleine confiance dans la manière dont il s'acquitterait de sa tâche. Une salle publique fut donc demandée à M. le Maire de Montauban, et des cartes de convocation furent distribuées dans toute la ville.

L'assemblée eut lieu le Lundi, 6me Mai, à 7 heures du soir, dans le grand salle du Tribunal de Commerce. On y remarquait un grand nombre de Catholiques Romains, et parmi eux plusieurs personnes notables. Ils étaient venus par curiosité autant et peut-être plus que par intérêt pour la principe de l'emancipation.

Il me serait difficile de bien caractériser l'excellent effet que produisit le discours de M. Gurney; à peine avait il prononcé quelques mots que déjà touts les préventions de son auditoire étaient dissipées. Il raconta de la manière la plus simple et la plus émouvante quels avaient été les efforts et les succés des Chrétiennes d'Angleterre pour l'abolition de l'esclavage. Il parla de ce qu'il avait vu lui-même dans la Jamaïque et les autres isles Anglaises. Il montra l'homme de race noire délivré enfin du poids de ses chaines, instruit dans la religion de Dieu-Sauveur; s'accoutumant à la practique des devoirs domestiques et civils, devenu digne de la liberté par la liberté même, et s'élévant rapidement au niveau de la civilization moderne. Soir, M. Gurney addressa de pressantes

went through the whole of it with me, as well as Josiah Forster. We found a crowd of clean, simple-hearted villagers, already gathered in their meeting house, on our arrival at Villeneuve; a village among the vineyards; the men in nice blue frocks; *vignerons*, and little proprietors; the women, equally neat, in their white caps, &c. It was a satisfactory occasion, much interest and feeling being evinced by many; and evident marks of the spreading of that leaven which can alone purify the lump.

We afterwards dined at a clean little inn, where we fell in with a light-hearted young medical man, who had been educated for a priest, but had, through his travels, changed his profession, and now openly avows himself to be *un théiste*.

exhortations à ses auditeurs pour les engager à réclamer sans retard l'emancipation dans les Colonies Françaises.

Tout son discours était plein d'intérêt, de justesse, de mesure, et même *d'esprit* dans le meilleur sens du mot. Les auditeurs, en se retirant, temoignaient tous de la vive satisfaction qu'ils en avaient éprouvée.

J'ai sous les yeux le No. du *Courier de Varn et Garonne*, du 9me Mai, 1844, qui rend compte de cette mémorable séance. Il loue beaucoup *la manière franche, naïve, positive*, de l'orateur Anglais, (ce sont ses propres termes,) et plaide lui-même avec chaleur la cause des esclaves.

Un autre fait prouve combien l'impression de cette séance fut durable, car, quelques mois après, *la Société des Sciences et Belles Lettres* de Montauban proposa pour le concours du prix de poésie *l'Abolition de l'Esclavage*. Depuis lors, les petitions pour l'affranchissement des Noirs ont obtenu à Montauban de nombreuses signatures.

Voilà l'œuvre d'un courageux serviteur de Christ, et d'un philanthrope dévoué dans notre contrée. Elle ne s'effacera jamais de nos souvenirs.

M. Gurney parla aussi de ce sujet à ses amis dans des entretiens plus particuliers. Il réveilla notre zèle, excita notre sympathie, et nous donna de précieuses informations sur la cause des esclaves. C'est lui qui à provoqué la composition d'une brochure qui fut publié en 1846, dans laquelle l'auteur a soutenu le principe de *l'emancipation immédiate et complète*.

G. De Felice

We had a good deal of conversation with him. I begged him carefully to read the New Testament; explained to him in what way it bears its own evidence of Divine authority; and this being granted, it is nothing more than *la vraie philosophie*, to accept all its contents in simple faith. Duchemin had a pocket Testament with him, which he gave him; and we left him a little softened, after receiving his promise that he would read it. He interested us a good deal; may the interview have been blessed to him! How good it is to observe and to profit by the little daily intersections of Providence!

Our afternoon meeting at Tournon was comfortable. I spoke on Rev. vii, in the belief that some good Christians from those parts had been gathered to the glorious company therein mentioned. This was afterwards publicly confirmed by Duchemin, who stated, that two pious couples belonging to his congregation there, had lately died; in each case, the husband and wife within two or three days of each other.

We found time at Orleans for a cup of coffee and a little rest, before the evening meeting at eight o'clock. Notwithstanding the pouring rain, it was very fairly attended. Baptism, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, was the subject on which I felt bound to speak; openly giving the spiritual view of Baptism, and at the same time unfolding the whole comprehensive bearing of the Christian faith. It was a very solemn time. Fain would we have accompanied Josiah Forster to Paris next morning, or followed him by the next train, especially as he and I had by letter offered to spend half an hour with Guizot, in the evening; but a meeting was appointed for us at Neuville; fifteen or eighteen miles from Orleans, in an opposite direction from Villeneuve, for second day, at one or two o'clock; and neither my wife nor myself felt easy to omit attending it. So we gave up the day in faith, and it was well we did so. Long and tiring was our drive to the village of Neuville, over sad roads. The chapel bell began to ring as soon as our carriage came in sight. Crowds of contented, clean, happy-looking country people were engaged in the weekly market, which abounded with provisions. Want seems unknown among them; the land

being productive of corn of various kinds, and saffron, which is raised in great quantities. We secured a cup of coffee, and a rough piece of bread and butter, before we entered the new-built "temple." When we did enter, we found it crowded with the country people, Roman Catholics as well as Protestants, and thankful we are that we had not turned away from this part of our pilgrimage. There was much of heavenly goodness to be felt in the meeting. I spoke on the new birth unto righteousness, illustrating it by the Gospel history of the resurrection of Lazarus; thy mother followed, Duchemin interpreting for her. I had afterwards a few sentences for a group of people in the market-place, and we returned home in peace by another road through the forest of Orleans, and passing by a fine château and estate belonging to the Duc de Broglie. Our late dinner at the hotel was succeeded by one more effort; a large Anti-Slavery company at Duchemin's at eight o'clock. I told them my West Indian story; and we ended with a truly solemn meeting, thy mother addressing them, on the slavery of the soul, and its true remedies. I had afterwards to kneel in fervent prayer; Duchemin added a few words of brotherly gratitude and kindness at the close of the opportunity. So ended, in much solemnity, our religious services in France.

On third day morning we were in the railway carriage by seven o'clock, and arrived safely in Paris at eleven. We were glad to see Josiah Forster again, and soon found that nothing had suffered by our not being there the day before, as he had been unable to make any arrangement with Guizot. Moreover, we found that, had we come the day before, the hotels were so crowded we could not have been taken in anywhere. How good it is to walk by faith!

Finding that Guizot received company that evening, I went to his house at eight o'clock; and, before the crowd assembled, secured a little conversation with him. I was much pleased to find that, in a late debate, occasioned by a petition from the *Ouvriers de Paris* for the abolition of slavery, he had openly declared, that to abolish it is the intention of Govern-

ment, and that the *premier pas* should be taken without delay. He told us, before we left Paris, what it was to be; small enough certainly; but such as it is, (amounting only to a few preparatory ameliorations,) it was introduced by the Minister of Marine, in the House of Peers, the very day of my visit to Guizot. I am satisfied that nothing effectual will be done until public opinion is stirred up; and stirred up it is, in some degree, already. I expressed to Guizot, before we parted, my earnest desire that he might be enabled to persevere in the path of *Christian* duty. He received it very kindly, and took an affectionate leave of me.

Returning to England by way of Dover, they arrived in London in time to attend the Yearly Meeting; after which they proceeded at once to the Channel Islands. Having arrived at Guernsey, Joseph John Gurney wrote

TO HIS DAUGHTER.

Guernsey, 6th mo., 8th, 1844.

* * * Our dear friend William Forster kindly accompanied us to Southampton last third day, and we embarked in the Atlantic steamer under happy auspices; though the wind was ahead, the great waters were on the whole smoother than usual. The voyage down the Southampton water, and under the shore of the Isle of Wight, as far as the Needles, is highly beautiful. After passing them, we came to the open sea, and scudded along quietly during the night; until, at dawn the next day, I found we were passing by the Caskets, a row of dangerous but picturesque rocks, with Alderney in sight at our left, and Guernsey itself visible ahead at a great distance. This part of the channel is very full of rocks, and the navigation in hazy weather is difficult and dangerous; but at seven o'clock we were under the brow of Guernsey Castle, which is built on an island rock near the shore, and a boat soon brought us safely to land. The appearance of the green hills of Guernsey, surmounting the picturesque town called "St." Peter's Port, is

very inviting as one approaches the island, and reminded me of some West Indian scenes long since admired. The small islands of Herms and Jethou were seen to the left hand as we approached Guernsey; with the high land of Sark in the same direction, but farther in the distance. We were well pleased to land, unhurt, and almost undisturbed by our voyage, and found very comfortable quarters at Marshall's hotel near the pier. A friend, named George Letissier, met us at the landing, and conducted us to our abode. Charles Dudley and Wilks, the editor of the Christian Observer, arrived this morning as representatives of the Bible Society; and I have been dining with them to-day, very agreeably, at Thomas Lihon's. * * * It was a satisfaction to me, that the way opened for my holding a Friends' Meeting, in the large Methodist meeting-house on the evening of our arrival. The meeting was well attended, and was remarkable for quietness and solemnity. I returned home refreshed and comforted. Notice was given at the close of the meeting, of a second, to be held at the French Methodist meeting-house, the next evening. Fifth day, like its precursor, proved satisfactory. We had a good week-day meeting with Friends in the morning; small and poor as their flock certainly is. In the evening I repaired to the French chapel, a good deal laden with religious exercise. Many hundreds came to the meeting. The doctrines of the gospel were freely declared, and speaking in French was once more made easy, and even pleasant to me. I am, I trust, thankful for this facility, which is almost as useful in these islands as in France itself.

Jersey, Fourth day morning, 6th mo., 12th.

Sixth day in last week was spent very agreeably. In the morning we took a long drive, with our friend William Stephens as a guide, and greatly were we pleased with it. Some of the rocky bays are highly pretty and picturesque; and one of them, the Gouffre, almost amounting to the sublime. The country itself is under close cultivation, and the land, though not first-rate in appearance, is more productive than

in most parts of England; a good deal of small timber, and pretty neat residences everywhere interspersed. The island is divided into ten parishes, each having its steeple; the little villages very picturesque and pleasing. The farms are small, and occupied chiefly by little thriving proprietors; nothing can exceed the comfortable look of the peasantry; no begging, and I should think but very little poverty. Guernsey and Jersey are a fief of the Crown, being the relic of the old Norman possessions of William the Conqueror; they have no taxes there, except a very moderate property-tax, raised for home purposes, and all things desirable are freely imported from France, &c. This is a great privilege; so that living in these islands is cheap, and in some respects luxurious. I made many rough sketches of the scenery; and, after dinner and an early tea, we went to a village two or three miles from the town, called "St." Martin's, where I had appointed a public meeting for the French-speaking country people, in the meeting-house, for the evening. The congregation was large, and decent in appearance, as well as attentive and well-behaved. I was enabled to speak plainly on the concluding verses of 1 Peter iii — "The baptism which now saveth us," and great was the attention and quietness which prevailed.

Seventh day was spent in family visiting. The little scattered flock of Friends is worth visiting; there is life to be found in it, and some hope for the future. Our Sabbath was one of much interest and divine favour. We had a searching morning meeting with the Friends and others. Dinner with the Stephens family, who were full of hospitality, and engaged our feelings of sincere regard and friendship. I afterwards went with some friends to "Le Valle," a country district, about three miles, where a large assembly of the agreeable and respectable-looking peasantry were awaiting our arrival. We were favoured with a good meeting. The people seemed highly pleased at being addressed in their own language, and were very warm and affectionate. In the evening we had a large crowded meeting in the Independent Meeting-house, and a truly flowing time

it was. Thus we had, at the close of the day, much feeling of peace, and cause for thankfulness.

Second day, more family visits. In the evening, though suffering intensely from toothache, I persevered in going to the Bible Meeting, a very large one indeed, where I spoke freely and fully; I hope not in vain. I had to show, from West Indian experience, the connexion between the free dissemination of Scripture and the just liberties of mankind; and afterwards gave a pretty full account of the Continent, Silesia—France—Belgium. It was a good time, though I was in great pain; yet we were able to prosecute our labours the next day. In the evening we held our concluding meeting in the Assembly Rooms; well attended by many of the principal inhabitants. It was an occasion of much sweetness and solemnity, a crown to the whole visit; leaving us without a feather's weight, ready for our departure next morning. I had to show how Christ is made unto us, wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and, all included in the last,—*redemption*. There was peculiar solemnity in the silence. As the sun broke through our windows the next morning, we were roused from our slumbers about half-past four o'clock, and were on board the Atalanta soon after six. Save a ground-swell, the sea was smooth; and very beautiful was the view of Guernsey on leaving it, of Sark in passing, and of Jersey on our approach. * * *

Fourth day morning; we found good quarters at the British Hotel. After making some meeting arrangements, we drove out to the Prince's Tower, about two miles from the town, which is itself large, stirring, commercially thriving, with nearly 30,000 inhabitants, but not very agreeable. The country is verdant and woody, intersected by shady lanes; the land much divided and well cultivated. The view from the tower, of the great expanse below, with the bright blue sea around it, and a picturesque coast, with a castle here and there, and many pretty little country residences, all which we saw under a bright sun, has left a charming picture on our minds.

In the evening, the little week-day meeting of Friends; three families; and a good time afterwards with a congregation of Methodists.

Earlham, 6th mo., 28th, 1844.

My Dearest Anna,

It is an inexpressible favour that I am able to continue the thread of my Journal in thy own peaceful "little parlour," with my window open on the garden, in its most flowery trim, and all, within and without, quietness and peace. Surely this is a happy termination of our long continued wanderings!

I wrote my last Journal on the day of our arrival at Jersey; just after we had taken a survey of that delightsome island, with its bowery lanes and bright green little fields and orchards, with the fine rocky coast, deep blue sea, and old castles, from the top of Prince's Tower. That was fourth day, the twelfth, more than a fortnight ago; but the flow of engagements since has left no room for journalizing.

That evening we attended the little week-day meeting of the few scattered Friends, held in a pleasant cottage in a garden of roses; and though the flock is very small, we had a time of some refreshment, as well as searching of heart. After our meeting was over, I went with a Friend to the Methodist meeting, with the leave of the minister and his friends; patiently heard a rapid sermon, of a lively character; and then held a solemn little meeting, with no very large number there assembled.

The next evening a much larger meeting was held with the French-speaking Methodists, in another house; which was a time of peculiar weight, and very relieving to my own feelings. Perhaps it might be regarded as the best French meeting I have ever held. We received a kind call that morning from General Touzel; and the friends of the Bible Society called to solicit my aid at their approaching meeting. On sixth day I attended that meeting, which was spirited and interesting; and spoke with ease to myself, and I hope for some good purpose. I came home in time to take a walk on the shore of the beautiful bay of "St." Aubin's; on one side of which stands the prosperous and increasing town, "St." Heliers, now containing nearly 30,000 inhabitants, and a very considerable port in point of commerce, shipping, &c.

Seventh day was agreeable and interesting; General Touzel

called in his little open carriage, and conveyed us to his beautiful little residence, on a green wood-clad eminence, surveying the town and bay, studiously cultivated, and full of charm. After breakfast we had a comforting Scripture reading. Then the General took us a delightful drive of several hours, as far as Goree, and the fine old castle on an eminence above the rocky shore of Mont Orgueil. The scenery is quite charming; and the little properties of the numerous petty land-owners appeared flourishing with corn, fig-trees, apple-trees, and fine crops of potatoes and clover—all green and luxuriant, notwithstanding the long drought. Near the castle is an old Druidical temple, composed of large granite stones, upright, in juxtaposition, in the form of a circle, with a vast incumbent stone for the roof. How the last was raised, and placed on the top of the others without machinery, who shall say?

We returned to the General's to dinner; and having observed that morning a placard about the streets, indicating that "J. J. Gurney was to deliver a Temperance Lecture that evening, at the Temperance Hall," which was put forth without my knowledge, and only in consequence of my saying I was willing to attend and help, we were under the necessity of redeeming the pledge. They have a hall which holds some 300 or 400 people, or probably more. It was filled, and really we felt much peace and satisfaction in the effort. I *did* lecture to a very attentive audience, endeavouring to place the subject on a clear, moderate, Christian ground. They have 1,500 members in Jersey, which is an excellent thing, as spirits are imported at a very cheap rate from France; and brandy and water is the general beverage of male and female, to the great injury of the population.

Such was the origin of the well-known little tract entitled Water is Best, which has been since widely circulated. Joseph John Gurney thus continues:—

Then followed our Sabbath; a very close, searching, exercising meeting in the morning with a little flock of Friends

and a few others; and family sittings in the afternoon. In the evening we had a large meeting in the English Independent Meeting-house, in which I had to dwell on the subject of the Kingdom of Christ, as unfolded in Scripture. It certainly was not a Jewish, millenarian view, which is somewhat rife in Jersey, through the exertions of a little band of Plymouth brethren. I believe it was a solid, satisfactory meeting.

On second day in last week, we visited the infant school, prison, and hospital, or rather workhouse, and held satisfactory meetings in the two latter, our friend Wilks being our companion. We afterwards dined at Colonel Le Couteur's, "St." Aubin's, another exquisitely beautiful spot, commanding a delightful view of the bay. The Colonel is Vicomte of the Island, a crown officer of importance. He was absent, but his wife and aged mother entertained us, Dudley, and Wilks, most kindly.

In the evening we attended the Bible meeting at "St." Aubin's, and very lively, large, and apparently effective was the meeting. The following day was one of considerable interest and charm. We traversed the beautiful island in an open carriage, till we came to *Greve de Lecq*, on the opposite coast, where there are an exquisite bay, vast granite rocks, marine caves, and other picturesque objects, with a neat little hotel. Here we wandered by ourselves among the hills, and on the shore; and, after an early dinner, called on an old man connected with Friends, living in one of the true Jersey cottages; a dark place, with walls of great thickness, but clean, and replete with all the necessaries of life. The veteran of about ninety years old, looked something like an old Jacob or Abraham; with a fine beard, clean, and innocent as a child; and much pleased to see us, but so deaf that no words could be made to penetrate. We then proceeded to a large Methodist chapel at "St." Ouen's, about the centre of the island, whither crowds of country people were seen flocking, and when we took our seats, the house soon became very full. It was a French meeting, and I hope it was not in vain that I was led to dwell on the several points of our

Lord's conversation with the woman of Samaria. The attention of the people, who were as respectable, and as decent in appearance and demeanour, as those in Guernsey, was very great. It was late at night before we again found ourselves at our hotel, in "St." Heliers. On fourth day we breakfasted with the widow of Thomas Dumaresq, in the country; a pious, feeling, affectionate lady; and we met two or three willing-hearted friends at her house. There is, in Jersey, a remarkably open door for all such labours of love. We afterwards finished our family visits. In the evening we had a noble public meeting in a vast room at the Arsenal, usually employed for drilling soldiers; quite full, and truly favoured with that cementing and quieting influence which we most value. The gospel was, I trust, fully preached to that large, mixed assembly.

We intended to leave the next morning, but the stormy winds, dark clouds, and rain, clearly forbad. And it was well we stayed, for it gave us the opportunity of holding a highly satisfactory and animating anti-slavery meeting in the evening, at the Temperance Hall; in which I told my story of slavery on the one hand, and liberty on the other. Such a meeting was greatly wanted; as the whole population of these islands, about 80,000, is now using slave-grown sugar, chiefly from Porto Rico, which I know to be a land of deep abominations. Great feeling was excited, and a committee formed. Thus ended our work. The next day (sixth day, the 21st) we went on board the Transit, Captain Goodridge; and after twenty-one hours of steaming in quiet weather, but with the tossing of a ground swell, reached Southampton on seventh day morning, in time for breakfast; tired, but thankful, I trust, to be once more, and that comparatively for a permanence, in our own beloved and happy land.

CHAPTER XLIV.

1844. ÆT. 56—57.

EXTRACTS FROM JOURNAL; ILLNESS OF HIS SISTER ELIZABETH FRY; LETTERS TO HER; LETTER TO A FRIEND; ILLNESS OF SIR T. F. BUXTON, AND LETTER TO HIM.

Earlham, dear old Earlham, 7th mo., 2nd, 1844. A great favour, surely, to be writing my journal here once more, in peace of mind, as well as fair bodily health.

The sudden death of dear William Backhouse, so soon after being liberated by the Yearly Meeting for his mission to Norway; and the subsequent total wreck, with all on board, of the steamer from Hull to Hamburgh, in which their places had been engaged, have filled us with serious feelings, and a mixture of grief, wonder, and thankfulness. What can we say, what ought we to say, under such circumstances, but "Thy will, and not ours, be done?"

I may gratefully confess, that, notwithstanding a great degree of mental poverty, with the heartfelt acknowledgment that unto me belong shame and blushing, we are favoured with sweet tranquillity and peace on our return home. Earlham is lovely; greener than we might have expected after the long drought, and clad in flowers; an earthly paradise for one who knows that he deserves none of its comforts, and who feels in some degree willing to resign any or all of them, should it be the Lord's will.

7th mo., 8th. I have been comparing myself to a vessel just returned from a voyage, and sent into dock to be thoroughly cleansed and re-fitted; a work of which, as I am very sensible, I stand much in need. May I abide in patience under the holy hand of Him who can alone truly qualify for

his own service! My lips have been sealed in the last four of our meetings, not without a feeling of quietness and peace to myself. I heartily desire to be preserved from giving to others that which is given me only for my own edification. In the meantime, I am ready to hope that our meeting is improving in weight; and not running down in point of numbers.

The subject of the City Mission has been closely before me; and on looking calmly at the system of its operations, I have felt best satisfied, on the ground of our testimony to the freedom and spirituality of the ministry of the gospel, to decline subscribing to it. I strongly feel the desirableness of maintaining a thorough consistency as a Friend; nor does this course contract our hearts towards our fellow Christians; rather does it leave us at liberty to rejoice in the blessing which rests on their conscientious efforts, even those in which we cannot partake. Yet here faithfulness is not without suffering, both from within and from without. In the meantime, our own lawful territory is spacious. May we be enabled to occupy it with all diligence, and in the fear of the Lord!

This day is appointed for the funeral of our truly beloved and esteemed friend, Elizabeth Fry, of Plashet Cottage,* who died in peace early last week. The loss of the Church, in her removal, is far from inconsiderable, but for her, as we fully believe, it is all gain. The Lord grant, reverently be it spoken, that covetousness, worldliness, and selfishness, may never cheat us out of our portion in the everlasting riches which are in Christ!

His sister Elizabeth Fry's enfeebled state of health, and the remarkable series of bereavements which took place at this period in her family circle,†

* The sister of Joseph Fry. It will be recollected that she accompanied Joseph John Gurney and his sister in their visit to Ireland.

† See Memoir of the Life of Elizabeth Fry, by her daughters, vol. ii, 445—448. Life by S. Corder, chap. xii.

could not fail to excite Joseph John Gurney's very tender sympathy. The following is one of his letters to her at this time:—

Norwich, 7th mo., 11th, 1844.

My dearest Sister,

Though I do not like troubling thee to read letters now thou art so poorly, yet I wish to express my very tender sympathy, and that of my beloved wife, with thee, under the bereavements with which thou and thy family have been lately afflicted.

Dear Elizabeth Fry was at once dearly loved and highly esteemed by many; and by few more than myself; but how sweet is it to be fully assured that she rests in Jesus; that all to her is now rest, peace, joy, and glory! How satisfactory is the recollection of her consistent conduct, and faithful, evangelical ministry, so practical, and to the point on all occasions! And how quietly and firmly was she fixed on Christ, the Rock of Ages; who, in the midst of all our changes and sorrows, is the "same yesterday, to-day, and for ever!"

I can easily understand the depression which such an event must have occasioned thee, my dearest sister; but I hope thou wilt be of good cheer; and that the bright side of the picture will be increasingly pleasant in thy view, and present to thy soul. That thou mayest be strengthened and comforted of the Lord, and preserved in perfect peace and safety, is the ardent desire, and I trust, at times, the heartfelt prayer, of thy ever-loving brother,

J. J. Gurney.

7th mo., 23rd. Continually do I bear my precious sister on my mind. How remarkable is the long-continued pressure of affliction upon her! It seems as if she could not rise out of it as in days of old; and the consideration of her enfeebled state, is often very affecting to my feelings. And yet there is so much of sweetness and unbroken peace permitted her, and given to all of us respecting her, that mourning would be unseemly.

8th mo., 5th. I rose early, and have been roaming over

this sweet earthly paradise, for almost such does it appear this lovely morning; the sky is clear; the air fresh; the grass sparkling with dew; the flowers radiant. Well may we be called upon to render to the Lord, "the calves of our lips;" or may I not rather say, the "melody of our hearts."

How delightful have the Scriptures been to me of late seasons! I have been struck with the *truthiness* which is so evident in their apparent contradictions. These are generally capable of being easily reconciled; but they do indeed mark the genuineness and authenticity of the whole.

TO HIS SISTER ELIZABETH FRY.

Norwich, 9th mo., 24th, 1844.

MY TENDERLY BELOVED SISTER,

In the uncertainty about your dear C——, I have been almost unable to write to thee, but now that anxiety respecting him seems to be somewhat lessened, I hasten to express the deep interest which we have felt in thy returning to Upton, and the comfort which we had in hearing that the stormy waves which have been permitted to beat against thee have not overwhelmed thee; though I am sure they must have been very afflicting and appalling.

It is evident that thy dear Master has been eminently with thee, anointing and re-anointing thee for his service, and lifting up thy head above the waters. Thou canst indeed set thy seal to the declaration that "the Lord on high is mightier than the noise of many waters, yea, than the mighty waves of the sea."

Remarkable have been the dispensations allotted of late to the family circle; requiring on all our parts *deep resignation* of soul, in the full assurance that our Father in heaven doeth all things *well*. In our solemn meeting, last first day afternoon, I was led (I may say *constrained*) to quote the poet Coleridge's last lines. How beautiful and expressive they are! As they may afford thee some comfort, I will here quote them once more:—

"An heir of heaven, henceforth I fear not death;
In Christ I live; in Christ I draw the breath
Of the true life. Let earth, sea, sky,
Make war against me. On my breast I show
Their mighty Maker's seal. They vainly try
To end my life, who can but end its woe.
Is that a death-bed where the Christian lies?
Yes, but not *his*—'T is death itself there dies."

What peculiar peace there is in the recollection that all the five beloved ones, younger and elder, who have lately been taken, were, as we may humbly yet fully believe, "*heirs of heaven*," so that we have nothing to do but to *rejoice* on their account!

With regard to those who are left behind, we may rest assured that one thing is certain, "*The Lord will provide.*" That He will richly supply all thy need, my dearest sister, I cannot for a moment doubt. Mayest thou be enabled quietly and joyfully to trust in Him!

9th mo., 8th. ———— and his wife, and sweet children, dined and lodged here on sixth day, and left us next morning. I had some interesting conversation with him on the subject of our Lord's second coming in glory; which he thinks will be, first, to reign on earth, and next to judge the world. I think this view of unfulfilled prophecy, and expectation of the personal reign of Christ, is fraught with many dangers; as I plainly told him. It diverts the attention, first, from Christ crucified, and secondly, from the spiritual, unseen, but actual, and all-important government of Christ, by his Spirit; and it aims a blow at the root of our exertions for the spread of the gospel. I think I have marked these effects in some. It appears to me, that the second visible coming of Christ, so often declared in the New Testament, as to be matter rather of doctrine, than prophecy, is emphatically and solely for the final judgment of mankind. In the meantime his reign is altogether spiritual; and happy are they who submit to it now, and know it to be established in and over their own hearts.

9th mo., 15*th*. I am greatly pleased with Dr. Arnold's Life and Letters. His mind was large, broad, and clear. His notion of the required identity of State and Church, appears to me to amount to nothing more than the truth which William Penn fully allowed, and acted on; namely, that national Christian governments ought to be conducted by true Christians, and on truly Christian principles. Dr. Arnold would, perhaps, go a step further, and consider it one duty of a government so acting, to provide the means and opportunity for divine worship to the whole population; but then he would do this on a comprehensive plan, opening the appointed place of worship to all orthodox sects. He was evidently an ardent lover of Christ.

9th mo., 21*st*. Much engaged in the course of this week in reading the wondrous report of the Bible Society, and in preparing our own Auxiliary Report, which I read to the Committee last evening. It is truly a satisfaction and consolation to know that such vast efforts are in progress in so many different parts of the world. May the Lord bless and prosper the work! * * *

9th mo., 29*th*. We have passed an interesting week. On third day evening the Temperance tea-drinking; many respectable people there, about 1000. I took the chair at the meeting, and was enabled to speak with some comfort to myself; recommending charity, and adverting to the power of the mind over the body, and of grace over both. Then followed our Quarterly Meeting. In the meeting of ministers and elders on fourth day evening, I had a few sentences for the consolation of the solitary, the weary, and the sorrowful. The meeting on fifth day morning was rather large, and a good time on the whole. I spoke at some length in the early part of the meeting, on the Christian's weapons: Truth in its *fulness*, producing in the mind the fear of God, and the love of the Father and the Son; forbearance, charity, exemplary conduct, faith; all to be used in the warfare of the Lamb. I was particularly led to the subject of love and charity.

I feel some encouragement in the apprehension that the

silence of our meetings is increasingly deep and solemn. May the Lord of *life* be with us for his mercy and his truth's sake!

Fourth day morning. This is the day of the Bible Society [meeting]. May the Sun of Righteousness graciously break forth upon us, with both healing and cheering on his wings! Never was this great cause more worthy of support, or more deeply important, than at the present time.

10*th mo.*, 21*st.* To-day the third anniversary of our happy wedding day. A crowd of reflections rushes in on the retrospect of these three years. Our first happy few months, bright and glowing, but with its needful mixture of trial. Our journey to the West of England in the spring of 1842; my illness during the latter part of the spring and summer; public meetings in Norfolk and Suffolk, &c.; remarkable journey to the north on the death of Jonathan Backhouse; the publication of my little work on the Papal and Hierarchical system; our long journey in France, Switzerland, &c., in the spring and summer of 1843; return home in the 9th month; six months at home, including our dearest Anna's marriage, and our journeys to London and Darlington; finishing and publishing of Habit and Discipline; second journey in France in the spring of this year; visit to the Channel Islands; peaceful four months at home; the dark Upton cloud now mercifully dispersed. Such is a brief recapitulation of our outward story. The interior claims on my part two things. First, deep humiliation before the Lord; secondly, humble gratitude for all his preservation and mercy; for the continued privilege of our being engaged in his service; for the recovery of my health in a great degree; for the unspeakably precious gift of such a partner, counsellor, and supporter in life, as my dearest wife. May it please the Lord more and more to deepen and enlarge that blessed spiritual union between us, which is destined, as we humbly and reverently hope, to endure for ever!

In a letter to a Friend, also in the station of minister, written at this period, Joseph John Gurney

freely expresses himself on several points of considerable practical interest and importance. Referring to the commonly adopted application of the term Word of God to the Holy Scriptures, he says: —

I am sure thou art aware that my objection to such an use of the term is not grounded on any want of faith in the grand and highly important truth, that "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God;" a truth to which no religious body has borne a clearer or more decided testimony than the Society of Friends. In these days of popery and semi-popery, we had need to be faithful in upholding this testimony, and in asserting the *essential difference*, in point of authority, between the sacred books of the Old and New Testament, and all the traditions of men, whether written, or only handed down by word of mouth.

But I object to the common technical use of the term "the Word of God," as the name or title of the Bible, because such a use of that name has the effect of excluding, or, at least, *appearing to exclude*, all other communications to mankind. Now it is my firm conviction that God speaks to men, that is, makes manifest his will, by the immediate influence of his Holy Spirit; and that, as the *Word of the Lord* came immediately to the prophets in the days of old, so it still comes immediately to the soul of the Christian, to direct his services, and to lead him in the path of his duty; the written words of the Lord in Scripture being at all times a test and safeguard, because we are sure that nothing which contravenes them can possibly be "of the Lord." I also think that this use of the term excludes the preaching of the Gospel, which, in primitive times, was often called the "Word of God," and which might still be called so, were it more immediately under the influence and guidance of the Holy Spirit. Above all, however, the habitual application of this name or title to the Scriptures, and to the Scriptures alone, seems to me to have a strong tendency to substitute them, as an object of reverence, for the Saviour, who is himself emphatically and preëminently

by title, character, and indefeasible right, the Word, the Word of God, the one Mediator, through whom God creates, redeems, and *illuminates* the children of men. Thus I would refrain from calling the Scriptures the Word of God, as an emphatic and exclusive title, just as I would from denominating them the Bread of Life; for, although they testify of those truths which nourish and feed the soul, we must not forget that Christ Himself, and Christ alone, is "*the Bread of Life.*"

Another term or phrase which I do not greatly approve or like, as I sometimes find it applied, is "Christ's *finished* work." True, indeed, it is, that when our blessed Saviour was about to expire, he cried out, "It is finished." The one all-sufficient propitiatory sacrifice was then offered, and was on the very point of being completed, so that thenceforth there was to be no more sacrifice for sin. But the use often made of this expression seems to me calculated to convey the idea that the whole work and office of Christ was then finished; whereas the vast process of his resurrection, ascension, and advocacy with the Father, and spiritual reign and government—the whole forming a very large proportion of the Messiah's work—was yet to be accomplished. More especially his baptizing, sanctifying work, through the immediate influences of his Spirit, is yet *unfinished*, in the church at large, and in us individually. I think it requires care not to use the expression in question so as to have such a bearing, and so as to convey the idea that we can attain to the heavenly inheritance in virtue of the one availing sacrifice for sin, (a sacrifice which is indeed for ever finished,) without the experience of that cleansing operation of Christ's Spirit, by which alone the soul is sanctified and prepared for the joys and services of a better and holier world.

In general, I would observe that this needful process of sanctification, and the doctrine of the guidance and government of the Holy Spirit, is a branch of divine truth, which, in the mind of the Christian, ought to be held in even balances with the blessed truth, that Christ is the propitiation for our sins; and that his perfect righteousness is imputed to those who livingly believe in him; so that, with reference to their

past transgressions, they are, in the fulness and freeness of the mercy of God, dealt with *as if they had never sinned.* The warmest and most reverential reception of this fundamental truth does not, as I think, in the least degree, interfere with the Christian's equally deep sense of the necessity of that inward work which the Saviour has graciously *begun* in our souls, but which, as we must with all humiliation acknowledge, He has not yet FINISHED.

I had a mind to make these remarks to thee, my dear friend, in the apprehension, however, that if there is any difference between us therein, it lies not in sentiment so much as in *mode of statement.* Yet, clearly as I see the point in question, and most painfully as I sometimes feel my own deficiencies, and surviving *seeds* and *roots* of *evil*, I rather shrink from the confusion which may sometimes be observed in the confessions respecting themselves, and in the addresses to their brethren, of evangelical teachers. I mean the confusion between an unfinished state of sanctification in truly converted people, and the actual sinful condition of the unregenerate.

In point of fact, I think the testimony which was borne by our early Friends, against the notion of "Sin for term of life," was thoroughly sound in principle; and that it requires a very reverent caution on our parts, lest, in the vivid sense which is sometimes given us of the lingering corruptions of our depraved hearts, we should convey to others the monstrous idea, that true Christians must and do go on sinning, even until death shall for ever terminate their appointed course of trial and probation. Certainly I have no liking for the raw and unseemly statements of the doctrine of perfection, which sometimes fall from the lips of persons who are very far from exemplifying their own sentiments. Yet I think it is our duty, unflinchingly to uphold the practical standard — even the standard of true perfection — which is presented to us in Scripture — "What the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin, condemned sin in the flesh, that the righteousness of the law might be FULFILLED in us

who walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit." When I reflect on the place which Friends have evidently been raised up to occupy in the universal church, I consider it to be one of their most marked and distinctive, though not peculiar duties, to uphold this standard. Cause enough have we, both individually and collectively, to prostrate ourselves, in deep brokenness of spirit, before the Lord—cause enough have we, from day to day, to recur to the Fountain in which alone we can be washed from all our stains; and yet I believe it to be for a good purpose that we are, as a religious people, so much bound to the principle set forth by another Apostle, — "Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin; for his seed remaineth in him; and he cannot sin, because he is born of God."

If I am asked what I mean by "the Fountain in which alone we can be washed from all our stains?" I answer, without reserve and without difficulty — "the atoning blood of Christ." No sooner does transgression in word, thought, or deed, leave a stain upon our conscience, than we are left in a hopeless condition without this remedy. Never was that atonement more precious to my soul than at the present time; and I think it peculiarly important to fix it in the mind, that the blood of Christ, frequently mentioned as it is in Scripture, and which is to be sprinkled on the heart by faith, is never so mentioned as to be capable of being itself spiritualized. It is literally and truly the blood which was shed on Calvary for the sins of the whole world, and which is precisely tantamount to the Saviour's natural life, which was offered up on the cross as a sacrifice, acceptable, well-pleasing to God. According to the view of the Jews of old, the blood of the sin-offering was the *life* thereof; and so it was, naturally and truly, with the Incarnate Antitype — the man Christ Jesus. In various passages of the New Testament which speak of this blood—of our drinking it—of our being sprinkled by it — of our washing our robes in it, &c., the metaphor lies, as I apprehended, not in the "blood," but in the drinking, sprinkling, washing, &c. Thus it is evident, that faith in the blood of Jesus is equivalent to faith in the one great offering

which he has made on the cross, for the sins of all mankind; and by this faith, when it is heartfelt, living, and heaven-born, the penitent sinner is justified. His sins are forgiven, and he finds peace with God. * * *

To pass on to a subject of a very different kind, but not without its measure of practical importance, I do not think it quite true, as I have sometimes heard it stated, that an adherence to our Christian testimony, to plainness in speech, behaviour, and apparel, "is not to be confounded with the *cross* which we have to bear as followers of Christ." Certainly it is not the *whole* of that cross, but that it appertains to it, and forms an important part of its holy discipline, in our own experience, and that of our young people, I am fully persuaded. It is to me a matter of unfeigned rejoicing when any of this class are found faithful in undergoing these humiliations, and thus make manifest, by that which is perceptible and audible, their practical allegiance to the lowly Saviour. That it is a useful mental discipline to them, I cannot doubt, as well as a truly valuable defence, so far as it goes, from many of the temptations of a vain and evil world. I am sure thou must have often observed, that obedience to the blessed teaching of the Spirit, in these matters, prepares the way for sacrifices and services of a more important character. To me it is equally evident, that many individuals who, after having once, upon principle, adopted these restraints, have since abandoned them, have thereby suffered material loss; and, notwithstanding a high profession of religion, are much more conformed in various respects *to the world*, than they would have been, had they continued simple, consistent Friends. But I do not forget that it is not my province to sit in judgment upon them. To our own Master we must stand or fall.

There is one point remaining on which I wish to suggest a thought or two. We have often talked on the subject of missions, and, I trust, have a good understanding of each other's views respecting them. Thou art so fully aware of mine, that I have nothing more to say on the point itself, except only, that while I believe it right for Friends faithfully

to occupy their own true ground in reference to missions, and not to pass over it, I do heartily appreciate the zeal and usefulness of many of our fellow-Christians in this matter, and am truly willing to aid them in their efforts, so far as I can do it *without compromise of principle.* But there is one bearing of the subject on which I am inclined to make a few remarks. It appears to me, that the surrender of our views on the subject of ministry, which we make when we support the system of ministration adopted by our fellow-Christians of other denominations, however tempting and plausible the occasions — may, if we are not careful, re-act on our own functions as ministers of the Gospel, and may take off the edge of our carefulness, not to run except we are sent, and not to speak in the name of the Lord, on any one occasion, (whether in preaching or prayer,) *without a sense of the necessity laid upon us,* and without the qualification of the Lord's own anointing. These, I trust, may not be useless or unacceptable watchwords from a weak yet loving friend and brother, who desires to apply the word of instruction to himself rather than others. My desire and prayer, on my own account and on thine, is that we may be enabled to fulfil our stewardship with all faithfulness; that in the exercise of our ministry, we may move on safely under the *guiding, constraining, preserving,* and *sustaining* influences of the Holy Spirit; and that, being in all things conformed to the will of our Father in heaven, we may know the "peace of God which passeth all understanding," to "keep our hearts and minds through Christ Jesus."

Seventh day, [10*th mo.*, 26*th.*] On fifth day morning, came the right joyful intelligence of our darling Anna's being the mother of a plump, healthy little boy. Great indeed was the relief and pleasure afforded by this good news, and I humbly trust a measure of reverent thankfulness is felt by us all, towards our Father in heaven, for this fresh precious gift. * * *

Notwithstanding all the blessings with which we are sur-

rounded, deep lowness sometimes comes over me, especially in the night or early morning.

Fourth day morning, 10*th mo.*, 30*th.* When I speak of "deep lowness," I do not wish to make too much of it. I do not think, on reflection, that it is quite a correct description, as I may gratefully acknowledge, that even in hours of depression there is some true peace to be felt, and sometimes that peace predominates and swells into a calm joy. I heartily crave that my Christian faith may be daily strengthened; that I may come boldly to the throne of grace, as one who, through infinite mercy, has experienced reconciliation with the Father through the Son.

On second day morning we had a very interesting and satisfactory meeting of the Athenæum Society, for which I was enabled to lay the *Christian* foundation; being fully persuaded, that an acknowledgment of Christ is necessary as the ground, whether more or less openly expressed, of all efforts for the literary and intellectual improvement of mankind. In this case, the parties to be served are the young shopmen of Norwich, whose new evening hours of leisure want to be well filled up.* May preservation and protection from above be with this Institution!

11*th mo.*, 18*th.* I enjoy my daily practice of reading either the Greek or German Testament, as I pace about our ever-charming garden, before the family reading. I trust some little communion with the Lord is experienced on these occasions. This morning I have been reading Ephesians i. How wonderful are the depth and comprehensiveness of that chapter! How critical and unspeakably important the question, whether I have the evidence in myself of being a partaker in that election of grace which the apostle there sets forth! Some degree of peace and satisfaction is felt this morning, in the good hope that it may be so. Blessed be our God and Father, we have, weak and poor as we are, an advocate with Him.

* It may be explained, that the tradesmen in Norwich had recently come to the resolution of closing their shops at an earlier hour than was previously the custom.

11*th mo.*, 19*th*. I sit down once more to face myself, my own life and conversation as before the Lord, with a degree of peace and tranquillity. This feeling is the more precious, because I was to a considerable extent morbidly sensitive yesterday. A variety of matters of minor importance ran wrong with me, and I acted hastily on one or two occasions, without looking all around before hand. * * *

I have now corrected the last sheet of the second edition of Habit and Discipline, which must soon wend its way into the world. May it be blessed to many, without causing its poor, weak author any pain!

The beloved Buxtons were here for a day and night, last third day, a truly uniting time; we feel very nearly with our sister in the pain and sorrow of her dearest husband's weak condition; yet the feeling is, that nothing can harm them.

Our Monthly Meeting last week was satisfactorily attended, and very harmonious. The Lord grant that all of us who are united as Friends, in these parts, in the profession of spiritual worship, may dwell near to the Spring of truth, love, and life; and so experience the precious *oneness*, for which the Saviour prayed on behalf of his church, and which God alone can bestow.

Towards the close of the year, he spent a few weeks in the neighbourhoods of London and Darlington; where, as usual, he found many objects of interest. Referring to a visit to one of the Collieries near the latter place, he writes:—

12*th mo.*, 16*th*. [We] held a useful, and, in the end, a solemn meeting with the people. Education; a library; saving money out of their wages; total abstinence; Scripture reading; and the keeping of the Sabbath; [were the subjects before us.] Afterwards the gospel of Christ was plainly preached. I have seldom known a day which has been more confirming to me, as it regards the religious principles which are dear to

us; both the foundation of evangelical truth, and the superstructure of spiritual worship.

Polam,* 12*th mo.*, 17*th*. This morning we have had a very interesting visit from Thomas Freeman, the African Missionary, who superintends the twenty-one Wesleyan Stations on the Gold Coast, and who has had so much personal communication with the King of Ashantee, and some with the Kings of Dahomey, and Accan; the former a desperate slave-trader, the latter the head of a considerable nation in the Bight of Benin, much opposed to the slave-trade, and of a city called Abbeo Kuta, containing nearly 50,000 inhabitants, and discovered by Freeman. It is a great work. The Methodists have nearly 800 members in these stations, and upwards of 500 children in the schools. I have pleasure in subscribing to these schools, but I feel myself constrained to keep to the simple Quaker ground in all these matters. Surely it leaves us room enough! Yet may the Lord bless all his servants, under every name!

Fourth day morning. We are now come to our last day, as far as we know, in this our pleasant allotment. Last evening was held a temperance meeting at Friends' meeting-house, in which I occupied an hour or more in a speech, or lecture, which was well received, and yielded me a peaceful feeling. There was evidently a seal of divine love and power over us on the occasion; a sure token, as I believe, that we are not out of our place, or engaged in a business not acceptable to our Holy Head.

This morning, divine visitation has been with us, as I believe. After the usual morning reading of the Scriptures, I addressed the servants on the law of righteousness; and after our own more private reading, during a very uncommon solemnity, dear H. C. Backhouse addressed me in the language of encouragement, to go on with all my heart, in the Lord's service, as his will, however strange and unaccountable in the view of man, may from time to time be made manifest;

* The residence of his relative, H. C. Backhouse, near Darlington.

assuring me that eye hath not seen, nor ear heard those good things, even that peace and happiness, which are laid up in store for me (even for *me!*) on earth, and in its fulness, in heaven. She afterwards commended us to the Lord, in a brief, but expressive prayer. Thus, I humbly trust, our visit to her will be blessed to our souls.

On his return home, he was deeply affected by the intelligence of Sir T. F. Buxton's seriously increased illness. In allusion to it, he writes in his Journal:—

12*th mo.*, 23*rd.* Nothing can be more desirable, more child-like, in the best sense of the terms, than the state of his mind. As compared with many others, he has indeed been enabled to perform a noble day's work; and now, living or dying, he is, as we fully believe, in safety and at rest in Jesus. Certainly my connection, and unfailing unity of purpose and action with this endeared brother, have been a leading joy and happiness, as well as interest in my life. I do not remember that any cloud has ever arisen to intercept our entire harmony. May the Lord, whom he has so long and so faithfully served, be his portion for ever, saith my soul!

TO SIR THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON.

Earlham, 12th mo., 28th, 1844.

MY DEARLY BELOVED BROTHER,

"The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble, the name of the God of Jacob defend thee; send thee help from his sanctuary, and strengthen thee out of Zion; remember all thy offerings, and accept thy burnt sacrifice; grant thee according to thine own heart, and fulfil all thy counsel."

I well remember pouring out some of the words of this psalm to Wilberforce, just as he was about to drive off from Lord Calthorpe's door; and I afterwards learned that they

were words in season, acceptable to his feelings, and applicable to his need.

The same words sprang up in my heart for thee this morning, as I was visiting thee mentally on thy bed of sickness; and while I feel an exquisite sympathy with thee, and thy precious, ever-watchful wife, on account of thy illness, I do rejoice in the persuasion that the Lord hath heard thee and her in the day of trouble, and that he does, and will marvellously help you, even by his ever-sustaining arm of love and power, and the fresh daily sending forth unto you of his Holy Spirit, the Comforter.

Thou hast, my dearest Fowell, been baptized again and again with the baptism of suffering, both in bodily infirmity and weakness, and anxiety and conflict of mind, for the sorrows of the oppressed ones of the earth; but he who knows the heart, and who suffered for us, even to the death of the cross, never has laid upon thee, and never will lay upon thee, more than thou art able to bear, or more than is needful for the purification of thy soul, and the preparation of it for that unspeakable bliss, wherewith no sorrow or sickness is mingled. Surely none of the blessed inhabitants of the glorified Zion shall ever say, "I am sick." In the perfection of health, and the fulness of peace, they are made partakers of those joys, which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor the heart of man conceived.

Although thou hast been enabled to do a good and a blessed day's work in thy day, sure I am that thou canst heartily acknowledge thyself to be an unprofitable servant, and, like Wilberforce, canst confess that thou hast no plea to make but that of the publican, "God be merciful to me, a sinner!" And truly the word "merciful" has its meaning with thee, as it had with him; for I well remember a saying of his, that *mercy* is more than loving-kindness, it is loving-kindness towards those who deserve punishment.

To be thus humbled before the Lord is a most blessed experience, needful for us all, and one of the conditions of true peace, solid happiness, and unclouded hope. But let not

any feelings of discouragement get the better of either of you. The Lord is on your side, He will help you. Because He is at your right hand, you shall not be moved. Trust in Him at all times, pour out your hearts before Him. The Saviour who bore the thorn, the nail, the cross; and whose inmost soul was "exceeding sorrowful" when the sins of the whole world rested upon Him, does, and ever will sympathize with his faithful followers, and will, in his own good time and way, arise upon them with "healing in his wings."

So fare thee well, my dearest Buxton. Grace, mercy, and peace, be with thee and thine, now and for ever.

I am thy nearly attached brother,

J. J. GURNEY.

CHAPTER XLV.

1845. ÆT. 57—58.

EXTRACTS FROM JOURNAL; DEATH OF SIR T. F. BUXTON; PUBLIC MEETING ON THE ENDOWMENT OF MAYNOOTH; LETTER TO DR. CHALMERS ON THE DUTY OF CHRISTIAN CHURCHES IN RELATION TO SLAVERY; JOURNEY IN SCOTLAND AND THE NORTH OF ENGLAND; DEATH OF ELIZABETH FRY.

1*st mo.*, 1*st.*,1845. The new year has set in, and finds me quietly at home, and peaceful, I trust on good grounds, for I can truly say, that my tranquillity is founded on the merits of Jesus Christ. Yet I think that there is also in some measure, the feeling of, "If our heart condemn us not, then have we confidence toward God;" for I believe it has been my endeavour, during the past year, though not always successfully so, to keep a conscience void of offence in the sight of God and man. Yet perhaps I am presumptuous in saying so much. The Lord only knows the depth of my infirmities.

On recovery from a slight attack of illness, he breathes forth his spirit in the following prayer:—

O Lord, thou knowest my poverty, and none of my most secret faults are hidden from thee. Suffer not thy poor servant to be separated from thee, either by the craft or the power of my soul's enemy. Bring my whole self, all that I have and am, into conformity with thy blessed will. Cleanse me from all iniquity. Raise my too often benumbed soul into a nearer, clearer view — in faith, hope, and love — of the

heavenly inheritance. Breathe into me the spirit of prayer. Give me to commune with thyself, O thou most glorious Fountain of light and life, through our only Mediator and Redeemer, Jesus Christ, to whom, with thee, be all praise and thanksgiving, now and for ever.

1*st mo.*, 27*th.* The meetings yesterday were, to my feelings, very solemn and edifying. William Forster preached largely in the morning on the Law of Righteousness: it was a moving, heart-stirring appeal. In the afternoon I was engaged in vocal prayer. After the meeting was over, I retired alone into the little library room, and found vent for the tears of a broken spirit, to my own relief and comfort.

TO TWO FRIENDS

(In the decline of life.)

Earlham, 2nd mo., 2nd, 1845.

My beloved Friends,

At the close of a quiet and solemn first day, my heart turns towards you in Christian affection and friendship. I believe you have both had your deep tribulations since we last met. * * Thus it often happens, in the economy of grace, that those who have made the most considerable advances in the school of Christ, have the hardest lessons to learn. But you know already, and will know more and more perfectly, how to speak well of his name; even of that blessed name of Jesus, than which no other is given among men, whereby they may be saved! O the large and deep meaning of that word *saved!* What tongue can tell it? Surely "eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man, what God hath prepared for them that love him."

From the peaceful yet affecting account which we have this day received of our mutually dear friend A. R. Barclay, we are ready to conclude that if not already a partaker of this inconceivable weight of glory, he is on the verge of it. Thus one after another is plucked away out of our ranks, and we are left to feel the depths of our poverty. But O how far

better to be removed from the church militant by the hand of death, than to lose our part in it through unwatchfulness and disobedience! I feel well assured that this will never be the case with either of you; may it never, never be the case with me! Do we not know assuredly who it is, that is both able and willing to keep us from falling? * * *

Are there not brighter times in prospect for our down-trodden religious Society, though some of us, with silvery locks, may not live to witness them? I believe there are; or at any rate, that those spiritual views which have long distinguished us as a body, will spread more and more among the children of men.

In this sweet hope and expectation, I bid you farewell. My dearest wife unites with me in very dear love to you both. Grace, mercy, and peace, be with you and your children, and your children's children, from God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ.

In allusion to the republication, with his name for the first time attached to it, of his work on the Papal and Hierarchical System, he says, under date

2nd mo., 19*th*. The times are certainly portentous, marking, as I think, very awfully, the increasing strength and volume of the stream, which is bearing [many] back again into the vortex of Popery. In the meantime, there can be no doubt, that pure and vital truth is spreading; and although our own Society, which is the very opposite to Popery, is reduced and somewhat scattered, the great principles which it professes are, I hope, increasingly appreciated by not a few. It is in a degree of faith, and with the apprehension of its being a sacrifice required of me, yet not without some fear of the battery which it may bring upon me, that I now put forth my testimony. May the blessing of the Lord God Almighty rest upon it, for His truth's sake, and for His dear Son's sake!

Under the same date, referring to some efforts

on behalf of the population of Norwich, he continues:—

I have had three committees to attend, of our new society for the protection of young females; some difficulties surmounted, and some trouble endured. I have a little hope that good may be done, as I think that we have had somewhat of a divine sanction in the preparatory steps. Out of these committees sprang several meetings, and a rendezvous of about twenty-five gentlemen at breakfast, last second day, to discuss the state of the manufacturing poor at Norwich. It was a very interesting occasion. At the reading I selected many passages respecting our duties to the poor, and was afterwards engaged in prayer. The conversation after breakfast lasted till one o'clock. The clear result is, that our labour market is overstocked; the distress and immorality thereby occasioned are terrible. The remedy is the lightening of that market, or the sopping up of the surplus, by fresh manufacturing and commercial enterprise; (and I would also work at the other end, by sending many young men away;) a committee was appointed, and I hope good will be done; at any rate, many minds have been deeply interested.*

The following are his brief but touching memoranda of his last visit to his beloved brother-in-law, Sir T. F. Buxton, whose health had been, for some past, rapidly declining:—

2nd mo., 19*th.* Last week we were at Northrepps, from third day to sixth; and deeply interesting was it to be with them, and to unite for a season in watching the sick, probably the dying bed of our beloved and honoured brother. His reduction of strength and tendency to torpor are great, but we witnessed nothing which could fairly be called bodily suf-

* On this occasion Joseph John Gurney placed £1000 in the hands of the committee, to be disposed of, under their superintendence, for the benefit of the poor, in the way of providing employment, &c.

fering; and as to his mind, his sweetness, amiability, cheerfulness, and good humour, notwithstanding much of occasional wandering, are really delightful; especially as it is accompanied by a lively sense of, and firm hold on, the love of God in Christ Jesus. When his wife expressed her conviction that he had this firm hold even on Christ himself, he answered, "Yes, indeed, I have, unto eternal life." Many delightful little peeps of this kind, of the Sun of Righteousness, through the clouds of bodily infirmity, have been graciously bestowed. He was much himself on sixth day morning, when we took our leave, clasping my hand, and seeming to enjoy my standing by his bed-side. I reminded him of the declaration, that—"eye hath not seen, ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive the good things the Lord hath in store for those that love Him," expressing my firm belief that these joys were assuredly laid up for him—even for him. His whole soul seemed to respond to me. This, probably, may be my last interview with one whom I have greatly loved, esteemed, and admired for nearly half a century; and between whom and myself there has never, as far as I remember, passed a single cloud, and scarcely the shadow of one. I have the satisfaction of knowing that I have uniformly encouraged him, and backed him up in his great objects; and near and dear has been our affection for each other. We feel a true rest respecting him, being assured that he is indeed safe in the holy hands of his Lord, for time and eternity; and many in generations yet to come, shall call him blessed, for his works' sake.

We were favoured with a comfortable Sabbath last first day; but I have, at times, during the days which I have now in part described, felt that I have much cause for a low view of myself; shall I say for self-abhorrence and humiliation before the Lord?

> Thus every door is shut, but one,
> And that is *mercy's* door.

2nd mo., 22*nd*. Early on fifth day morning we received, by a special messenger, the tidings of the death of our dearest brother. He was seized with spasm on his breath, which lasted for an hour or two, during which he was much engaged

in prayer. For a time he was happily relieved, and then fell asleep, to wake no more, sinking gradually, softly, and in the end imperceptibly, into death; gently dealt with to the last—a death of perfect quietness and peace. So fell the forest oak, but truly without a crash, never to be replaced in this world; for men in general are but saplings in comparison. "It is the Lord, let him do what seemeth him good."

Our dear friend Josiah Forster arrived by coach the same morning, and we all went quietly to meeting together. It was, I thought, a refreshing, sustaining time of reverent waiting on the Lord and prayer; something of that retirement of soul which dearest Fowell himself used to call "divine silence." After an early dinner, my dearest wife and I, and Anna Forster, (the only survivor of that dear, delightful family,) went to Northrepps. Our meeting was truly affecting; but the grief into which we came was natural, and we spent a comforting evening with them. In the course of a very precious family sitting, I was much engaged in thanksgiving and prayer, recounting the characteristic points in the life and experience of our beloved departed one.

We lodged at Northrepps Cottage; and on sixth day morning I wrote an account of all that we had witnessed in our two visits, which I read to the assembled family; and we left them comforted, and returned home. Mournfulness was much my portion in the night; [yet] surely I ought to feel, at this time, the force of the precept,—"In every thing give thanks." May I be enabled to do so, and to commend my soul to that gracious and all-wise Creator, who will not, as I humbly believe, cast me away from his presence, weak and unworthy as I am, or take his Holy Spirit from me!

A few days after this event, Joseph John Gurney penned the warm and affectionate tribute to the memory of his deceased brother-in-law, which was subsequently published, and widely circulated.* The void occasioned by his death was one not to be forgotten.

* See the Brief Memoir of Sir T. F. Buxton.

2nd mo., 24th. Yesterday was to me a low calm. In the afternoon meeting, near its close, I had to remark how vain were our own attempts in affliction to comfort ourselves. Our untutored efforts only leave us colder and more sorrowful than before. But when the Lord gives us a taste of the true rest, and a glimpse of the delightsome land where there is no more sorrow, the soul is stayed on Him, and finds a sure shelter. Somewhat of this blessed stayedness, this sweet shelter, has, I hope, been experienced; but in the night, weakness prevailed. I have, indeed, lost a most faithful friend, who has handed me many a cup of support and encouragement. May I imitate his cheerful, playful spirit, so far as the truth leads into it!

3rd mo., 24th. My dear sister Fry's visit has been very satisfactory, and very sweet has it been to our feelings to enjoy her company. Her infirmity is indeed great, and her memory a little failing. Yet at times this infirmity subsides, and she is much like her own dear and precious self. The Lord's anointing is still upon her, and she has been well engaged in our meeting, which is held at eleven o'clock, on her account, and which she has attended two first day mornings in succession. The preserving, sustaining hand of the Lord is evidently with her. Dearest John and Anna's visit, with their lovely boy, has been a pleasure and comfort. It is an unspeakable favour that they are so well, and every way flourishing. The Lord bless and keep our precious grandchild, and sanctify him from his earliest years, for His own use and service!

3rd mo., 31st. No small weakness of mind, with languor of body, hangs about me to-day; but I must bear it quietly. The weather is delicious, and we may repose, I trust, on the bosom of divine love. May it please Thee, gracious Lord, to deliver me from all corruption, from all the power of my soul's enemy, from all the remains and vestiges of the kingdom of darkness, and give me grace to follow the Lord Jesus, in the obedience of faith, until I at length obtain the crown of righteousness, which shall never fade away!

4th mo., 6th. I have been a good deal troubled, in read

ing the greater part of a work, lately published and rapidly circulated, called "Vestiges of the Natural History of the Creation." The author first describes the Nebular hypothesis; then the geological history of the earth's crust; then the progressive development of organized creatures, vegetable and animal; the latter series ending in man. He then discusses the phenomena of mind, which he ascribes simply and solely to material organism, under the agency of the electric fluid. The brain, a galvanic battery; thought, the mere effect of electricity. The system embraces the whole jargon of phrenology, and utterly undermines all moral responsibility, and all that is essential to the highest destinies of man. I had not finished it before I discovered that there is no fear of God before the eyes of the unknown author. I have since been greatly pleased and relieved, by a perusal and re-perusal of an admirable letter from Professor Sedgwick on the subject, addressed to Captain Stanley. It is a masterly knocking to pieces of the whole affair. Sedgwick, however, as well as Stanley, is a believer in the Nebular Theory, to which I have myself no particular objection. But it does not seem to flourish, under the grasp of Lord Rosse's telescope, which has already resolved a large proportion of the nebulæ into stars.

I have been writing an answer to the question in the Christian Observer, "What is Quakerism?" which the editor, in his last number, promises to insert in his next. I have ventured to assert that the Society, in various ways and forms, has declared its faith in all the main doctrines of sound Christianity which I have enumerated; but that one of these doctrines, viz., the guidance and government of the Spirit, is held by us more extensively and exactly than by many others; and that on this ground we have been led to abstain — First, from ceremonies and the notion of sacramental efficacy in forms. Secondly, from a ministry ordained by man. Thirdly, from the pecuniary remuneration of ministers. Fourthly, from oaths. Fifthly, from war. Sixthly, from worldly amusements, useless fashions in dress and furniture, and corruptions in speech and behaviour.

Thus I take Quakerism to be the religion of the New Testament, without addition, without diminution, and without compromise. I hope the paper may be accepted by others and by our own people, in a friendly spirit; and that it may, through mercy, have a blessing on it.

4th mo., 14*th.* Our tenderly beloved sister Fry, with Catherine and her servants, left our door a little before two o'clock, for Runcton, in the feeling of peace, and with a mutually happy retrospect of her endearing visit. She came back from Northrepps last sixth day, and was remarkably well that evening and yesterday evening, when Edward Edwards and his daughter dined with us very pleasantly. We all enjoyed the renewal of our old friendship. E. Edwards is now in his eightieth year. Yesterday was really a favoured sabbath. My dear sister was at the afternoon meeting, and took a striking leave of us. I was also engaged in speaking on "the rest which remaineth for the people of God." She was very poorly on her return home; but attended our evening reading, and ministered acceptably to a very large company. May she be brought on her way with peace and safety!

The proposition of the late Sir Robert Peel's Government, for substituting a permanent endowment for the Grant which had been annually made by Parliament for the support of the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth in Ireland, was now claiming a large share of public attention. As a staunch advocate of civil and religious liberty, it was with pain that Joseph John Gurney felt himself called upon to take part in the movement against it. In his Journal he thus explains his view:—

4th mo., 19*th.* I have accepted the chairmanship of a meeting to be held, next week, of Protestants without distinction, to oppose the endowment of the Romish College of Maynooth for educating the priesthood. The endowment is

whiggish, popular, except with the religious public; and apparently politic as a matter of conciliation, which the body of Papists in Ireland seem ready to accept: it is understood to be the first step to the national paying of their ministers. Cordially as I approve of civil and religious liberty, and of the Roman Catholics being full partakers of it with others, I consider that the proposed measure goes far beyond this line; and, in rendering it compulsory on Protestants to support an ecclesiastical system which they disapprove, directly interferes with their rights of conscience, and thus cramps and impairs that fabric of freedom which it professes to promote. As I could not voluntarily subscribe to such an institution, so I cannot acquiesce in being taxed for the purpose, without an open avowal that I object to it on principle. The subject is to be taken up simply on the Protestant ground, without arguing the objections which Dissenters entertain to all national religious establishments, and which Friends entertain to all seminaries for the purpose of educating the ministers of the gospel. Without concealing my own sentiments as a Friend, I feel myself to be at liberty to unite with Dissenters and Churchmen in opposing the compulsory support of a principle which lies at the root of Popery, and is surely taught in all her institutions for ecclesiastical instruction; and which is now diffusing itself among many who do not at present call themselves Roman Catholics. — I mean the addition to Scripture, as an authorized standard of doctrine and practice, of uninspired written and oral tradition. Surely no worldly policy, no complaisance and liberality, can justify us as a nation, in taking an active part in the upholding of this principle, fraught as it is with unutterable danger to the moral and religious welfare of mankind. I think this principle is firmly held by the most educated and polished, as well as by the more ignorant and vulgar of the Papists, and in bestowing a polished education on the Irish Priests, we shall not in any degree dislodge them from this, to them, *articulus stantis aut cadentis ecclesiæ;* but only add to the force and influence by which they propagate it in the world.

4th mo., 27*th.* The meeting, anti-Maynooth, last fourth

day evening, was very large; about 3000 persons present, and passed off well. I endeavoured to lay down the true order of the meeting at the commencement, and all was afterwards very fairly kept within its limits. We all united on the Protestant ground, of the Bible and the Bible only,—not without the Spirit; but without the addition of human traditions. Much may be said for the measure on the ground of policy, but the religious objections must continue untouched and untangible. First, the Quaker's objection to all human systems of education for the ministry of the gospel. Secondly, the Nonconformist's objection to all national endowments of particular forms of religion. Thirdly, the Protestant's objection to the addition of tradition to Scripture, as a ground of doctrine.

"Surely," says an eye-witness, "no one who was present can forget the energy and earnestness of his appeal, or the deep and absorbing interest with which it was heard and responded to; still less can they forget the marked solemnity which reigned, as he concluded with the fervent desire that the banner of the Lord might be over them, even the banner of *love*, impressively repeating a few sentences on Christian unity, from that book, for whose unmixed and sacred records he had just been pleading."*

TO DR. CHALMERS,

(In reply to a letter of inquiry on several points connected with the question of Slavery in the United States.)

Earlham, 4th mo., 30th, 1845.

* * * So much for family histories.—Now for an answer to thy inquiries. My mission to North America, which continued three years, (including a few months spent in the West Indies,) was distinctly of a religious nature—a visit in the capacity of a minister of the gospel, to our own Society in that land; with the further object of holding

* The verses quoted were Psalm cxxxiii, 1, 2.

meetings for divine worship with persons of other denominations. This object so absorbed both time and mind, that it was out of my power to attend meetings of a simply philanthropic character, or to hold much communication with the friends of the anti-slavery cause as such. My intercourse with the Americans on this subject was almost entirely confined to *Friends;* except that, after my return from the West Indies, I spent several days at Washington, for the express purpose of explaining, to the members of the Government and of Congress, the admirable effects of emancipation in the British Colonies. All these communications were in private, and were well received, both by slave-holders and by the citizens of the Free States. Thus, my dear friend, thou wilt perceive that I was so circumstanced in America as not to be exposed to any interference on the part of the warm and zealous advocates of abolition; and, with the exception of an article or two in a Boston newspaper, complaining of my not taking a public and more active part (which my circumstances rendered impossible), I am not aware that anything was said or done by the Abolitionists to molest or disturb me.

All that I could do in the meetings of Friends, to promote that great cause, I did—the subject being frequently discussed in their assemblies for discipline—and I also did my very best with the rulers and legislators of the land. But further than this, I had no opportunity of going; and, had I attempted it, it would have interfered immediately and most seriously with my *Gospel mission;* which was intended for the benefit of all, whether they did or did not agree with me on the subject of slavery.

In the course of my journey in the Southern States, and more particularly in the Danish West Indies, I certainly did meet with some slave-holders who appeared to me to be persons of considerable piety; but these were generally individuals, who would have been extremely glad to escape from the system with which they were connected, had they considered it to be within their power. Generally speaking, it was very evident that slavery operated most unfavourably both on religion and morals.

Friends in America have long been acting on the principle that slave-holding disqualifies for membership in religious society; and they have never had cause to regret their adoption of this principle. *It appears to me most desirable that it should be adopted by other religious communities in America.* If it were so, the evil would soon cease; and in that case there is every reason to believe that Christianity, as well as the cause of liberty and humanity, would flourish much more abundantly than they do at present.

I have just thrown before thee the state of the case as it regards myself, and the views which I entertain of the right course for religious bodies in reference to the subject; and earnestly desire that thou mayest be enabled, in thy own church, to promote the great cause of the abolition of slavery, at the same time that you repudiate the interference of others.

5th mo., 2nd.

I have retained my letter for a day or two, waiting the leisure for making a small addition to it; as I wish, with every feeling of deference, somewhat further to explain my own views on the subject in question. I must then confess that I do *not* think it is out of the right province of the Anti-Slavery Society, either in America or in England, to watch the proceedings of churches, any more than those of individuals, in reference to slavery. The progress of the cause of abolition, which it is *their business* to do all in their power to promote, (consistently with the rule of right, of course,) so very much depends on the conduct of Christian bodies, as well as on that of statesmen and governments, that the Anti-Slavery Committees would, in my opinion, be wanting in their duty, did they not appeal to such bodies, as occasion may require, in favour of their cause.

On this ground they have unceasingly urged on the several denominations of Christians, in America, the propriety of their adopting the principle on which *Friends* have so long acted — namely, that no slave-holder should be accepted or

retained as a member of the *church*. Provided that they keep within the bounds of propriety and respect in their way of doing it, I cannot think the Anti-Slavery body is at fault in making their public appeal *on this point* to all the churches of Christ.

Most true it is that no Christians can be required to "out-run the light" of their own minds, on this or any other topic. Light is indeed progressive, and time was when the Friends in America held slaves like other people. But, in the present day, the horrid abuses inseparable from the system of slavery are so perfectly well known—for example, the cruel use of the whip in the place of the wholesome stimulus of wages; the utter degradation of females; the sale at auction of human beings as if they had no souls, and were mere chattels, or at most cattle; and the consequent arbitrary separation of families, and tearing asunder of the nearest ties of life—that I cannot think any Christian professor can be regarded as excusable, or fit for the brotherhood of the church, who voluntarily continues to take a part in the maintenance of so nefarious a system.

To pursue the subject further — it does not appear to me that we are at liberty, as Christians, to receive the subscriptions of slave-holders towards the maintenance of our respective churches; or indeed for any religious or philanthropic purpose, or, perhaps, I might rightly say, for any purpose whatsoever. After much reflection I am brought to this conclusion, on the simple ground that the money which we receive from them is, to a considerable extent, and almost of necessity, the price of blood; and furthermore, can hardly be considered in the divine sight to be *their own*, until the wages, rightfully due to the poor labourers on their estates, have been fully discharged.

I cannot doubt, my much-esteemed friend, that thou wilt bear with me in having thus thrown my whole view on the point at issue before thee. Shouldest thou, on further consideration, be led to adopt the same view, it will be greatly to the comfort of thy warm and steady friends, who well know

how to appreciate thy faithfulness and zeal in every good word and work.

To return to his Journal:—

5th mo., *5th.* My answer to the inquiry of the Christian Observer, what is Quakerism? is published in the present number. I trust it is unexceptionable as a statement of doctrine; but the long article of notes appended by the Editor, is just about as offensive (not to me, whom he flatters, but to our cause and system) as can be. Sometimes the enemy spits fire and mud, through the medium of conscientious persons, whose eyes he has succeeded in partially blinding. Such things must be patiently and charitably borne. It is one of the crosses which we have to take up and carry after Jesus.

5th mo., *9th.* [In allusion to a communication in ministry;] I wish to draw instruction from all the ministry I hear—I do desire to be effectually searched and cleansed; and never to forget that gifts, administrations, operations, are not only various, but diverse; yet only one Spirit, one Lord, one God, who worketh all in all. In the mean time, may I be graciously enabled to abide in the truth; a living, fruitful branch in Christ the Vine, more and more divested of self-love, self-seeking, and undue self-indulgence! Lord, perfect the work in me for Jesus Christ's sake!

N. B.—Recipe for the ensuing Yearly Meeting. A quiet patient mind, free from all anxieties; a cheerful spirit; a dwelling in the truth, near to the fountain of the waters of life; love to God and man; a watchful walking in the fear of the Lord; a constant guard over the lips, and a reverent, uninterrupted dependence on the great Head of the Church.

5th mo., *14th.* Yesterday, John Henry and I attended the funeral of my long-respected friend and Christian brother, H. J. Balls, our head clerk. My last interview with him was of a very satisfactory kind, as regarded his state of mind. He seemed perfectly happy, rejoicing in the Lord, who had

made with him "an everlasting covenant, ordered in all things, and sure." John Alexander conducted the "service," at the Old Independent Meeting-House. I went in with my hat on; quietly kept my seat until he had finished, and then rose and bore my testimony to his truly Christian character. The large assembly of his friends and neighbours seemed much affected. He was buried in the "Rosary." There was a precious solemnity to be felt at the grave. I was engaged beside it in vocal thanksgiving and prayer.

After attending the Yearly Meeting in London, he writes:—

6th mo., *14th.* We left home on sixth day, 5th mo., 16th, and met the usual warm welcome at Upton. Seventh day, 17th, Anti-slavery meeting at the Hall of Commerce, over which I presided, and felt satisfaction in so doing. It was a spirited occasion. William Knibb gave a sad detail of continued oppressions in Jamaica.

Second day, 19th, large and satisfactory meeting of ministers and elders. Vast and respectable Temperance Meeting in the evening, at Exeter Hall; over which I presided, and at which I spoke, harmlessly, I trust.

Third day, 5th mo., 20th. Dined pleasantly at Dr. Lushington's, where we met Duc de Broglie, Sir T. D. Ackland, and the Bunsens. They seemed in good spirits about the Anti-slave-trade Convention, which has since been completed and signed; the substance of it being the giving up of the right of search, not of visit, between France and England; and the union of the two nations in blockading the western coast of Africa, from Cape Verd, north, to lat. 16½ south. I could not myself take part in the system of armed cruisers.

Fourth day, 5th mo., 21st. Comfortable commencement of the Yearly Meeting; which lasted until seventh day, the 31st; and may, I think, be described as large, lively, and harmonious. The greatest point of interest was the concern of the Yearly Meeting towards Indiana, in reference to the late Anti-slavery

separation there; issuing in a deputation of several of our valued brethren to present an expostulatory address:—William and Josiah Forster, George Stacey, John Allen, and Joseph Bewley. I was on the sub-committee, appointed to prepare this address; and I never witnessed a more remarkable unfolding of religious exercise, than that by which these our friends were gradually brought into harness. It was truly an apostolic proceeding; and deeply solemn and affecting were the large sittings of the Yearly Meeting, in which the concern was fully settled, and the nomination accepted and confirmed. These beloved brethren will indeed go forth with the hands of the church upon them, and may the great Head of the Church bless them in their work! The meetings for worship at Devonshire House were much crowded; and were, on the whole, highly-favoured times. I had some share of the work in the latter meeting; I humbly believe in deepening waters, as I went forward.

During the summer, he was engaged, in company with his wife, in an extended religious visit to Friends and others in Scotland and the North of England. They left home on the 3rd of the seventh month. He soon afterwards wrote—

TO ELIZABETH FRY.

Manchester, 7th mo., 13th, 1845.

My Beloved Sister,

I have been much wishing to write to thee to tell thee of our progress, which has been hitherto very satisfactory. Our first day at Liverpool was one of much interest to us. Friends were warm and kind, and the public meeting was larger than any known for some years past. On second day we enjoyed a quiet journey to Llangollen, and lodged there in the midst of delightful scenery, proceeding next day to Colebrookdale. The valleys of the Dee and Severn are highly beautiful. What a delightsome land do we live in! O that its inhabitants were more devoted to the service of that

glorious Creator who has given so many of them all things richly to enjoy!

Our two days at the Dale, including the General Meeting for Wales, &c., were also satisfactory; and we were again graciously favoured with evidence that we were in our right place. Barnard Dickenson was our kind and hospitable entertainer. On our return northward we held public meetings at Shrewsbury and Chester — small but solemn; G. and M. Crosfield kindly coming to meet us at the latter place. We are now in the midst of a truly exercising day at Manchester; and, after a morning meeting of an interesting kind, are looking towards a public meeting this evening. My dearest wife is nearly associated with me in the work, which is a great comfort and strength. I greatly feel the weight of the engagement, but consider it cause for much thankfulness that I am again permitted to have a part in it.

His Journal, under date 9th mo., 12th, contains the following rapid sketch of their subsequent engagements:—

The remainder of the week, [after the first day at Manchester,] was spent in holding meetings in Lancashire. Third day evening with the Egerton work-people. At Bolton, with Friends, the next morning. A full public meeting at the theatre at Preston, in the evening; and with Friends again on fifth day morning: a precious little church in that place. So also at Lancaster; where we had a peculiarly solemn public meeting on fifth day evening, and with Friends on sixth day morning.

Sixth day evening, comforting public meeting at the beautiful Yealand; entertained by William Waithman; called on the widow Ford, &c., &c. Seventh day afternoon, meeting with William Waithman's work-people; and in the evening arrived at Isaac Braithwaite's, Kendal. There we passed two interesting days, receiving abundant kindness. The relic of our church there is larger than we expected. The public meeting in the evening not very large

but on the whole satisfactory—The resurrection of Christ, and its consequences, much before me.

On third day, (Seventh mo., 22nd,) to Ulverstone. Dined at Newby Bridge; delicious view from the summit of a high hill behind the inn. Windermere spread before us in her glory. Well attended, and to me relieving, public meeting, at Ulverstone. Visited Swarthmore Hall, the residence, [in former days,] of an eminent servant of the Lord; afterwards a good meeting with Friends and others, in the old Meeting-house, endowed by George Fox. How wonderfully are times changed! that once large and persecuted society has left, in many places, a poor, broken, and peeled remnant, and settled on its lees. There are, however, a few exercised minds still belonging to Swarthmore; and surely we have more than a few in many other places. Everywhere we may say where Friends yet congregate, there is a living remnant. This is a mercy; and the hope of better and brighter things often arises.

On our way from Ulverstone to Ambleside, we drove along the banks of Coniston water, a charming lake indeed; and at Hawkshead called on Hannah Bragg, a widow of ninety-four years, I believe, clear in her understanding, and very sweet and tender in spirit. Her husband, who lately died, is said to have been the like; a pair honoured for the truth's sake. We find the Zachariahs, the Elizabeths, and Annas, of Scripture, here and there amongst us, in what engravers call the *vera effigies*. I do not think that a green old age is so conspicuous under any other administration. Kindly received at John Crosfield's lovely abode, near Ambleside, in which picturesque village we held a solemn public meeting that evening. Fifth day, happily spent amidst some of nature's fairest scenes. Langdale pikes, Grasmere; (O what a peerless view of it from the hill!) Rydal, William Ball's "Paradise of the Lakes." After dinner, over a mountain pass to Patterdale, where we lodged, after an evening drive along the delightful banks of Ullswater. Called that day on William Wordsworth, now the aged poet laureate, and had a good religious opportunity with him and his family, in which simple and sound

Christianity was declared, as we afterwards found, to his satisfaction.*

On Sixth day, (7th mo., 25th,) early from Patterdale to the Monthly Meeting at Colthouse, near Hawkshead; a good time with dear country Friends. Another call on Hannah Bragg; and then a beautiful drive to Keswick, where we held a public meeting, to our relief, in the Methodist meeting-house late that evening. Seventh day morning spent in viewing Borrowdale and Derwentwater; the latter charming indeed. After an early dinner, a long stage over the mountains, by Buttermere and Crummock, to the secluded little inn at Scale hill, where we lodged.

First day, (7th mo., 27th,) to Pardshaw meeting; large and very interesting. After an excellent public meeting, lodged at Greysouthen, the pleasant residence of J. W. and Mary Fletcher. The following night we lodged at Broughton, after an excellent public meeting there. Then followed a series of meetings with Friends and the public, at Cockermouth, Whitehaven, Maryport, and Allonby; and so, on seventh day, to Carlisle; a truly pleasant and substantially encouraging week. The Society pretty strong and lively, and very friendly towards ourselves. At Carlisle, dearest Anna and her husband and child, with our sister Rachel Fowler, met us to our great comfort.

First day, (8th mo., 3rd) at Carlisle. Close ministry at meeting in the morning; good public one in the evening. Second day; held a comfortable, though not crowded, public meeting at Scotby, in the evening. Much unity with Friends. Third day, to Wigton; the day satisfactorily spent at the school; a relieving public meeting in the evening; return to Carlisle, where we parted from the beloved Darlington party,

* Joseph John Gurney hesitated about calling on Wordsworth, fearing his call might be deemed an intrusion; but was at last constrained to make it, by a sense of religious duty. A gentleman who saw the poet shortly afterwards, informed him that Wordsworth had spoken gratefully of the visit, adding, with much warmth of feeling, "And who am I, that a prophet should be sent to my dwelling?" — *Note by E. P. Gurney.*

and quietly posted off by Gretna, &c., to Beatock bridge, in Scotland, where we found a quiet abode for the night. Fifth day, at Moffat; visit to the springs; large public meeting in the evening, much to our comfort. Seventh day, to Glasgow, where we spent nearly three days. On first day, (8th mo., 10th,) lively meeting with the little body of Friends in the morning; large public meeting in the City Hall, in the evening. Spiritual Christianity openly declared. Second day, visited the Bridewell; pretty satisfactory; interesting select meeting with two ministers and one elder. Third day morning. Two months' meeting, an excellent time. Fourth day, one of quiet travelling and sweet scenery; Callender, the Trosachs, Loch Katrine, &c.; then by a mountain defile to the exquisitely pretty Killin, where we lodged. Nothing can be more decent than the appearance of the country-people in all this district. In every little town the free Kirk-house lifts its head; rivalling its "residuary" opponent. The movement is a wonderful one; about 800 congregations; a college; endowments for more than 600 ministers; £750,000 already raised; £150,000 more in progress, for manses. Chalmers calls it the "Popular Endowment." An evidence of the power of the voluntary principle, when ably worked. I trust it is for good; for the diffusion of evangelical truth; and for the stirring up of many. Yet there is some strife in it; and much of the highest church principle in claiming the support of the State, without submitting to any of its interference. What a busy bustler on this motley scene is man; and what an awful thought, that every individual has an immortal soul, to be saved or lost for ever! Lord, give us grace, we beseech thee, to lay firm hold on the Saviour, and to walk watchfully in the way of holiness—ever sowing to the Spirit, that we may of the Spirit reap life everlasting! * * *

First day, (8th mo., 17th,) at Aberdeen. Large and excellent public meeting in the evening. Second day, General Meeting; lively and encouraging season; Friends much united. Third day, to Kinmuck; a day of sunshine and pure air, and pleasant communication with simple-hearted Friends;

and two satisfactory meetings. Blessed be the name of him who pours forth of his holy oil, as, and when, he pleases! Drank tea with Amos and Barbara Wigham; the former paralyzed, and a truly patient sufferer; the latter his ever assiduous nurse.

Fourth day returned to Aberdeen, and, after an early dinner, journeyed to Brechin, where we lodged. Fifth day to Perth; large public meeting at the City Hall; a good time. All these large public meetings were preceded by very deep exercise, and even painful baptism, which I believe corresponded with the degree of divine favour graciously manifested in the meetings themselves; in which, as I humbly trust, I was enabled to declare the whole truth as it is in Jesus. Sixth day, pleasant journey by Loch Leven, crossing the Forth at Queensferry, to Edinburgh, where we spent a truly agreeable three days. On seventh day we called on Dr. Greville; and on Dr. Chalmers and his wife, in their new country-house. They received us gladly, and truly pleasant it was to see him again. His body and mind are yet vigorous, and he was as simple-hearted, cordial, and joyous in spirit as ever; full of the Free Church, and full enough inclined, it may be, to triumph over the "residuaries."

[After a first day "of much interest" at Edinburgh,] we reached our quarters at Blackwell on fourth day afternoon, before the return of the beloved master and mistress from Shull. There we passed a few truly peaceful and pleasant days.

First day (8th mo., 31st) was spent at Newcastle, where a public meeting had been appointed for the evening; a very satisfactory day, though deep lowness was my portion until the evening meeting, which was inexpressibly relieving; the Salem meeting-house being well and respectably filled on the occasion. I trust I was enabled, in some good measure, to baptize the hearers into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

On third day morning (9th mo., 2nd) we left Blackwell, and travelled by railroad to Birmingham. There we spent fourth day; meeting with Friends in the morning; very full, and truly encouraging. In the evening, a meeting for

worship with more than 2000 people, at John Angell James's Chapel, [when] the last chapter of Revelation was much before me. This meeting crowned and concluded our whole service, and left us clear, without a feather's weight upon our minds.* O how great is the compassion of Israel's shepherd who went before us, throughout this journey, and was our rearward: yea, was, and is, "our exceeding great reward!"

Earlham, 9th mo., 20th. We have received pleasant and interesting calls from Samuel Wilberforce, Dean of Westminster,† also from Sir T. D. and Lady Ackland and their family. I called on Lord Lansdowne, at the Bishop's, and met with a kind and cordial reception from him and the circle there collected. It was the Musical Festival which drew them hither. What a happiness it is, that we and ours, are sheltered from this species of worldly amusement! I cannot think that it is right for any serious people to patronize displays of sacred music, mixed up with balls and concerts, and uttered so generally by profane and ungodly lips.

9th mo., 29th. More than three weeks have now elapsed since our return home. It has been a time of a good deal of enjoyment, and fraught with some lively interests. At the same time, it would be very satisfactory to my feelings, were I more engaged, in my home life, in doing good to others. Much peace is permitted in the retrospect of our late journey, but a very indulgent life is now my portion; and, from a

* Of this meeting John Angell James writes, in a note received from him whilst these sheets were passing through the press:— "We felt on that occasion, as we feel on some others, that there is a bond of union between the true followers of Christ, which lies deeper than that of denominational connexions, and which these, however they may appear to separate us, cannot sever, and do not always disturb. The sheep of Christ know the Shepherd's voice, through whatever organ it may come to them; and it was heard at that time, when our friend spoke to us of justification by faith, too distinctly to be misunderstood, and too impressively to be unheeded.

† Now Bishop of Oxford.

considerable degree of bodily infirmity and other circumstances I seem to be much more useless than a Christian might desire to be. The great matter is, to dwell near in spirit to Him, who is himself the spring of all good, and to endeavour, in humility and watchfulness, to follow His counsel in all things.

Soon after my return home, I had, in unison with some others, to attend at the Mayor's office, in order to appeal to the magistrates on behalf of our "Society for the Protection of Young Females," against licensing public houses of notoriously "ill fame." I hope some good effect may be produced. It appears to me a dangerous doctrine that the civil power ought never to interfere with the morals of the community. Although the civil power cannot lawfully interfere with conscience, in matters of religion, or so far meddle with the concerns of the kingdom of Christ, as to establish or endow a particular form of worship, it may surely be exerted, on the most unrestricted principles of religious liberty, for the purpose of maintaining the good order of society; such an order as is essential to the welfare of the subjects or citizens of the state, individually and generally, whatever may be their creed. As it is its business to punish, so much more is it within its province to prevent crime; and for this purpose it is bound to protect and promote a healthy state of public morals, and to put down all such nuisances as disorderly public houses, and that odious traffic in vice, for which our large towns and cities are so painfully notorious. In all such cases, the arm of the law is exerted on the simple principle which lies at the foundation of all civil government, namely, that the licentiousness of individuals is not to be allowed to trench on the welfare and good order of the whole community. There is nothing in this principle, so far as I see, which can be perverted to the support of the interference of Government with religion, or the marriage of Church and State.

The year had been already marked in their circle by a bereavement of no common order. They had

now to mourn the loss of another tenderly beloved member of the family, with whom he had long been accustomed to sympathize and labour.

10*th mo.*, 13*th*. We have just received the deeply affecting account of our beloved sister Fry's having been attacked, last seventh day afternoon, with pressure on the brain, which appears to have continued until yesterday morning, producing torpor, or perhaps insensibility, with difficulty of breathing. The dear patient did not know those around her, except occasionally for a moment, and did not appear to suffer pain; but the medical man evidently considered her end to be approaching, unless something effectual could be done to relieve the breathing. Overwhelming as this stroke would have been two years ago, we are now mercifully enabled to receive it in great quietness of mind. Her long-continued, and, of late, increasing infirmity, though with very precious alternations of hope, and, on her part, of great brightness, have gradually weaned us from that close dependence on her, to which many of us were prone; and it is impossible to say how much of pain and difficulty a prolonged state of increasing debility might have occasioned her. Most dearly have I been bound to this beloved sister, ever since I knew anything; and our being brought into the same religious course, has rendered that bond one of peculiar intimacy and tenderness. What a favour it is, that peace is the mantle of my spirit, on the hearing of this intelligence, in the delightful assurance that, whether she be in life or in death, peace is everlastingly hers, through Jesus Christ our Lord!

Third day morning. Our tenderly beloved sister appears never to have recovered from her state of unconsciousness, although the struggle of nature to the beholders was great. She drew her last breath about four o'clock yesterday morning. We are quiet under the blow, yet somewhat stunned.

CHAPTER XLVI.

1845—46. ÆT. 58.

BRIEF MEMOIRS OF SIR T. F. BUXTON AND ELIZABETH FRY; LETTER TO SIR ROBERT PEEL ON THE DISTRESS AMONG THE NORWICH POOR; CORRESPONDENCE ON THE OREGON QUESTION; PERSONAL TRIALS; ATTENDS THE YEARLY MEETING FOR THE LAST TIME; LETTER TO SIR ROBERT PEEL ON THE INTRODUCTION OF SLAVE-GROWN PRODUCE; DECLARATION OF FAITH.

Largely as Joseph John Gurney was thus again called upon to partake of the cup of sorrow, it was one mingled with mercy and abundant consolation. But the loss of such a brother and sister was one, in this world, never to be supplied; and it was not the less felt amidst that quiet, confiding trust, and that steady diligence in the performance of duty, which seemed not obscurely to intimate that his own separation from them was not to be long.

10*th mo.*, 27*th.* It is almost impossible for me to describe the last two weeks. We have deeply felt the blow; and have been closely occupied by the subject. The leisure of fourth, fifth, and sixth days, was occupied in drawing up a sketch of the dear departed one.

On seventh day, the 18th, we went by railroad to London, and joined the Upton party at dinner. The following first day was very interesting. The funeral on second day, at Barking, was very large, and deeply solemn. I was led to

pour forth my praises and prayers at the grave; and a large meeting was afterwards held to our satisfaction, under a tent. The dinner, at Upton, was indicative of her own liberal and impartial mind; so many there, and so hospitably entertained, and so thoroughly united in heart and feeling. Great relief, and much peace, were felt at the close of the day.

On fourth day last we were favoured with a blessed parting season, and returned home in peace. The newspaper containing the sketch, sent off to about 400 people in different parts of the world. May it be accepted in the Lord unto edification!

Sixth day morning. We have enjoyed much of a feeling of quietness and solemnity in our meetings; some precious tokens, I trust, that we are not forsaken. I am preparing the Memorials of Fowell and my sister Fry for publication, and deeply feel what a chasm their departure has produced. Surely *we* shall never see their like again.

11*th mo.*, 18*th.* Last second day to dinner, by the train, came the Chevalier Bunsen and his lady, and stayed with us until fourth day morning, when I accompanied them to Blickling, on their way to Northrepps. Their visit was uncommonly bright and pleasant, and I hope I have formed with the Chevalier, a very valuable literary and Christian friendship. * * * To-day I have been at home; writing letters, reading, and pondering many things in my heart. In the multitude of my thoughts within me, O Lord, let thy comforts delight my soul!

12*th mo.*, 15*th.* These gaps in my journal, so full is my mind, and so weak my memory, are difficult to fill up; but sure I am, that the ever-rolling stream of time is bringing me nearer and nearer to eternity. May it through infinite mercy and ever-flowing grace be more and more a happy, yea, a joyous thought! How important, yet how impossible without that grace, to dwell in the meekness and purity of Christ, in the very truth and power thereof! * * The decease of our truly dear friend and relative, Ann Hodgkin, induced us to go to Tottenham, on fifth day in last week. There we continued

until first day afternoon; being much with our dear and deeply-stricken mourners; attending the funeral of George Stacey's daughter Anna on sixth day afternoon, and that of Ann Hodgkin on seventh day morning. The two evening re-unions were especially interesting; and we found during these several occasions some call to the exercise of the ministry. Both the dear departed ones had given full evidence that they died in the Lord. Not a single cloud was permitted to darken their hope. On sixth day morning I had much satisfaction in attending the Meeting for Sufferings; and towards the conclusion spoke, under some true anointing, I believe, on the subject of war; on the threatened war with America; and on the propriety of the Meeting for Sufferings being on the watch, to come forward, if needful, on the side of peace.

The failure of the wheat harvest in many parts of the kingdom, and the depressed state of trade, concurred in producing at this period great distress among the poorer classes; especially in the manufacturing districts. Joseph John Gurney's deep sympathy was, as usual, awakened by the sufferings of the poor at Norwich; and he was induced, on their behalf, to plead for a modification or suspension of the existing duties on corn, in the following letter to the late Sir Robert Peel, who was then, though unknown to Joseph John Gurney, anxiously revolving, with the other members of his Government, this important question.

Earlham, 10th mo., 29th, 1845.

Sir Robert Peel, Bart.

I heartily hope I shall not be regarded as taking an undue liberty in freely addressing thee on a subject which I look upon as of vital importance to the poorer classes of the people. With regard to their condition and prospects in this part of the kingdom, I grieve to say my report must

be a very unfavourable one. There can be no doubt that the wheat harvest in Norfolk has been far below the average; the fears, which were previously entertained on the subject, having been more than realized by the alarming deficiency in the actual produce. The disease and failure of the potato crop are also prevalent in our county to a distressing extent. But it is more to the state of Norwich that I am anxious to solicit a little of thy attention. Our manufacturing population, which is very considerable, has, during the general prosperity, been only very partially employed, and at a miserably inadequate rate of wages. Under these circumstances, it was with great difficulty that we got through the last winter; the state of destitution was even then terrible, and the visitation of small-pox, which followed in its train, and which was greatly increased by the wretched state of the inhabitations, was fatal to a large number. Since then we have had more employment, but still at a very low rate of wages; and now, as we are approaching the winter, the manufacturers are again turning off their hands. It is impossible to conceive what will become of the poor, even at the present high price of bread; and, should that price continue to rise, which we have too much reason to expect, the consequences to the population of our city cannot fail to be of the most deplorable and alarming character.

Such is the state of things amongst us, which, as friends of the poor, we are anxious to submit to the wisdom and care of a paternal government, and more especially of Sir Robert Peel as the head of it. We are well aware of thy great experience, and of thy sincere desire to promote the welfare of the community; and we therefore do not hesitate, though with much respect and deference, to lay our case before thee. It is, to our apprehension, abundantly evident that the operation of the sliding-scale of the Corn-law will not afford the early and effective relief which the distresses of our population so loudly demand; especially during the present season, when the average of prices is kept down far below the practical reality by the low value of injured and unwholsome samples. The boon, therefore, which we anxiously crave irre-

spectively of the general question of the Corn-laws, and wholly so of party politics, is the suspension of all import duties on man's necessary food, and especially on bread-corn, during the present affecting and alarming exigency.

I understand that a memorial from many of the more respectable citizens of Norwich, of all parties, to the effect now mentioned, is likely to be presented to thee; and I venture to hope that in offering to thy notice this private explanation of our circumstances, I shall not be regarded by thee as acting improperly. Shouldst thou see it right to grant our petition, I fully believe that the blessing of thousands who are ready to perish will rest upon thee.

With earnest desire that divine wisdom and help may be abundantly upon thee, in the prosecution of thy high and important functions, and with great respect,

I am, thy sincere friend and well-wisher,
J. J. GURNEY.

It was in the same spirit that he now entered into a lengthened correspondence with another influential and distinguished individual, in reference to the dispute which had arisen between the British and American Governments with regard to the Oregon Territory, and which seemed at one time to endanger the harmony that had so long happily subsisted between the two countries.

From this correspondence the following brief extract may be here given:—

Earlham, 11th mo., 26th, 1845.

On my return from Lynn and Runcton last evening, I found thy kind letter, which I could not, at so late an hour, answer by return of post. On the Oregon question, I wish to quote, *imprimis*, thy own excellent words, "England can afford not to be offended, it can also afford to give way." Nothing can be truer, and nothing more important, in its bearing on the present question, than this statement. With her immense resources;

with her high reputation, &c., this country is above the charge either of inability or fear, and can most unquestionably afford abundance of rational quietness, and kind condescension. Allowing for a moment *thy* doctrine, that States being scripturally authorized, (authorized, I should say, by Him who is the Author both of nature and revelation,) may lawfully make use of war as a necessary defence, (thou art of course aware that *my* principles against war go much further,) but, allowing this as the general opinion of the nation, it is most evident that the present case does not fall within the limits of this principle. The war now projected in England, should the American Government persevere in their unbending claim, could not be regarded by any one as an act of necessary self-defence on the part of this nation; but only as the maintenance, by the force of arms, of a point of honour so called. The chastisement would fall, as is well observed by thee, on the innocent and highly respectable part of the community; the citizens of New England, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, &c., who are as much averse to war as we are ourselves; and who, generally speaking, care as little for Oregon as we do. What possible advantage could England derive from thus punishing the innocent for the guilty? If it be said that it would drive this large portion of American citizens to insist on juster measures with their own government, I would answer that no such end would be produced. They have it not in their power to prevail over the larger and more popular party — and they would only be driven into feelings of revenge and hostility against England, which would be the source of endless disquietude and mischief.

Then, as to the point of honour, can anything be conceived more unjustifiable than plunging these two great nations into the unutterable horror and wickedness of such a war, on the ground of punctilio? If it is wicked in the duellist to shoot his former friend and neighbour, and expose his own life to a similar danger, merely because his honour, in the eye of the world, is wounded, surely it is the very same wickedness, on an immensely larger scale, for one nation to make war upon

another on any such ground. Think of sacrificing myriads of lives, and sending myriads of souls unprepared into eternity, merely because Great Britain imagines herself affronted!

In connection with this subject, Joseph John Gurney, whilst in London, in the early part of the following year, (1846,) accompanied a deputation to present an address from the Society of Friends to the government, earnestly praying for the preservation of peace. Referring to this, he writes under date:—

2nd mo., 20*th.* The engagement which took deep hold of me, in connection with the Meeting for Sufferings, was that of addressing the government on the subject of the Oregon question, and peace with America. * * * I waited on Sir Robert Peel and Lord Aberdeen, with my brother Samuel, Peter Bedford, Robert Forster, and several other Friends, and read the address to them, which was evidently much felt. It was a highly interesting occasion.

In a memorial subsequently addressed by Joseph John Gurney to the Earl of Aberdeen, after minutely discussing some of the minor details of the question, he winds up with the following earnest appeal against war under any circumstances:—

Should the American Government, after all, determine to stand firmly upon the Florida treaty, and continue to assert what they call their irrefragable claim to the whole of Oregon; should they, on this ground, refuse to agree to any further concession (as they consider it) than that which was proposed to the British Minister, at Washington, and rejected by him, without reference to the Home Government; should they, under the pressure of a low and lawless democracy, be deaf to the voice of reason and reconciliation, even beyond this point; shall Lord Aberdeen, on that account, deem himself to be "*forced*" into a rupture with America? Shall he yield to

the absurd and dangerous dictates of our war-loving and America-hating newspaper writers? Shall he exchange his truly Christian and conciliating spirit—estimated and honoured as it is by good men the world over — for the hurling forth of the weapons of death and destruction; for a war of which no man could calculate the probable extent and duration? Under a feeling of the solemnity of the words, I would answer from my very soul, *God forbid!* The question of national honour, even in its worldly phase, cannot surely be involved in the *more* or *less* of the concession which we make for the sake of peace; in the *more* or *less* of the acres either of land or water which we yield to the Americans for the sake of the welfare of both nations, and for the happiness of the world. * * *

It cannot be doubted but that these sentiments found a response in the mind of the distinguished statesman to whom they were addressed. War was on this occasion mercifully averted; and by slight mutual concessions, these two great countries were spared the enormous misery and guilt which it ever brings in its train. Happy, indeed, will be the day when, through the effectual working of the love of Christ, both statesmen and people are brought to a willingness, on all occasions, to act upon what, to the Christian, must surely be the undeniable axiom, that no necessity can relieve either individuals or nations from the obligations of that highest of all allegiance which they owe unto Him who hath said, "LOVE YOUR ENEMIES."

Before once more recurring to his ordinary course as traced in his Journal, it seems necessary here briefly to advert to a subject which had for some

time past, at intervals, occasioned Joseph John Gurney considerable uneasiness. It will be recollected that, during his visit to the United States, he had met with some who appeared to labour under misapprehensions respecting him and his writings. By an unhappily mistaken process of reasoning and criticism upon detached passages of his works; such as if applied to the writings of the early Friends, to those of the first reformers, or even to the Holy Scriptures themselves, would be found productive of consequences which the lover of truth could not fail to deplore; an attempt had been made, with a zeal worthy of a better cause, to prove that he was opposed to those great principles of spiritual Christianity, which have ever distinguished the Society of Friends — principles which had been so long truly dear to him, and for which he had sacrificed so much. It is not the object of these pages to enter into a detailed examination of Joseph John Gurney's writings in reference to the points alluded to. Nor indeed is any such examination necessary. To the candid and unprejudiced; to those who read them in the spirit in which they were written, and with that simplicity of purpose in which alone the truth can be perceived and apprehended; they will themselves furnish a sufficient answer to the charge brought against them. That amidst so much that is valuable, passages may be found which are open to misconception, and which, especially when isolated and detached from the context, may be perhaps even justly liable to some exception, is by no means improbable. Such imperfections, shared as they are, in at least

a fully equal degree, by the works of the early Friends, and by other writings of distinguished worth and excellence, are, doubtless, permitted as salutary lessons at once of the weakness of all inferior instrumentality, and of the high and peculiar sanction divinely impressed upon the records of Holy Scripture, as the only volume that can be safely treated as the standard of Christian doctrine.* And if even the Epistles of an inspired Apostle, with the "other Scriptures," have been from the very first wrested by the "unteachable," and "unstable," need we be surprised if writings of vastly inferior dignity and importance are not privileged with exemption from similar treatment? To be mis-interpreted by those whose range of thought and experience is different from his own; to be supposed to hold opinions that he dislikes or disapproves; to be suspected of denying principles that are truly dear to him; these must often be among the trials which the Christian has to bear, and in which he is called upon to follow in the footsteps of his Divine Master, whose whole life was one continued act of condescension to the ignorance and infirmity of man.

The spirit in which Joseph John Gurney was enabled to bear a trial so painful as this was to his natural feelings, will best appear from the incidental allusions to it which occur in his letters and Journal of this period.

* "For equalling our writings with Scripture," says Wm. Penn, in emphatic language, "we have no such expressions or thoughts." (Works, vol. II., p. 800, fol. ed.) Cordially could Joseph John Gurney respond to this declaration.

TO PETER BEDFORD.

Earlham, 10th mo., 8th, 1845.

* * * I can truly say I passed through the meetings of New York and New England with great comfort to myself, being everywhere received with cordiality by Friends, with two or three individual exceptions; and I was not myself, by any means, fully aware of the efforts made by one individual to thwart the service: still less did I know the grounds on which his own friends were dealing with him; and when I last attended the Yearly Meeting of New England, I received a full returning certificate,* with what appeared to be the almost undisturbed unanimity of *a truly weighty and consistent body of Friends.*

Thou art also aware that since my return home, I have twice been long engaged on the continent, far away from these scenes of strife;—and of later times have been generally permitted a very quiet life at my own peaceful home. Thus I can gratefully acknowledge that our dear Lord and Master has graciously condescended to "compass me with his favour as with a shield," and I should indeed be worthy of blame did I distrust his loving-kindness for the future. Still, my beloved friend, these things are trying and distressing, and I have, at times, suffered much from them. But I do feel that it is safe to lie low under the chastening hand of the Lord;—and, next to this, safe to be subject to my friends in humility and love. If there is anything wrong in me, let it be corrected. I wish not to strive. Of one thing I am sure; that I love my friends, and love the cause, and love the truth, as thou and I have always held it, in *all its parts.* And may we ever be found on the side of the Lord of truth, patiently waiting until *He* shall be pleased to arise for our help, and to put a song of praise into our mouths.

The following are from his Journal:—

* Granted by the Yearly Meeting at large.

12*th mo.*, 15*th*. I have requested to be furnished in writing, with the passages excepted against, expressing my intention of fully submitting them and myself to the judgment therein, of the only duly authorized body; the Morning Meeting. Thus I hold nothing back from the Society, and cast myself and my writings without reserve on the care and judgment of the body. I can do no more. The cause is precious to me; and I desire to be preserved in true meekness, humility, and love towards all, until this *stürm* wind shall be over-past.

12*th mo.*, 16*th*. I spent almost a sleepless night, not without some deep tribulation of soul; and much lowness and weakness have been my portion this morning. I pray that I may be enabled to maintain the whole blessed truth as it is in Jesus, in the firmness, yet patience and meekness which are in Christ. O for the "patience," the "long suffering," the "firmness," the "meekness," the "purity," the "humility," of the saints!* Lord, I beseech thee, for thy dear Son's sake, whose example I desire to follow, to bestow upon me these precious graces.

In pursuance of the intention above expressed, Joseph John Gurney addressed the following letter to the Editors of the Friend Newspaper, which was published in that Journal in the first month, 1846.

Earlham, near Norwich, 12th mo., 17th, 1845.

* * * I should consider that I was travelling entirely out of my record, were I to attempt to answer the accusations made against me by an individual who, in consequence of his setting at defiance the good order established amongst us, has been separated from the Society by his monthly meeting; and whose disownment has since been confirmed by the solid

* The words within quotation marks are in Greek in the original

and deliberate judgment of the Yearly Meeting, of which he was a member. In fact, I have never felt at liberty even to look into his book; having long had reason to believe that he was indulging a wrong spirit, and having often witnessed the verification of the old proverb — "Whoso toucheth pitch, shall be defiled thereby." *

Since, however, his numerous charges against me have been read by many, I think it right to say that if any Friend of weight and consistency will furnish me, in writing, with such passages from my works as he or she may consider unsatisfactory, (duly signed of course,) although, I believe, there is nothing in my writings at variance with the truth as it has always been professed by Friends, yet I should consider it my duty to take an early opportunity of laying such communication before the Morning Meeting in London; the body which, according to our wholesome system of discipline, is constitutionally authorized to judge of such matters.

Should any of the passages objected to occur in the works which have already passed that meeting, I cannot doubt that the Friends belonging to it will deem it right again to sift those particular passages; and that they will not hesitate to examine whether those selected from my other works, (which, being of a general nature, were not within the province of the morning meeting,) are, or are not, consistent with the acknowledged principles of our religious Society.

In case of that meeting's not being satisfied with the explanations which I may be enabled to offer of the passages thus submitted to their consideration, it is my full intention to modify them, strike them out, or even publicly renounce them, in whole or in part, as the meeting may think proper to advise.

In expressing this intention, I wish it to be clearly understood that my sentiments on essential points, are in no degree changed since the date even of my earliest publications; and nothing, I trust, would induce me to sacrifice one particle of "the truth as it is in Jesus," to please or satisfy any man or

* Eccles. xiii., 1.

body of men whatsoever. But I am fully convinced that our Friends of the Morning Meeting are as much attached both to the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, and to the distinguishing views and practices of Friends, as I am myself; and I have a deep consciousness of my own weakness and fallibility. It certainly cannot be said of my writings, (or perhaps of those of any other man who has written since the days of the apostles,) that there are not passages in them which might be improved, simplified, corrected, or even entirely omitted, with advantage to the reader, as confusing, to some minds, at least, the sense which they were intended to convey.

I make this proposal, as I trust, in the spirit of submission and brotherly love; and in the earnest desire to promote that harmony and unity amongst us, which it is one of the most subtle and cruel devices of the enemy of souls to break and destroy.

In allusion to the same subject, he subsequently writes in his Journal:—

3rd mo., 25th, 1846. I can truly say, I have done my best, my very best; my all, my very all; and now I think I can quietly leave it to Him whom we all call Master. May I serve Him better and more entirely than I have yet done; though I know it must be in weakness; and may none of these storms and jealousies throw me off my guard in the meekness and patience of Christ, or in the least divert my attention from daily duty, and the diligent working out of the everlasting salvation of my poor unworthy soul! I have prayed for peace among the nations, peace in our Society, and peace in the deep interior of my own spirit; a blessing which I do in a good degree already enjoy; but to which I have not the slightest pretensions, except in the abundant mercy of God in Christ Jesus. May it abound in us more and more; with joy in the Holy Ghost, and a truly thankful heart to the Father and Fountain of all our mercies!

2nd mo., 20th. Returned yesterday from London, having

been exactly six weeks from our happy home. In the course of these six interesting weeks, we have had much sweet enjoyment in the company of our beloved relatives and friends; two days at Heath very pleasantly, then full two weeks at Blackwell, and a few days at Polam, in near fellowship and most pleasant intercourse with their respective dear inhabitants. Afterwards, on our journey home, with our friends at Huddersfield, Leeds, Bradford, Brighouse, and Sheffield, and last, but not least, with James Montgomery, the Christian poet, who seems to be ripening for eternity. Then thirteen days at Upton, where many engagements awaited me.

I have to record as special mercies, the truly satisfactory position and condition of our darling Anna with her husband and babe; the flowing of love and unity towards us from Friends, wherever our lot was cast; the pouring forth of the Lord's anointing on me, his poor weak servant, on several rather memorable occasions; and the solemnity which prevailed at almost every meeting which we attended. * * * * Surely it is not too much to say, that the dear Master was remarkably with us on these occasions; showing us tokens for good, and giving us a banner to be displayed for his truth; yet the creature, truly, has had nothing to glory in. The language has been deeply felt, "Be thou exalted, O God, above the heavens, and let thy glory be above all the earth."

TO HIS DAUGHTER.

Earlham, 4th mo., 3rd, 1846.

* * * Enough for us, that where Christ is in glory, there will be his followers, who are now struggling on in the Church militant; there *are* his saints who are already gathered from this passing scene to things invisible and eternal. Think of dearest aunt Fry with us at this time last year; so decrepid, so oppressed, and yet so lively in the truth; now for ever released from the burden of the flesh; for with her it did indeed become a sore burden. How gladsome, how easy, how tranquil, how joyous, her present condition!

3rd mo., 28*th*. The General Quarterly Meeting larger than

usual, and to me a truly edifying time. It was on the whole to me, and I believe to many others, a time of solid encouragement; some fresh evidence graciously bestowed, that we as a people, (despised though our profession be,) are following no cunningly devised fables.

Yesterday was spent quietly at home. Cordelia Bayes and Mary Browne came to a luncheon dinner. Cordelia told us that a cheerful heart is the fruit of a thankful spirit. I was pleased with the remark, not having before put cause and consequence together in the same way. May I experience this truth more and more!

4th mo., 9th. My history this week is that of a weakling, with but little exception; languid days and restless nights; so that I seem reduced to the do-nothing, be-nothing state. This may be the very best for a season. I am, however, bringing my temporal affairs into a satisfactory arrangement, which yields me somewhat of peace. I want to get them so square, as to my will, &c., &c., as to have no more thought about them while I live. We have finished D'Aubigné's last volume, which we have read with great pleasure; the latter part contains a most striking evidence of the folly and wickedness of using the armed power of man in the combats of Christianity. Zwingle died miserably in the battle-field; the peaceable Æcolampadius happily in his bed!

Yesterday afternoon, we met dear John Henry and Mary at Easton,* only four miles and a-half, I think, from our door; and entirely to our taste, as a residence for them; the country lovely. When I was drinking of the remarkably pure water of their well, a prayer was raised in my heart that the waters of life might flow abundantly for them. Grant it, O Lord, for thy mercy and for thy truth's sake!

4th mo., 25th. Again I say — what have I to record? Much of my own utter weakness and poverty in spirituals; and much of the goodness and loving-kindness of the Lord, who still most graciously and undeservedly encompasses me with mercies; to which I may add a quieter and easier state

* The residence of his son who had been recently married.

of mind than is sometimes my portion. * * An admirable meeting last sixth day, on Capital Punishment, suggested by the late sad execution; ending with a petition to the House of Commons: also an excellent meeting of the Auxiliary Peace Society, last fourth day, over which I presided; including an address to Norwich in America, which I trust will do good. Our own meetings have been comfortable; some of them eminently so; especially last fifth day, when the ministry flowed in a quiet stream. "As ye have therefore received Christ Jesus the Lord, so walk ye in him."

Fourth mo., 26th. Under confinement for a cold on the chest through the day, with my dearest wife for my nurse and companion. We sat together in sweet silence, both morning and afternoon. In the morning, prayer was vocally offered to our mutual refreshment. Besides the Scriptures, Bonar's Night of Weeping, Daniel Wheeler, and William Dewsbury have been our companions. We relish nothing so well, next to Scripture, as the Journals of Friends.

Third day morning. Still a prisoner at home, expecting, however, to be abroad again to-morrow. I am ready to hope this time of quiet secession may be of use to me. My state is not a high one; much of self-loathing, accompanied by some degree of disquietude, lest I should not, after all, be truly the child of grace. Yet a good hope dwells with me, and I think I now and then hear the still small voice which speaks peace to the soul. Truly, I am nothing; Christ is all.

TO ANDREW BRANDRAM.

Earlham, 5th mo., 4th, 1846.

I should much have enjoyed attending the ensuing Anniversary Meeting of the British and Foreign Bible Society, but as I cannot do this with convenience, I send a donation of £100 to the Parent Society, being thoroughly persuaded that for the three great evils of the present day, superstition, infidelity, and crime, no better remedy can be found than the universal diffusion of the Holy Scriptures in all languages, and without note or comment.

In prosecuting this great and noble object, may the friends of simple Christian truth, of every denomination, be encouraged by a renewed sense of divine favour, and may the safe and harmless principle of co-operation without compromise, be more and more accompanied in the blessed work of the Bible Society by "the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace!"

Sixth day morning, [*5th mo.*, *8th.*] Poorliness continued; so that I did not attend the Ladies' Branch Bible Society, at the Gildencroft, rather to my dissatisfaction; but I sent a letter and a donation; being much bound in spirit to the cause. I am remarkably divested now of concerns or object of any kind; and should it be the will of my heavenly Father to take me hence to a now unseen state of being, I humbly trust that I may be favoured with some peaceful assurance that all is well: if so, it is surely all of mercy; I have nothing to hold by, besides this; and seldom have I had a clearer view of my own weakness, and thorough unfitness in myself, or on the score of my own works, for the bar of perfect discernment and righteous judgment. But there is a feeling of the vast broad wing of loving-kindness, and unmerited mercy, still spread over me. I write in this strain, not from any alarm occasioned by my present lowish state of health, but rather from a feeling of being brought to a pause in the current of life, without much prospect of its being preparatory to any particular service.

In the Yearly Meeting, at which he was present in usual course, a few days later, an opportunity occurred for the disclosure of some of his views and feelings in regard to his own position as an author amongst Friends. It was an occasion of deep interest to many present; one which the event has rendered the more impressive, this Yearly Meeting being the last which he lived to attend.

"I spoke calmly and openly," he writes, "respecting my

own standing as an author; declaring that for thirty-three years since my convincement, I had endeavoured faithfully and steadily to uphold the principles and testimonies of Friends, as held from our first rise to the present day; that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, I had never penned a single sentence opposed to those principles; but, knowing my own weakness, and taking into view the differences in modes of expression, &c., I was quite willing to correct any passage in my works that any Friend might point out to me, so far as truth and propriety might demand it. I explained my ground of action respecting the Morning Meeting, showing that I had acted as a faithful member of the Society, and according to its rules, which require that any works relating to the principles of Friends, should be submitted thereto. At the same time I stated that, should it be the judgment of the society to extend the rule farther, viz., to all works on religion, I, for one, was quite prepared to comply with it. I spoke on the true ground of Christian unity; and I trust that a measure of divine anointing accompanied the communication."

6th mo., 7th. We returned home in peace and health, last sixth day evening. Our sabbath yesterday was restful and serious. Towards the close of the afternoon meeting, I spoke a few sentences on — "Watch ye, therefore, and pray always, that ye may be counted worthy to escape all these things, and to stand before the Son of Man." May this watchfulness, this always praying, be mine! We feel tranquil, happy, and hopeful.

TO THE BISHOP OF CALCUTTA,

(Then on a visit to this country.)

Norwich, 6th mo., 6th, 1846.

Though thy son kindly engaged to convey a message of my Christian love to thee, and of my regret at having missed thee, I am best satisfied to write thee a few lines to tell thee that I was grievously disappointed, on calling at the Vicarage last second day morning, to find the beloved and honoured Bishop of Calcutta flown. I had not given him credit for

enough of remaining youthful vigour to steal away at seven o'clock in the morning. I have dwelt much with regard to thee, my dear and valued friend, on the words of Paul, "Neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I may finish my course with joy, and the ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God." These words, I doubt not, express the genuine feelings of thy heart, in the prospect of returning to India; and warmly do I desire that the Lord's presence may go with thee by land and by sea, through many a difficulty, and many a conflict, and may finally give thee rest.

O that glorious rest from all sorrow, and from all sin; from all infidelity and all superstition; from all discord, disputation, and division, on the bosom of the Lord Jesus, and in the presence of his glorified saints! I do believe, my dear friend, it will be thine, in due season; and may thy unworthy friend, through the unutterable riches of divine love and mercy in Christ Jesus, be also a partaker in it!

True to the principles which he had ever advocated on the subjects of slavery and the slave trade, he looked with great apprehension on the effort that was now renewed in Parliament (upon the somewhat inconsistent plea of *free* trade) to abolish the differential duties upon the *slave-grown* produce of Cuba and the Brazils. On this subject he addressed the following letter

TO SIR ROBERT PEEL.

Earlham, Norwich, 6th mo., 15th, 1846

RESPECTED FRIEND,

Fully aware as I am that I am taking no small liberty in writing to thee as Prime Minister in the midst of thy many and important avocations, I feel impelled to say that the Government has the warm approbation and support of every true friend to Africa and her afflicted children and

descendants; of every consistent supporter of the anti-slavery cause, in its declared intention of continuing the prohibitory duties on the sugars of Cuba and Brazil. It must surely be evident to every candid and reflecting person, that the opening of our ports to those sugars cannot fail to add a vast stimulus to the African slave trade, with all its horrors and abominations; such a stimulus as must countervail, and perhaps, utterly nullify, all the efforts which the British Government is now making for the suppression of that hateful and murderous traffic. Heartily agreeing with the Government in its noble advocacy of the general principle of free trade, the friends of Africa and of the slave everywhere cannot but deeply feel that this general principle ought to be subject to the limitations of humanity, mercy, justice, and true Christian morality, in all its branches. Nor can it be denied that these will be conspicuously sacrificed at the shrine of a merely worldly policy, if we open our ports to sugars which unquestionably represent a corresponding amount of rapine, robbery, bloodshed, and murder. In using these terms, I have especial reference to the African slave trade, on which the sugar-growing of Cuba and the Brazils at present depends. I am aware that the same objection applies, in a subordinate degree, to the slave production of North America; and deeply do the friends of the anti-slavery cause lament that riveting of the bonds of American slavery, and that extension of the system, which have been and continue to be, the results of our ready admission of the slave-grown cottons of the United States. Nevertheless, we are aware that the case of Cuba and the Brazils is very much stronger, as involving, not only the support of slavery, but the maintenance, encouragement, and certain increase of the African slave trade itself, against which the British nation and Government are pledged by a long course of profession and action, and by the most sacred principles of honour, as well as justice and mercy.

What could be more preposterous than our pulling down with one hand the whole system of national influence and interference against the slave trade which we have been raising with the other? * * *

I trust thou wilt kindly allow me now to advert to the other branch of the subject, and to say with how much satisfaction we should hail the entire extinction of the differential duty on foreign free-grown sugar; a measure which would not only be in strict accordance with those great principles of commercial policy which the Government has so successfully advocated, but which would have a most decided tendency to weaken the bonds of foreign slavery, and to promote the progress of emancipation. After my visit to Santa Cruz in the winter of 1839–40, a direct proposal was made to me by one of the principal planters, on his own behalf and that of his brethren, most of them being Englishmen, to emancipate their slaves, on condition of their sugar being admitted into our ports on the same terms as those of our own colonies. There is strong reason to believe that the equalization of the duties on free-grown sugars would be followed by the emancipation of the slaves in the colonies both of Denmark and Holland, and, possibly, it might be made the subject of negotiation and of terms with those countries. On my return to England, I found that the then-existing treaty with Brazil precluded such an arrangement with Denmark; but as this obstruction is now removed, (as I suppose,) I trust this view of the subject will be embraced by the Government. Should Denmark and Holland emancipate on this ground, it can hardly be supposed that France would refuse to imitate their example, and Spain herself might possibly follow in the train.

* * * * *

P. S. I take the liberty of adding the statement of my own conviction, that the equalization of the duties on free-grown sugar, would give such a stimulus to the agricultural improvements which are now taking place in the West Indian colonies, as to enable them successfully to compete with the producers of foreign free-grown sugar, and would thus ensure and enhance their prosperity.

7*th mo.*, 1*st.* Political events are peculiarly interesting. The ministers have succeeded in the abolition of the Corn

Laws, which is now law; a law, I trust, which will be greatly blessed to this nation. But being beaten on the question of Protection of Life in Ireland, they resign. On the very day of their resignation, comes the delightful intelligence that the Oregon question, *vexatissima* as it was, is settled, and peace thus happily secured between Great Britain and America. * * Truly thankful do I feel for the result, to the God of peace, who has graciously heard and answered the many prayers of his children for the peace of the nations.

7th mo., 27*th.* It has been a favoured Sabbath day; the company of Isabel Casson very acceptable at both our meetings; especially so this evening. Great solemnity attended us; the meeting closed in prayer. It is, indeed, very sweet and encouraging to have felt, during the last few days, something of the renewed visitation of the Spirit of the Lord, bearing witness with our spirits that we are the children of God; and if children, then *heirs!* This is a precious experience of which I feel myself to be totally unworthy, and for which I seem to myself, at seasons, as totally unfit. But in the adorable loving-kindness of the Lord, I am in some good degree enabled to believe that mercy covers the judgment-seat as to an hair's-breadth.

8th mo., 3*rd.* Yesterday I entered my 59th year; only one year younger than my beloved and honoured father when he died. How strange an advance in life does this appear, since an event, as it were, of yesterday; so vivid is the recollection of it! I was closely engaged last week in drawing up a declaration of my faith on the Scriptures; the immediate operation of the Spirit; justification and the "Trinity;" at the request of Stephen A. Chase, of Salem, Massachusetts, who requires it in his defence of Friends, in a law-suit about Swanzey Meeting-House. Having printed the declaration in a sheet of eight columns, I affirmed to it before the mayor and two other magistrates of our city, and then committed the document to the post. May a blessing rest on this somewhat new and singular act of my life, for which I think I had a measure of the feeling of divine sanction!

This declaration will be found in the Appendix to the present volume. In a letter to his daughter, dated 8th mo., 4th, he says in reference to it: —

It has appeared a providential opening for explaining myself, and for showing the utter groundlessness of the charge of my differing from the Society in its primitive sentiments and principles. I have felt the solemnity of thus *stereotyping my faith*, yet much peace has attended it.

CHAPTER XLVII.

1846—47. ÆT. 59.

HIS LATEST ENGAGEMENTS IN THE WORK OF THE MINISTRY; JOURNEY TO DARLINGTON; LAST ILLNESS, DEATH, AND FUNERAL.

If there be an interest belonging to each varied period in the progress of the Christian traveller, that interest can scarcely fail to be deepened, as he is observed drawing nearer and nearer to the consummation of all his hopes. Though death may at times cast its shadow before, yet the consciousness of its gradual, but certain approach, tends rather to quicken his diligence, and to cheer him onward in the near prospect of the long-looked-for prize.

Reflections, such as these, may have not unnaturally already presented themselves to the mind of the reader; who has now only to watch Joseph John Gurney's calm and peaceful course during the few remaining months of his life.

The autumn of 1846 was spent quietly at home; with the exception of engagements connected with the attendance of the Meetings of Friends in his own Quarterly Meeting, and with what proved a farewell visit to his beloved daughter, at Darlington, and to his friends in several places on his way home.

The following are from his Journal:—

8th mo., 25th. O that I may be more and more entirely subject to the spiritual government of Christ! Probably a little more of service, in the promotion of his cause in the earth, may arise, not very far from home, and without much delay. There is great peace in looking back on the meetings so far held under my present minute. If my state in the mean time is that of poverty, with much quietness, and deep nothingness, why should I complain? Why should I not rather rejoice, and be thankful?

9th mo., 1st. First day, after much lowness of mind, was greatly favoured. The meeting at Diss, in the morning, was fully and unexpectedly attended by a crowd of respectable persons, and was very solemn—"This God is our God for ever and ever: he will be our guide even unto death." In the evening, an overflowing public meeting at Tivetshall—"O Death, where is thy sting," &c. These words came clearly into my mind as we approached the meeting-house, and I believe at the moment when I passed a cottage where an awfully sudden death of a young mother had just taken place, though we knew nothing of it. Great solemnity crowned the meeting. Good family-sitting in the morning, including the poor young man who had just lost his wife; after which, we returned home. Dearest Anna and her boy came to us in safety in the afternoon, to our great joy; and to-day, dear John Henry and Mary have happily joined our circle. So that we have our children around us, and it may be we are washing our steps with butter, and the rock is pouring us out a sufficiency of that holy oil, which alone qualifies for the service of the Lord. Ought I not be hopeful, faithful, thankful?

9th mo., 9th. Yesterday, [at Lowestoft,] I spent a pleasant and entertaining hour or two with John and Francis Cunningham, at Dr. Whewell's, with whom we discoursed on Cambridge worthies, and moral philosophy. Afterwards, he showed us the moon through his fine telescope, when we had a clear view of the honey-comb appearance of her surface, (on the side partially shadowed.) This appearance is supposed to bespeak

obsolete craters in mountains; though it seems there is a light visible in one or more of them, which indicates the yet burning volcano.

9th mo., 19*th*. A considerable degree of tranquillity prevails at the close of this week. May a due preparation for a true Sabbath day of rest and worship be felt this evening! Prayer was poured forth after reading, this morning. William Forster's company at breakfast, and afterwards, truly acceptable; he is so entirely one with us in feeling and sentiment; such a firmly-supporting, yet tenderly-sympathizing friend and brother. Our darling grand-son is a great pleasure to us. How many, O Lord, are the blessings, temporal and spiritual, which thou hast been pleased to pour into our cup. As this cup of blessing overflows, may our hearts overflow with love and gratitude towards thee, our God and Saviour!

Second day morning. I hope and believe our Sabbath yesterday was a profitable one. The meetings were both well attended; that in the morning silent, profoundly so I think; that in the afternoon exercising to me, for though I deeply felt the weight of the subject, and my insufficiency for any such service, I was bound to unfold the subject of *conscience*, the moral faculty; its corruption and perversion under the fall; hence the necessity of a new birth unto righteousness, and of the purging of the conscience from the stain of past sin, by the sprinkling of the blood of Christ, through a living faith in him, the one great sacrifice for sin.—"I *trust* I have a good conscience." Since all this experience of vital Christianity is needful to a good conscience, we need not wonder at this modest way of expressing himself, even in the Apostle Paul—who, after his reconciliation with God, exercised himself to keep a conscience void of offence in the sight of God and man. In this work he could have no success, except through the illumination and power of the Holy Spirit, by which alone the conscience is truly enlightened, quickened, and kept alive. Thus, then, after being, through repentance and faith, placed in possession of a *good conscience*, we cannot keep that invaluable boon, except by watchfulness and prayer, and unreserved obedience to the guidance and government of

Christ by his spirit. Finally, if our heart condemn us not, then have we peace with God. — "Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright; for the end of that man is *peace.*"

9*th mo.*, 29*th.* We have had a very full and interesting time; the shifting scenes of no uninstructive magic lantern having passed before us from day to day, and hour to hour. Through all, though somewhat fatigued, we have been favoured with true and solid peace. On second day arrived our dear and valued friends, Elizabeth Dudley and her sister, and very satisfactory to us all has been the week's visit which they have paid us. On fourth day we had a large Bible Society company to breakfast, forty in all, and a good time with them of Scripture reading, (Isaiah lx,) and afterwards of solemn prayer. The Bible Meeting that day (J. T. Pelham in the chair) was excellent; many clergymen present. I spoke easily to myself, and to the satisfaction, I trust, of the meeting. The Quarterly Meeting, on fifth day, was not very large, but Elizabeth Dudley's testimony was sound and valuable. All cleared away in peace this morning, so that we are again our home party, with dear John C. and Anna. On the whole, many and rather extraordinary have been our gospel privileges during this passing period.

On his return from his visit to Darlington, he writes: —

11*th mo.*, 3*rd.* We look back on our late journey and its accompaniments with much satisfaction, and I trust, humble gratitude. Much has, in a quiet way, been accomplished, of which I can now give only a brief summary. A very agreeable passing visit, on our way, to the beloved Upton family. A satisfactory and comforting week with our dearest children at Blackwell, with their engaging little boy. Attendance of the Quarterly Meeting at Darlington, a very refreshing and memorable time; Monthly Meeting at Stockton; three first days at Darlington; altogether a series of meetings, for which we had abundant cause to be thankful.

A highly interesting visit of two days to Ackworth; good

times with the children, particularly a concluding attempt at a scientific lecture. New hope attends the institution.

The selection of a site on the school estate to be purchased and given for our Flounders' Normal School.*

A happy visit of two days to Upton on our return; finding our dearest brother quite vigorous again. Sixth day last, the touching, yet satisfying funeral of dear John Lister. It was a favour to find ourselves again in the right place, and at the needful hour. The unity and good fellowship of Friends, during the whole of this time, have been animating and encouraging.

I have found time for reading the Greek Testament as usual; Scott's Force of Truth, and some of his Essays; Vigilantius and his Times; part of John Foster's Life and Letters; and his Essay on Popular Ignorance. All this I have enjoyed, as I have drawing for recreation.

To-day, though not feeling very well, I am much prizing and enjoying our quietness, and Earlham is bright with sunshine.

The distress which was at this time prevalent in Ireland, owing to the failure of the potato crop, deeply affected Joseph John Gurney's feelings. He was among the foremost in encouraging the efforts that were then made by the Society of Friends in this country and in Ireland, on behalf of the starving population; and warmly did he second his beloved friend William Forster, in that

* "The Flounders' Institute," for the training of young men as teachers among Friends, originated in the gift of £40,000, three per cent. consols, by Benjamin Flounders, of Yarmouth. The trustees not having power to purchase land for a site with the principal sum, Joseph John Gurney gave the £500 required for this purpose; the purchase being completed by his executors after his decease. On the site thus furnished, the necessary buildings have been since erected, and the establishment has been for some years in active and efficient operation.

spirit of Christian devotedness in which he gave himself up, during the winter, to a laborious visitation of the afflicted districts.

11*th mo.*, 18*th.* Very interesting communication with Friends, on the subject of poor, miserable, starving Ireland. Dear William Forster seems bent on being our ambassador thither. I think it is a case which requires not merely subscription, but sacrifice; and his sacrifice is a noble one; mine, only pecuniary. May I not say—"Filthy rags!"

TO JOHN HODGKIN.

Norwich, 21st of 12th mo., 1846.

* * * * I believe it is far from being shallow work to get down to a thorough sense and inward acknowledgment that, in his chastening, God "doeth all things well;" not only righteously, but as a Father full of loving-kindness. Perhaps nothing is so trying to our faith as affliction on a large scale. (such as sweeping starvation in Ireland,) unless it be vice and cruelty on a still larger, as in the case of the slave trade; but there is a point of reposing faith and quiet resignation, to which the mind may be brought, and in which it may be anchored; wherein the heartfelt feeling and blessed assurance is given that God doeth all things rightly; that his "tender mercies are over all his works;" that "though clouds and darkness are round about him, righteousness and judgment are the habitation of his throne."

We are going on very comfortably at Earlham, and are favoured to look back with peace and comfort on our late engagement in visiting several small meetings, and in holding some public ones. I am not aware that I remember any occasion of the kind in which the Great Master of our assemblies was felt to be nearer for the help of his most poor servant.

11*th mo.*, 21*st.* Yesterday, a delightfully quiet day at home. Dearest sister Buxton with us to dine and lodge; a blessed time of prayer after our reading this morning; and

since breakfast we have had a most agreeable wander in the bright chrysanthemized garden. Who has the same pleasure in flowers that I have? I trust it is not idolatrous. Can it be, that—

> From Paradise to Paradise my upward course extends,
> My Paradise of flowers on earth, in heaven's elysium ends!

O how deeply and thoroughly unworthy am I of all the Lord's benefits!

12*th mo.*, 8*th*. Just returned from a solemn and comforting visit to the sick and probably dying chamber of nurse Norman; my old nurse,* who has lived eighty out of her eighty-nine years in the cottage at the bottom of the park, which she now inhabits. I trust and believe all is and will be well with her, for Christ's sake.

We went to Yarmouth last seventh day, and returned yesterday. Our visit to the little meeting, and to several Friends during the day, and more particularly a well-attended and quiet public meeting in the evening, were relieving and comforting. The preceding first day, at Norwich, was also a good day; Friends being well gathered together, I trust, as before the Lord.

12*th mo.*, 25*th*. Quietly at home, and rejoicing in my privacy. I felt somewhat of the sweetness and benefit of prayer on my first rising this morning; and, in dependence on the Spirit of grace and supplication, desire for myself and others, a greater diligence in fulfilling this often-commanded and most salutary duty. We have been permitted to enjoy a happy Quarterly Meeting. I thought we were graciously favoured with evidence during the day, that, as a people, though very poor, we are not yet forsaken.

My subscription of £500 to Ireland, has at length been well backed up by the accompanying list. This is a comfort to me; it is a vast case of physical woe. The Lord help them, and feed them, and overrule all for good! It is my prayer that I may be delivered from all self-complacency, and

* See *supra*, vol. 1, p. 20.

may be more and more prostrate before the Lord, in deep humility. All that I am and have are undoubtedly his. In the matter of giving, there is, in private cases, very much in the precept, "Let not your left hand know," &c. In public charities, while parade is abominable, I think the Christian ought not to shrink from openly acting up to the true Christian standard, on the principle of "Let your light shine before men."

Second day morning, 12*th mo.*, 28*th*, 1846. We were favoured with good and fairly-attended meetings yesterday, and a good time after the evening reading. Two deaths have occurred in our circle; one of nurse Norman, in her ninetieth year, we reverently believe in peace; the other, that of my long-loved and greatly-esteemed brother-in-law, Samuel Hoare. He was at the Refuge on fourth, the Bank on fifth, and public worship on sixth days; pursuing his active, honourable, and useful course to the end, just as he would most have wished to do. He was possessed of lively piety, and great perseverance in his Christian course. Can we for a moment doubt that he rests in peace? I was very uncomfortable and poorly last night, and feel a good deal indisposed this morning. Yet I think I may venture to the district committee for a short time.

The foregoing was the last memorandum penned by Joseph John Gurney. On his return from the Committee of the District Visiting Society, which he attended with difficulty, he complained of great exhaustion, feverishness, &c. A few simple remedies were administered; but the uncomfortable symptoms remaining, his medical man was summoned on the following morning. At first, however, he had no apprehension of a serious termination of the malady; and the calmness and cheerfulness of the invalid were calculated to inspire the hope of a speedy recovery.

The summer had been one of peculiar enjoyment

to him; everything gave him pleasure, and he frequently observed, whilst roaming over his delightful lawns and gardens, "I never saw this dear old place look so lovely before — my cup is full of blessings." The warmth and brightness of the weather no doubt contributed to his enjoyment; but it also seemed as if the dawning of that new sense was breaking in upon him, which apprehends those good and glorious things, "which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive;" — as if he had even then a little foretaste of eternal joy. His love of nature was at all times remarkably strong, but it appeared to be greatly increased during the last few months of his life; and perhaps there were few, to whom the beautiful words of the poet would more fittingly apply: —

> His are the mountains, and the valleys his,
> And the resplendent rivers — his to enjoy
> With a propriety that none can feel,
> But who, with filial confidence inspired,
> Can lift to heaven an unpresumptuous eye,
> And smiling say, "My Father made them all!"
> Are they not his, by a peculiar right,
> And by an emphasis of interest his;
> Whose eye they fill with tears of holy joy,
> Whose heart with praise, and whose exalted mind,
> With worthy thoughts of that unwearied love,
> That planned, and built, and still upholds, a world
> So clothed with beauty, for rebellious man?

During the greater part of the summer, he was unusually vigorous, and appeared to be very desirous of fulfilling the numerous demands that were made upon him. Indeed, it was evident that he was

dwelling under a solemn consciousness that "Time is short" — that we must work while it is called "*to-day*." He had several engagements in hand, which cost him considerable exertion both of mind and body, and when they were completed, he smilingly observed, "Now I believe I may say, I have at least set my *outward* house in order, which is a great comfort." On the confidence being expressed, that not the outward house only, but the spiritual building also was in readiness, he replied, "I trust, through *pardoning mercy*, that it may be so, but of myself I am the very poorest and the most infirm of human creatures." It was truly instructive to observe, that, with an earnest and abiding endeavour to maintain a conscience void of offence towards God and man, so deep was his humility, that he invariably spoke of himself as falling far short of the mark; frequently saying, he had the most abasing sense of all his own performances, and the strongest conviction, that, if he were saved at last, "it would be all of grace; the free, full, pardoning mercy of God in Christ Jesus." The depth of the riches of the love of Christ, the fullness and universality of divine grace, were the themes on which he delighted to dwell; and the following was among the Scripture texts from which he derived especial consolation: — "Let Israel hope in the Lord, for with the Lord there is mercy, and with him is *plenteous redemption*, and he shall redeem Israel from all his iniquities." During the last few months, it was his regular practice to commit a hymn to memory while dressing in the morning, and the ease and facility with which this was

accomplished were very striking. The Waiting Soul, by Cowper, was one of his particular favourites. How often was he heard feelingly to repeat the stanza which contains the lines:—

> And every door is shut but one,
> And that is *mercy's* door!

He greatly enjoyed his last visit to Darlington; the little companies of friends and relatives which gathered around him in the early autumn; his quiet settled evenings with his own home party; in short, the world seemed clothed for *him* in smiles and sunshine. But upon hearing of the sufferings of the Irish poor, his deepest sympathies were awakened, and, for several weeks, his exertions on their behalf were unremitting. He not only contributed largely to their relief himself, but wrote many letters to his friends and acquaintance urging them to do the same; until at last, feeling thoroughly oppressed by a sense of the extent of their calamity, he observed, "I think I had rather not hear any more of these affecting statements, they are almost too much for me. I believe I can do no more, and therefore I must try to leave the subject." This he was enabled, in good measure, to do; and he then gave his mind with renewed earnestness to the claims of the Norwich Poor; in many instances increasing his annual subscriptions, and devising new channels for their relief. It was on his return from a meeting of the District Society, in which he made a warm and impressive appeal on their behalf, that his horse fell, and threw him, in descending Orford Hill; and although his friends were not aware of his being seriously in-

jured at the time, there is no doubt that the accident was the exciting cause of the illness which terminated in death. This was on the 22nd of the 12th month. On the following day he complained a little of his back, but attended a committee in the morning, and in the evening the meeting of ministers and elders, preparatory to the Quarterly Meeting, in which he was memorably engaged to the tendering of many hearts. When he sat down there was a heavenly solemnity to be felt, and some who were present were impressed with the belief that they should never all meet together there again. An awful sense was given of a great change being at hand.

The ensuing week he continued to attend to his various avocations with increasing diligence: driving to and from Norwich, in his pony-chair, during the inclement, snowy weather, because, he said "it looked self-indulgent to use the carriage now he was so well." His old nurse, who had occupied a cottage in the park for eighty years, was in her dying illness, and he repeatedly called in and ministered to her.

In the seventh month he had obtained a minute to visit all the little meetings of Friends which compose the Quarterly Meeting of Norfolk and Norwich, and to appoint others, with those not professing with Friends, should his mind be drawn to the service. This gave him an opportunity of personal communication with almost all the little flock, over whom, it might in truth be said, "the Holy Ghost had made him an 'overseer.'" Some of the public meetings which he held on this occasion

were very large, and eminently favoured; and the testimonies delivered in the meetings for Friends were remarkably clear and powerful; so that it may truly be said to have been a bright winding up of his ministerial career. At the conclusion of the last meeting, which was held about a fortnight previous to his illness, he observed, that he did not see any thing more before him, and that he was almost inclined to believe his work in *this* way was done. On First day morning, the 27th of the twelfth month, as he was setting off with his family to meeting, he received the tidings of the sudden death of his valued brother-in-law, Samuel Hoare. He heard them with calmness, and was closely exercised in ministry during the meeting, dwelling much and impressively on the text — "Thine are we, David, and on thy side, thou son of Jesse. Peace, peace be to thee, and peace be to thy helpers, for God helpeth thee." On his return home, he alluded to the removal of his brother Buxton, and his sister Fry; and remarked, with strong emphasis, "We four were closely banded together in benevolent objects for many years, and I, who was the most delicate, am now the only one remaining. I feel *this seriously*." He then walked down to the cottage of his old nurse to look at her remains, she having died a few days previously. An expression of sweet serenity dwelt upon his countenance as he stood by the coffin in her little chamber, and he seemed to have a sense of her rest and blessedness as he exclaimed, "Poor old nurse! she appears to have passed away most peacefully. O what a favour! may it be so with *me* when my turn comes!" At

the close of the afternoon meeting, he bowed the knee in very solemn prayer, adverting to the great uncertainty of all things temporal, and fervently petitioning that "every hindering and obstructing thing might be done away; and we prepared, through the abounding riches of redeeming love, to join the countless company who now surround the throne, ascribing glory and honour, salvation and strength, to the Lord God Omnipotent, and to the Lamb." The deep and touching pathos of his voice, and the earnestness of the appeal, caused a thrilling sensation in many hearts, and the question arose, "Can it be possible that that voice will never more be heard within these walls?" During the Scripture reading with the villagers at the Hall in the evening, he was engaged in a striking manner on the awful consequences of delaying preparation for a dying hour, alluding very instructively to the two deaths which had just occurred, and ending with the impressive exhortation — "Be ye also ready, for at such an hour as ye think not the Son of Man cometh." These were his last words in ministry with the servants and cottagers collectively; speedily and solemnly were they confirmed by the event which followed!

On second day morning, the 28th, he attended the committee of the District Visiting Society, as intimated in the last entry in his Journal, and returned home in a state of great exhaustion. But his medical man pronounced it a slight bilious attack, and seemed to have no anxiety about his recovery. It is very apparent, from his private journals, that Joseph John Gurney had a strong

constitutional dread of *death;* and the peacefulness, and almost painlessness of his illness, may surely be reckoned among those "sparing mercies," to which he often and feelingly alluded. He had frequently spoken of his natural sensitiveness to pain, and expressed a fear that he should not have fortitude to meet the sufferings of a dying hour; and, on the remark being made on one occasion, that the near approach of death was often, in mercy, veiled from the view, or we were so shielded as not to be sensible of its gloom, he answered — "Yes, we are very tenderly dealt with; and I have sometimes thought, through *sparing mercy*, that it might be so with *me*," — repeating, with a beaming expression of countenance, those beautiful lines on the death of a believer: —

> "One gentle sigh their fetters breaks,
> We scarce can say they're gone,
> Before the willing spirit takes
> Its mansion near the throne."

Remarkably was this verified in his experience. So gently sloped, so beautifully brightened, was his passage to the silent tomb, that it might be truly said, death had no sting, the grave no victory. Everything that was done for him excited his gratitude; his heart overflowed with affection to those around him; and, when any of the servants came into the room, he would employ them in some little office of kindness, knowing it would gratify them to be so employed.

He liked to hear a portion of the Scriptures every day, and was much interested in the Life of William

Allen, &c. One morning the hymn was read to him which commences with the words

> Rejoice for a brother deceased,
> Our loss is his infinite gain.

The last verse he appeared to feel particularly; exclaiming, at the conclusion, "delightful, that is indeed delightful."

On fifth day night, he was low and sorrowful; for a little moment, his Saviour seemed to have hidden his face from him, and he said in a tone of sadness, "I feel so devoid of any good, and as if I had no power to lift up my heart in prayer." It was remarked, that we have a merciful High Priest, who is touched with a feeling of our infirmities, and who sees and knows the desire of the hearts of his children, even when we have no ability to manifest it; to which he sweetly replied, "that's true, that's very true, and I think I may rest there."

Sixth day was altogether a low day. In the evening, after a short time of profound stillness, he broke forth in strains of solemn, fervent prayer. This was rendered more impressive by the touching feebleness of his voice. It was evidently a relief to him, and he had a quiet night; but on seventh day, although both nourishment and stimulants had been pretty freely administered, his strength was decidedly failing. As this state of things continued, it was determined, on first day afternoon, to send for a physician from London, who was requested to come down immediately, by special train. During the morning, he several times

alluded to the "The Declaration of Faith," which had been sent to America a few months previously,* observing, "It would have been a great satisfaction to me to have heard how that testimony is likely to answer. I believe I had the right sanction for sending it, and trust it will be useful to Friends." In the course of the day, a note was received from a Friend, expressive of cordial approbation of it, and of a full persuasion "that it would prove an instrument of good to the Society, clearing the views of the honest-hearted, and convincing the gainsayers that they had both misunderstood and misrepresented him." This seemed like a message sent to cheer him at this solemn hour. On his being made acquainted with it, a sunny smile lit up his pallid countenance, and he appeared to accept it as a token that a blessing would descend on *this*, his latest effort with the pen, to uphold those spiritual views and Christian testimonies which he had unflinchingly supported and proclaimed for more than thirty years; and which he continued to believe were founded in the *very truth*. In the evening his mind wandered a little, as it had done the evening before; yet it was interesting to observe the marked indications of his habitual self-control and self-collectedness, even during these short periods of occasional rambling. About eleven o'clock, on second day morning, Dr. Prout arrived. He had often consulted him in London, seemed pleased to hear he was in the house, and wished him asked up immediately. When he entered the room, he welcomed him cheerfully, and gave him an exact

* See *supra*, p. 506.

account of all his symptoms. It was a moment of intensely touching interest. Prout took the patient's hand in his, sought for his pulse, gave an expressive look at Dalrymple, and hastening away to conceal the feelings which almost overpowered him, he unhesitatingly pronounced him a *dying man!* Deeply affecting as was this announcement to his tenderly-attached connections, they felt it a duty still to use every effort to increase his strength, in the fond hope that the physician might have been mistaken, and that he yet possessed the power to rally. But all proved unavailing. Soon after his last interview with Prout, he fell into a profound sleep, which continued till about five o'clock, when a sudden gleam of heavenly pleasure lighted up his countenance; and, turning towards his wife, he sweetly said, "I think I feel a little joyful, dearest," and again dropped into a tranquil slumber. Soon after this he sank lower and lower; unconsciousness came on, and such of his deeply afflicted family as were favoured to be present at this awful hour sat by his bed in perfect stillness, until his breathing had become imperceptible, and they knew that the spirit had returned to God who gave it. "Having served his generation by the will of God, he *fell asleep*." So gently did his spirit pass away, so sweet was the peace shed on his departure, that for some moments his bereaved family almost lost the consciousness of their irreparable loss, in the blessed sense that was given them of the fulness of his joy.*

* This account is taken from memoranda made at the time by one of Joseph John Gurney's family.

His death took place on the 4th of the 1st month, 1847, in his 59th year. The event at once awakened a deep and intense feeling throughout a widely extended circle. "The loss to this world," writes one of his earliest friends, in "the withdrawal of such a man, the removal of such an example, the quenching of such a light, is more and greater than any of us can imagine." These were reflections that doubtless filled many hearts, as they turned towards themselves, and those who were left behind; whilst, on his account, the blessed assurance was granted that all was rest, and peace, and everlasting love.

The sensation in Norwich and its neighbourhood cannot easily be described; and is probably without precedent in the case of a mere private individual. During the entire interval of seven days, between his decease and the funeral, the half-closed shops, and the darkened windows of the private houses, gave unequivocal testimony of the feelings of the inhabitants.

"It has furnished," says an eye-witness, "the principal topic of conversation in every family, in every private circle, in every group by the way-side. Persons of all classes and of every age, however various in opinion on other subjects, have united in their high estimate of the character of the deceased, and in the melancholy satisfaction of recalling excellencies of which now, alas! the memory alone remains. Each individual has had his own story to tell of some public benefit, or of some kindness shown to others or himself; and innumerable acts of beneficence, long forgotten amidst the crowd of more recent instances, have been related and listened to with the mournful pleasure incident to such a theme. The very street-gossip of Norwich during the past week, if it could have been collected and

recorded, would doubtless furnish an almost unparalleled tribute to departed worth.*

"The funeral itself, as might have been expected from these unusual preliminaries, was an extraordinary scene. The entire

* Thoroughly as Joseph John Gurney's religious views and feelings, as a member of the Society of Friends, were understood, it was observed, as among the many striking proofs of the estimation in which he was held by his fellow-citizens, that the subject of his death was at the time publicly adverted to in most of the places for religious worship in Norwich, and amongst the rest, by the Bishop, (the late Bishop Stanley,) in the Cathedral. The apology made by the Bishop on the occasion, for venturing upon such a subject, affords no mean testimony at once of his high estimate of Joseph John Gurney's character as a Christian *Quaker*, and of his own well-known Catholicity of mind.

"He who is removed from amongst us, and whose loss every member of our church must deplore, it is true, was not of our community; but who will be bold enough in intolerance to say that thereby, or in consequence thereof, his salvation was in jeopardy? Can we doubt that he, whose peaceful life was one unwearied comment on evangelical charity in its fullest and most expanded sense,—of whom it may be said to the very letter, that when the ear heard him, then it blessed him; when the eye saw him, it gave witness to him, because he delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless,—their blessing came upon him, for he caused the hearts of all and each to sing for joy;—to say, I repeat, or to give a moment's heed to a doubt of his acceptance with God, on the ground of his differing from us in church membership, would be indeed, and in verity, a mockery of the Bible, a perversion of gospel truth, a libel upon Christianity itself. Let it not be said that I am giving utterance to an opinion at variance with the language of our Church, in its 18th article, which maintains, and justly maintains, that he is censurable who 'presumes to say that every man shall be saved by the law or sect that he professeth.' Far be such a sentiment from me, believing, as I do, in the words of that same article, setting out unto us only the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, whereby man must be saved. And a firmer believer in the merits of that Saviour it might be difficult to find, than the humble-minded Christian of whom I am now speaking." See Life of Bishop Stanley, by his son, pp. 163, 164.

city suspended business, in order to witness or to take part in it. A number of gentlemen, among whom were the Mayor, the ex-Mayor, and the Sheriff, went out in carriages as far as Earlham Hall, about two miles distant from Norwich. Other persons, including a large portion of the scholars of Palace Street British Schools, walked to the same spot. The procession set out from Earlham at about ten o'clock. It consisted of the hearse, and the carriages containing the relatives, followed by the equipages which had arrived from Norwich, making in all more than fifty, and accompanied by a considerable number on foot. It was understood to be the wish of the family, that no empty carriages should attend. A simplicity, in harmony alike with the practice of the Society of Friends, and with the habits and character of the departed, marked all the arrangements. As was fitting in such a case, there was no parade, no hired sorrow, no needless *insignia* of grief. As the procession moved on towards the city, it was met by a gradually increasing number of the inhabitants, who had issued forth in a continuous stream to pay their last tribute to the memory of Joseph John Gurney. Silently and sadly they stood while the hearse passed slowly by; and many a tearful countenance, among the crowd, bore witness to their sympathy with the surviving relatives, and their reverential attachment to the dead.* All, however, appeared to be impressed with the solemnity of the occasion, and with the desire to preserve a becoming order.

"At St. Giles' gate, a body of Sunday School teachers, to the number of about two hundred, joined the procession, already greatly swollen by numbers; and which, continually growing as it went along, slowly passed on to the burying-ground attached to the Friends' Meeting-house in the Gildencroft. At about

* The event was especially felt by the school children of the poor. "The Workhouse children," says a private letter on the occasion, "boys and girls, when they heard the hearse coming, ran sobbing into the front chamber, where their mistress was, and were so violently affected, she feared they would fall from the windows. The whole effect of his death," continues the writer, "and the way in which it has been kept and honoured, is, I believe, unequalled almost in public history."

half-past eleven the hearse arrived at the narrow gateway leading to the burying-ground, from whence the coffin was borne to the grave by six members of the Society of Friends, followed by the mourners.

"After the procession had surrounded the grave, a profound silence ensued, according to the simple but solemnly appropriate practice of the 'Friends.' This was, at length, broken by a brief reference to the 55th, 56th, and 57th verses of the 15th chapter of the 1st of Corinthians. 'O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory? The sting of death is sin; and the strength of sin is the law. But thanks be to God which giveth us the victory, through our Lord Jesus Christ!' Another pause took place, followed by another address. The coffin was then lowered. It was an impressive and affecting moment. The circle of mourning relatives, the surrounding crowd of spectators — scarcely less moved or less attached to the deceased — persons of all ranks, of all ages, of all communions, magistrates and artizans, clergymen and dissenting ministers, Churchmen, Independents, Baptists, Methodists, and Friends — in short, representatives of the whole population of Norwich, now took their last farewell of Joseph John Gurney; slowly turning their footsteps towards the meeting-house, where a meeting for religious worship was to be held. The occasion was deeply impressive, and, pervaded as it was throughout by the spirit of pure Evangelical Catholic Christianity, formed an appropriate conclusion to the funeral of such a man.

"Thus terminated the proceedings of a day when the simple obsequies of a private individual were converted by the whole body of his fellow-citizens into a memorial of his exalted virtues, and of their irreparable loss." *

* From the Norfolk News of the 16th of the 1st mo., [January.] 1847. The account of Joseph John Gurney printed in this Journal, was written by his long-esteemed and much-valued friend, John Alexander, and though necessarily brief, contains a striking and impressive portraiture of his life and character. It was afterwards revised and published in a more convenient form, under the title of a Brief Memoir of Joseph John Gurney.

So was he loved and honoured even in death. It were easy to multiply the proofs of the deep and lasting impression which he had made upon those who fell within the range of his influence. But such an attempt must at best very inadequately disclose that which can only be fully discovered when the secrets of all hearts are made manifest. It will be more instructive, in connexion with the marked and impressive testimony thus borne by sorrowing multitudes, to a life long devoted to the services of pure and undefiled religion, to recur once more, in conclusion, to that humble view of himself, that true and deep sense of his own nothingness and entire dependence upon God, which had given brightness and maturity to his character, and in which lay the secret of his strength and of his joy.

"From me most assuredly," are his emphatic words, in the short preface to his Autobiography, "all boasting is excluded. If it has been given me to partake of some poignant sorrows, they were no more than I deserved; if ten thousand pleasures and enjoyments have been poured into my lap, they have been bestowed of the pure bounty of God; if a measure of intellectual activity and power has fallen to my lot, it is his gift alone, a gift very inadequately used for a purpose of his glory; and, above all, if I have had the happiness of knowing and loving the Saviour, and of serving him at the cost of much that I have held dear, it is not of myself, but *all* of GRACE. All of grace most assuredly it is, that I have not fallen a prey to the deceiver and accuser of man; and that, while the Lord has condescended to employ me in his service, I have been permitted to entertain the blessed hope of a glorious immortality, where sin and sorrow are known no more."

RECOLLECTIONS OF JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY.

BY HIS DAUGHTER.

(Written principally for her Son, in the brief interval between her Father's decease and her own.)

Animus vero, non me deserens, sed respectans, in ea profecto loca discessit, quo mihi ipsi cernebat esse veniendum.—*Cicero de Senect.*

THE earliest impression which I can distinctly recall of my dearest father, was in the East room, at Earlham, which he used as his own, after my mother's death. As very little children, we were in the habit of being with him while he dressed in a morning, and I well remember that he kindly allowed me to use, as my playthings, the things he kept in his pockets. His countenance and figure are so impressed on my mind, as they appeared in later years, that I cannot call up a distinct image of him as he must have been then. Yet surely I *do* remember him with his brown hair, his high colour, and his beaming countenance. At the time I am speaking of, (three years after my mother's death,) I think his face wore a grave, yet always peaceful expression; and he was ready at all times for a good game of play with us. But he was leading a very busy life, and we were consequently very little with him. Another picture that I have of him in my mind is when standing in the garden near the hall door, delighting in the flowers, as he always did, and watching my brother and me who were playing about him. I can now see his eye, resting with intense delight on "Jacky," as he called him, (a name which no one else was to use,) and whose originality

and talent were a source of constant interest and pleasure to him. On our part we were excessively fond of our father—at the same time *his word was law;* it never entered our minds, I believe, openly to disobey him; and I am reported to have been in the habit of informing visitors, that "papa required implicit obedience." We were very little children when he began occasionally to take us into his study, for times of religious retirement and prayer. After sitting a short time in silence, he would often kneel down, and pour forth his prayers in the most simple words he could use. I think I never shall forget the very great solemnity, the holy, and to me, as a little child, the almost awful feeling of some of these occasions. We continued this practice, at times, till he went to America, and I well remember when he gave us some parting religious advice at that time, that he spoke with comfort of these seasons of retirement, and said that he hoped he had in some measure fulfilled his paternal duty, in endeavouring to train us in the habit of prayer. It was a subject he constantly pressed on our attention, begging us to be most regular in reading the Scriptures to ourselves, in private, morning and evening, and in endeavouring to wait upon the Lord. Having mentioned this subject, I think I must not omit another which he also very frequently pressed on our attention, so that they are connected in my mind, as those on which he spoke to us the most often and the most earnestly. This was the immediate and perceptible guidance of the Holy Spirit, a doctrine which he endeavoured to explain to us, and the practical application of which he tried to make us feel, even at a very early age;—"the golden clue," as he called it, a clue by which he was himself led, both in small things and great, more than any other person that I ever knew. As we grew up, and as our intimacy with him deepened, we saw in himself, I think I may say, a striking exemplification of his own views.

But I must return to our childhood. As soon as we could read, it was our daily office to read a psalm to him in the early morning. Deeply serious, and attentive, was his countenance at these times. When once this habit was begun, he could not bear us to spend the time in any other way, never allowing

us to talk to him, but making us read until he was quite dressed. I do not think that at that very early period we had any other Bible reading with him than this, (except, of course, the regular family reading.) Religious instruction, however, we had much from him in the way of conversation. Often, while we were taking a ramble in the park, he would endeavour to impress upon us the great doctrines of Christianity, and especially the peculiar principles of Friends. He was strict with us about using the plain language, and before we could fully understand the reason for it, the habit was completely established, so that, though we were constantly with people not Friends, we never had the least difficulty in using it. His anxiety and feeling on this subject are among the points which I most vividly remember from my very early childhood. But while he thus endeavoured to cultivate a taste for our own peculiar path, he was always ready to acknowledge the good in those who did not, in everything, agree with him, and freely allowed us to associate with the great variety of guests who, at this time, frequented Earlham. Strong indeed is my impression of the warm welcome he gave to all "the excellent of the earth," of whatever sect or position in life. He delighted in the society of such; and when religion was united with fine intellectual powers, their company was quite a feast to him. He always acted on the principle of "learning something from every one," and early advised us to do the same. One of our most frequent and most welcome visitors, at this time, was Henry Tacy; a very kind friend to us as children, and I think my dear father must have much enjoyed his company. I can well remember watching them in many an earnest and interesting conversation. Such visitors we frequently had, but it is striking to me to remember how he kept up our respect for a different class, I mean the Norfolk Friends, who always found a warm welcome at Earlham. He used to say the Quarterly Meeting suppers put him in mind of the "love-feasts" of the early Christians. He certainly trained us to treat travelling ministering Friends with the greatest respect, I was going to say reverence; and their coming to Earlham was always a pleasure to us all. There is

no one who was more cordially welcomed by him, in these early days, than Jonathan Hutchinson. He was a *picturesque* person, his white hair hanging almost to his shoulders; his countenance full of dignity and peace. I well remember my dear father's affectionate attention to him. He used to say "he was a thorough Christian gentleman, refined by nature and by grace." I was about seven years old when our father left us for a long journey in Ireland, a circumstance which I mention chiefly for the sake of recording our intense joy at his return. I shall never forget the feeling of receiving him at our Brighton lodgings, where we had been staying with my aunt Rachel Gurney, who was there for the benefit of her health. How I did jump when I saw him, screaming out, "It is papa! it is papa!" without the least power of running to meet him! And I have vividly before me his countenance at that moment, showing a perfect counterpart of our joy! We returned home soon after this, and the next event of importance was his bringing our new "mamma" to Earlham. It was one of our lovely Norfolk evenings, in early autumn, when they arrived. We children were waiting for them in anxious expectation, when the carriage drove up. I was awed at being introduced to my new mamma, for I had never seen her before, but was directly at ease with her; and I can fancy that I caught his evident happiness. * * *

I cannot attempt to give the history of the next few years, but will just mention those points which made the strongest impression on me. I have no doubt his married life was a very happy one, though our mother's delicate health often brought him into much anxiety. They particularly enjoyed their Greek Testament readings, after breakfast, in the sitting-room. This was a time they were never to be interrupted; after that, my father went into his study, and was closely engaged in writing, only walking for a few minutes in the garden, "thinking out a sentence," as we children used to say. At twelve, his horse came round; and, as I sat at my lessons, I used to hear him run up-stairs to take leave of my mother, and then ride off to the Bank. He often came back at three or four, and called directly for her to take a walk with him.

We dined in those days at five, and I have since thought how good it was for us that we were early transferred from the nursery to the dining-room, and had all our meals with the family. This gave us the opportunity of being with them more than we otherwise could. But we always went to lessons again after dinner. The only exception to this was sometimes in the summer, when we all took delightful walks together in the beautiful evenings. Most happy are the remembrances of some of those rambles in the park and meadows! Our aunt Catherine continued to reside at Earlham, and took a most valuable part in our education. My dear father always enjoined it upon us to treat her with the greatest respect and affection, often telling us how very much he owed to her himself. As we grew older, he took more part in the superintendence of our studies, especially in the Bible; often giving us subjects on which to find texts, a plan which he thought particularly calculated to excite our interest in the study of the Scriptures, and which was always a pleasure to us. He was very particular about our Latin lessons, and wished us to begin Greek, that we might read the New Testament with him. I believe it was a great effort for him to make up his mind to send John Henry to school, and every succeeding holiday I remember how heartily he felt his going. He often wrote to him, and frequently letters of serious advice. "Exercise for the body, learning for the intellect, religion for the soul." This I remember was a sentence in one of his letters, and earnestly did he press all upon him, but especially the last. He seldom parted from me, for any visit, without a word of caution and advice. Just as I was going off to Northrepps, one day, he whispered to me, "Keep near to that which will keep thee"—words which have returned to me often and often, for my help. Most bitterly did he suffer if he saw us, even as children, doing wrong. I painfully remember the sorrow of seeing him weep, when I was very young, because he thought I had been persevering in a falsehood. It was a punishment far greater than any other he could inflict; yet it was the means of increasing my extreme reverence for my father; all my feelings became

more tender to him, after having caused him so much pain, and I felt the value of such a friend, when my young mind was oppressed with the sense of sin.

During the next few years, my father was often from home on his religious engagements. The longest of these absences was his journey in Scotland, when he was laid up with his lame leg in Edinburgh, during which time that delightful little MS., the Chalmeriana, was written. Surely his habit of making the most of every circumstance that could turn to profit, was one of the most striking features in his character. Never to "miss an opportunity" was one of his mottoes. He was in the practice of recording any incident of interest in the shape of letters to his children. To this we owe his little MSS. about Wilberforce and our Grandmother Fowler, and the Afternoon at Cambridge, and Morning at Oxford.* He had great accuracy of memory, and a remarkable power of putting down conversation, without losing its spirit. I well remember the afternoon he spent with Simeon, when I was with him, how busily he occupied himself the next morning, as we travelled in the carriage, in putting down the incidents of that occasion. During these years, he was very much occupied with public objects. The Bible Society and Anti-Slavery cause engaged him much, and most deep was the interest he took in them. His purse, and still more his mind and time, were always at their service, and he attended many of the county Bible Meetings. I remember his animated speeches; how he threw life into these little meetings, rousing up the indifferent by his kind manner to themselves, and by his own devotion to the cause.

One of the most marked events in each year, was the Bible Meeting party; perhaps these occasions were particularly likely to be great epochs to a child. At all events, they were so to me. From the time that my dearest father put me, as a little child, on the table at dessert, to look at a party of ninety, the largest we ever had, till they were discontinued, I looked forward to them as a great treat. But they were, for better

* See *supra*, vol. I., pp. 451—463; and 498—506.

reasons, occasions of extreme interest, and I have no doubt were the means of great good, in uniting many in Christian fellowship, who would otherwise have known each other only by name. Though my dearest father steadily maintained his own views as a Friend, he was always ready to give a warm welcome to the individuals who came down to attend the meetings of the Missionary and Jewish Societies, which were held in the same week with that of the Bible Society. He treated the missionaries and agents with the greatest kindness, and helped them in those parts of their objects in which he could do so consistently with his principles, especially in the distribution of the Hebrew Scriptures to the Jews, and in the School of the Missionaries. He certainly had a remarkable power of showing love and friendship towards his fellow-Christians, whilst he always openly acknowledged and maintained his own opinions on particular points. A more complete illustration of this part of his character there could not be, than in his management of the very large parties at Earlham of which I am speaking. His brothers-in-law, (my uncles Buxton and Cunningham,) who were his ready helpers on such occasions, asked whom they liked to the meetings, and certainly the dining-room, filled on those days, was no common sight. It was so different from a party called together for mere amusement: so fine a feeling pervaded the whole; while he, as master, was wonderfully able to keep up the tone of conversation, so that I should think, it never sank to a mere chit-chat level. My impression is, that while he greatly felt the responsibility of these occasions, he most truly enjoyed them, having often around him those whose conversation was a feast to him, such as Wilberforce, Simeon, Legh Richmond, John Cunningham, and many others.

I never saw my dear father look more beautiful than he did at the bottom of those long tables. As soon as the cloth was removed, he would extract their various stores of information from different individuals in the most happy manner. Thus the time was turned to account, and I have no doubt these days were often very profitable to many, as it was his most earnest desire they should be. His own loving spirit was caught

by all around, and I must believe it was in great measure owing to the depth of his charity that there was such remarkable unity among those whom he assembled around him. Dear old H. Scarnell, (a worthy Friend, who had lived some years at Earlham, in the capacity of housekeeper,) always came on the day of the Bible meeting, and I have often heard her relate with delight, how one day she came late, when all were seated, and she was about to retreat from the dining-room, seeing no place for *her*, when my father caught sight of her, called after her most kindly, and placed her, as she expressed it, "between himself and Lady Jane, in the very first seat in the room." I have before said, how careful he was to be attentive to guests of every degree, and these occasions would furnish abundant proof that he was peculiarly kind to those who might feel themselves a little less grand than their neighbours. His own ministry, at the family readings, was very striking and impressive. There was often a religious opportunity in the course of the evening, beside the usual readings, and these were generally very solemn occasions. * * *

My father was devotedly attached to his brothers and sisters. If I might single out one with whom he was especially united, I should say it was my beloved uncle Buxton. His noble and enlarged intellect, joined as it was to the simplicity and humility of a Christian, and devoted to the highest purposes, was peculiarly genial to my dearest father, while my uncle's enjoyment of Friends' meetings, and "Friendly" doings, gave a peculiar harmony to their intercourse. They were often together; and he was one of my uncle's warmest and steadiest supporters in all his undertakings, and almost equalled him in the deep interest he took in them. * * *

Truly did he teach us by example, as well as precept, when he utterly discouraged all criticism on other persons; he could not bear the least approach to satire, and never allowed us to condemn anybody. If a remark, tending to disparage another, was made, he always apologized for them, and when he could not do this with truth, he never would allow us as children to take upon us the office of judge. This was the case with all; but when it came to serious people, to ministers, he was, if

possible, still stronger on the subject, discouraging every remark on their peculiar manner or address, and only urging us to learn all we could from such. I should think there was seldom a house where there was so little gossip about *persons;* for his own loving spirit and elevated tone of mind had a powerful influence, not only on those about him, but on passing guests and visitors. Another thing against which he was most careful to guard us, was the slightest disrespect, or even familiarity, in our manner of speaking on serious subjects. Some of the young people with whom we associated, were in the habit of quoting texts of Scripture on common occasions, not in ridicule, but in a careless way: this he never allowed; and he so impressed upon us the impropriety of thus disregarding the difference between the Scriptures and other books, that I cannot now hear such a thing done without real pain. I think he was remarkable for bringing religion to bear on every event in life, and letting us *see* that he did so; while, at the same time, he never weakened the feeling of reverence due to the subject. He was much in the habit of referring to religious matters in his conversation with us, and I think encouraged an ease in us, in speaking of them; yet this never descended into too familiar a way of bringing them in. While he was very careful to guard us from the flattery of others, and not to praise us himself, yet he had a most encouraging influence over us; a few approving words from him were the greatest stimulus in all our occupations, while his own example of constant industry could not but *tell* upon us. I think he had a peculiar sympathy with children, and there was something almost indescribable in his gentleness towards us, even while reproving us. When I was sitting by him one day at dinner, a remark was made which he saw pained me, and I remember how concerned he looked, and how he tried, by little attentions, to make me feel that what was said was rather too severe. How does kindness, when a child's feelings are wounded, remain in the memory!

But it is time to pass on to later years. I was nearly fifteen when my mother died. We had a very happy summer, taking an expedition all together in Wales, during my

brother's holidays. My dearest father held one or two delightful meetings in Wales, taking the opportunity, of course, of getting acquainted with any serious people. I remember going with him to the little shop of some Methodists at Conway, and his astonishing them much by asking them to breakfast. They came, however, and were deeply impressed by his kindness and his prayers for them. At Barmouth we fell in with a number of Cambridge students, and also found that Dr. Olinthus Gregory was staying there. He did not neglect the opportunity; asked them all to dinner, introduced them to the doctor, and after dinner gave them some good advice, and drew the doctor on to do the same. It might be owing to some over-exertion in this journey, that I was attacked with fever soon after our return home, and not long after my recovery, my mother was prostrated by the same complaint. Her illness was a very trying one; the Bible-Meeting guests had already begun to assemble in the house; and though during their stay we did not apprehend any serious danger, yet it was of course very heavy work for my dearest father. The house was but just cleared when the symptoms became more serious, and he went through great depths of anxiety and conflict. My aunt Rachel Fowler was most happily with us, so that the weight of nursing fell on her. On the last morning we were lying on the bed in my mother's sitting-room, that we might be within a moment's call; he was in deep affliction, looking to the stroke which was just about to fall upon him, and speaking to me of the future; when he said so kindly and encouragingly, "I think thou art remarkably fitted, dear, to minister to my wants." I could only answer by tears, for I felt how unequal I was to it; but I was deeply grateful for encouragement at such a moment, and I believe I did all that I could, for I felt from that time a new tie to him, and all my powers, such as they were, were devoted to him. It was beautiful to observe how willing he was to accept help and sympathy. He threw himself freely on us in his distress, and he was most willing to be soothed and comforted by each in their turn. This openness to sympathy made it most easy to be with him in his deep sorrow.

Many of the hours we passed together I shall never forget. He was in deep suffering at times; whilst at others, light seemed to break through all the clouds, and he looked beautifully calm and elevated in his affliction.

About this time, too, we began to read the Greek Testament regularly after breakfast;—our aunt Rachel Fowler, who was still with us, and a great comfort to us all, my father, John Henry, and I. When any one was with us, who liked to join us, they were always admitted; and most interesting some of these occasions were. It was a high privilege to read with one who had so deeply studied the Greek Testament, and to enjoy his fine views of Scripture truths, while his accurate knowledge of the force of the original language, enabled him to give us many most interesting explanations. He was very patient with our blunderings, though it always annoyed him a little, and he tried to stir us up to be as correct as himself. I should think few, even professed theological students, had studied the Greek Testament more thoroughly than he had done. None, at all events, could more enjoy the daily reading of it.

During the year 1836, my father and I went several little journeys together; and we were often at Upton. At that time we travelled by coach, and I mention them partly for the sake of saying how he kept to his rule of never "missing an opportunity." He almost always managed to read the Scriptures to our fellow-passengers, and often led the way to profitable conversation. I don't think he ever went in these public conveyances without attempting to profit them, and he generally found willing and attentive hearers. How often have I had occasion to remark, in going about with him, what a great advantage his graceful, winning manners were to him, even in the promotion of the cause which was dearest to his heart! He used often to impress on John Henry the necessity of being a thorough gentleman, and showed abundantly, by his own example, that this was not in the least incompatible with the "thorough Friend."

During the autumn of 1836, he was often exceedingly oppressed, sometimes very silent. He was, indeed, under a

heavy weight; for the prospect of his American journey was beginning to open upon him, though not definitely as to the time of its accomplishment.

We were at Upton on the night of the first of 1st month, 1837; and I have heard my father say, as he listened to the "ringing out" of the old year, that he felt as if the new one portended some great and solemn event to him, though he could not tell what. However, the prospect cleared before him as the spring advanced. I could not but dread it long before he spoke to me of it; but the announcement that he made of it to John Henry and me, as we drove one day to Fakenham, was almost overwhelming. He was, however, much more quiet and comfortable than he had previously been, and I was taken from my own sorrow in endeavouring to help and cheer him, through all the pain that he must necessarily go through. The day of the Monthly Meeting was truly an awful one; for early in the morning we received the account of the sudden death of my aunt, Lady Harriet, to whom we were all nearly attached, and whose end was as unexpected as it was affecting. I believe, for the moment, he almost doubted whether he could proceed with his intentions of asking for a certificate; but his mind soon became quite settled again, and a very solemn and satisfactory meeting we had. I remember how much sympathy was expressed for him, as well as the fullest unity.

In the spring of this year he attended the Yearly Meeting in Ireland, my brother and I going with him. We had an interesting time in Dublin; I have the impression of his ministry being very striking in some of the meetings for worship, and the young Friends especially flocked around him. After the Yearly Meeting, we took a charming excursion to Killarney. Had it not been for the sense of approaching separation, this would have been a most delightful journey. We greatly enjoyed being together, and he was remarkably comfortable. The beautiful scenery afforded him, as it always did, great pleasure. How he did delight in all the charms of nature! I never knew any one, I think, who enjoyed them so much, whether in the greater features of fine country, moun-

tains, lakes, &c., or in the smaller details of birds and flowers. We returned to the Yearly Meeting in London, and afterwards to Earlham, to prepare for his start in the seventh month. My father was remarkably preserved in peace and quietness, and completed all the arrangements he wished to make for the management of his household during his absence. I was glad to be allowed to go with him to Liverpool, with my uncle and aunt Gurney, and my aunt Fry. It was rather curious, that we were not many yards out of the park gate before we were nearly overturned by one of the horses kicking. We had to get hastily out of the carriage, but I shall never forget the elevated serenity of his look as he smiled and said, "the first of my dangers!" We had a remarkably interesting occasion before we got to Liverpool, in which he poured out his prayers for aunt Fry, in a way which was a great comfort to her, for she deeply felt his going, and had at the time much upon her. The parting day came. I was far too much overwhelmed to have a distinct recollection of it, but I know there was a very solemn feeling over all, and that he was much helped through every pain.

What shall I say of the long three years of his absence? I believe I may truly say I scarcely lost the sense of our separation for a *moment.*

When quite young, A. B. commenced a journal, noting the occurrences of every day, and not unfrequently entering into close and serious self-examination, as in the presence of that Holy and All-seeing One, who looketh at the heart. This practice was continued till the close of her brief career; but it is to be regretted that her earlier memoranda (which would have given some insight into the gradual development of her youthful Christian character) appear to have been destroyed. A few extracts from those which have been preserved may be suitably added to the foregoing reminiscences.

JOURNAL.

"1837. *Christmas Day.*—I have long wished to resume my Journal, which I left off, at the end of 1835. In 1836, I travelled with Papa, Aunt R. F., and John Henry, to the north of England, Scotland, &c.; and Papa was my chief object through that year. The same, till the middle of this, when he left us, and is now in America—thus, once more, seeming to alter everything. I am deeply, and almost awfully, responsible for the many privileges I had, in being so constantly, and so intimately, with him. . . . . .

Oh! that I may have grace given me, to overcome the wickedness of my heart, and now, to devote myself to the service of my Heavenly Father." . . . . . .

"29*th.*—After breakfast, nice walk with Uncle Gurney, talking about plans, our going to London, &c. I was provoked at myself, for being quite low; he was so like Papa; but it was most delightful being with him. . . . . .

"How I do wish I was more inclined to *serious thought.* How much depends on these thoughts; in words and actions one may escape much apparent sin, for a little time, but in thoughts never! at least, so I find it."

"1*st day*, 29*th.*—After meeting, two delightful letters from Papa, bringing accounts for which we *ought* to be—I hope *are*—truly thankful. What a mercy to be permitted to receive such!" . .

"2*nd mo.*, 14*th*, 1838.—Letters from America most interesting and delightful; wanderings in Carolina and Virginia; many things I wrote about, he has taken no notice of, when I expected he would. The fact is, separation *is* separation; and it is, after all, but a poor notion of one's real state, that letters sent across the Atlantic, convey. I must, in future, set my account more for it. We have the greatest cause to be thankful for such letters."

"1840. 8*th mo.*, 17*th*—*first day evening.*—All the party gone to meeting but me. I am not strong enough for two meetings, since my

attack of illness, for the recovery from which, so easily, I desire to be thankful. I wish I could mark more improvement in myself since I last wrote. I have a hope that God has been pleased to draw me nearer to Himself, and He has allowed me to feel His graciousness to my soul. I would also desire, thankfully, to acknowledge that my prayers have not been disregarded, especially that I think I see a marked improvement in religious feeling in J. H. We are also looking with great happiness towards my dearest father's return. How (with this list of mercies before me) shall I acknowledge, that the *pride* of my heart continues very great, and that it has corrupted my thoughts, words and actions. Self is an idol, which I fear I worship more than I do my God! Oh! I would I were deeply humbled on this account; and as a very great sinner, I do now entreat to be forgiven for the sake of Jesus Christ; and I do earnestly desire that I may know Him as my Saviour and Sanctifier through the Holy Spirit. That I may have *pardon* and *grace*. Be pleased, O Lord, to pardon and to cleanse me."

Soon after making the foregoing entry, her heart was gladdened by the return of her beloved parent to his native land. The joyful event was announced to her, in the following letters, from her Aunt Buxton and her Cousin C. B——:

"Upton, August 18, 1840.

"My dearest Anna:

"One line I must send, to say we have seen thy beloved father! He is just the same in all respects. He says he has much enjoyed a beautiful voyage home, and comes back without a feather's weight upon him—rested and relieved. So thee may be thankful, and enjoy, and *only* enjoy, his return. We had a large assembly to reading this morning—a beautiful prayer for our little T. F. B., and a lively song of praise and thanksgiving. It was peculiarly precious you may suppose. He had a good night, and was, long before breakfast, walking in the garden. . . . . .

"Most affectionately, H. B."

"My dearest Anna:

"I must share the pleasure of telling thee, what an uncommon delightful meeting we have had. It has been so easy and natural,

and he so exactly like himself, that I cannot tell thee what a rare occasion of pleasure it has been; so full of interest, so quiet and delightful. We had been in instant expectation for more than an hour, so we were of course all ready for the arrival, which was too deeply interesting to be noisy. Dearest Uncle seems in true enjoyment. . . . . .

"I regretted not being able to be at the reading, which turned out so peculiarly interesting. . . . . .

"Affectionately, C. BUXTON."

The above letters were inserted in her journal, and she proceeds to describe this period of deep and heartfelt interest to *her*, in her own sweet, simple way:

"The letters, from which the two last extracts were made, we received on 4th day morning, the 20th of 8mo., 1840; and learned from them that he would be with us in the evening. A long, long waiting-day we had! We had, most of us, woke early, and a strong sense of excitement prevented any rest during the course of it. Our party were the two aunts and myself, Bessie and John. Aunt Catherine's prayer at reading, in the morning, beautiful, calming, and helping. We dined early, and were dressed and ready, by a little after 6 in the evening, expecting them about 7. John stationed himself at the hall-door; I at the window; there we sat till too dark to see. The Birkbecks came and we all waited, in a most stupified state of exhaustion, till near 9; then we heard a carriage, and rushed to the door. It was quite dusk; John Henry's voice was the first I heard; 'We're all right; he's on the box with *me*.' Papa said, '*Gently, gently*;' I said, '*Don't hurry*,' manfully. He clambered down into my arms, and our first *long* kiss was much too overpowering, for me to be able to describe the sensation! While he greeted all the others, I had time a little to get my breath, and we adjourned into the dining-room to tea. Aunt Fry, Uncle and Aunt Buxton, and John Henry, came with him. He was perfectly calm, easy, and natural; enjoying his meal; talking little, but completely happy and peaceful. The Buxtons soon went off to the Forsters, Aunt Fry up stairs, John read a psalm, and we all went quietly to bed. The *peace* felt then, and all the next day, was, to me, like *that* which was given us when he went away at Liverpool—*then*, in the midst of great

sorrow—now in the midst of great joy, but the same peace! It was most delightful to see him and John Henry together! Everything to *me*. We were to read at 8, and so were all up in good time. I went to him before reading; read to him for a few minutes, just as we used to do, but *could* not talk to him as I intended. We mustered, at reading, with John and Bessie, and all the servants of course, about thirty. Papa shook hands with those he had not seen and then, sitting down, read the 14th of John. I cannot the least describe the feeling of hearing his voice again in reading and in his lovely little comment afterwards, on, 'Because I live, *ye* shall live also.' . . . . . .

He finished, by repeating with the strongest emphasis, the words of Job, "Oh, that my words were written—that they were graven with an iron pen and lead in the rock forever, 'I *know* that my Redeemer *liveth.*'" Aunt Fry returned thanks and offered prayer in her own beautiful way, making especial mention of the two aunts. John Henry and I had then a charming walk round the garden, with him; and for the first time, I began to feel easy and natural, and able, thoroughly, to enjoy it. After breakfast, Papa and John Henry hurried off to the Grove, and met us and the Buxtons and the Forsters at the meeting-house. This was most pleasant. We watched him greet all the friends, who looked so pleased to see him; Aunt Catherine and Aunt Buxton busy, talking to everybody; people smiling with delight, and I, for one, receiving a whole host of congratulations. It was deeply interesting to see him walk up the meeting and take his own seat; truly, thankfulness and solemnity were given in no common degree, as we settled into silence. It was first broken by dear old Frances Page kneeling down, and giving thanks for his return most sweetly, and made more interesting by our never having expected to see her at meeting again, six months ago. Soon after, Papa rose. He thought he might employ the words of the Psalmist, "Thou hast put gladness into our hearts," &c.; that it was given him to feel unsullied peace, and what might be compared to the cloudless sky. He went on to the *foundation* of true quiet of mind; the principal ingredient of happiness; what happiness was lasting; his experience of the faithfulnesss of his Great Master during his long journey; of the efficacy of the Scriptures; of the Holy Spirit as the *applier;* of the foundation of a Christian's hope; ending with a strong appeal to attend to the gui-

dance of the Spirit. I can only give this slight sketch; but his standing in his old place proclaiming his views of religion, with his testimony to them from fresh experience, was more striking to me than I can express. After meeting, *en masse* the family walked off. A fine party assembled at dinner—there was no great talking but all happiness. As soon as the cloth was removed, Papa knelt down and returned thanks beautifully, for his return to his dear peaceful home, adorned in such beauty; and prayed earnestly that self might be held in no reputation, but that all praise and honour might be given where alone they were due. Aunt Fry added a few words; a hope that increased dedication might show forth thankfulness . . .

"Dear Uncle and Aunt Gurney, came on 5th day, in time for the Monthly Meeting. In returning his certificate, Papa gave a slight sketch of his journey, and he had his American certificates read—from Ohio, Indiana, Carolina, Baltimore, New York and New England; giving a good account of his "circumspect, consistent behaviour," and "sound and edifying ministry." Most satisfactory they were, and inexpressible was the contrast between giving up and asking for his certificate. . . . . .

"Fourth day was the Bible meeting: . . in the evening Papa was in the chair; and his speech certainly most interesting. The connection between the religion of the Bible, and the just liberties of mankind. The story of the West Indies beautifully given, and familiarly. The attention of the large meeting *chained!* He no where appears more in his element than at Bible meetings, and no where more revives one's baby recollections of him."

"6*th day.*—Long ride with Papa to Ketteringham; a great deal of conversation with him: most easy and open. American letters, his book, &c. I hope I am thankful for such a privilege, and for being made at all able to meet his mind, which I *am*, to a certain extent."

"1840, 12*th mo.*, 17*th*, 4*th day.*—We post-chaised it most of the way to Darlington. A warm reception at Polam. We staid there till the 25th, fifth day, and very interesting was our visit." . . .

"3*d day.*—Quarterly meeting: Papa very instructive in the

morning. His intimate mind, on this journey, has been pleasant, indeed, to me, and the year closes with *mercy all around.*" . . .

"After meeting, walked home alone with Papa, and enjoyed it: interesting conversation on the ministry,—the true source thereof, &c. It is strange with all one's naughtiness, how one is able to see what is meant by the differences in it. How *that* which does not seem the *real* thing, as friends view it, is not so easy to take to, as that which is livelier. But truly, I feel I have no right so to say, considering how little I profit by all, or any. *He*, as usual, strong about getting the good from every one, and I felt that, as far as I dared have an opinion, it was quite in unison with his. I enjoyed his freedom and openness. Oh! that I may not go backward, instead of forward, in the course which I sometimes hope is begun. I need convincing (what I know, too) again and again, that in *me*, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing. Papa's remarks on Justification very sweet (Romans v. 1, 2). Oh! to know the thing itself!"

"Upton, *5th mo.*, *18th*, 1841.—The day before yearly meeting, one which, apparently, I shall have much cause to remember, and, I trust, to be thankful for. The time at home, since I last wrote, was passed very pleasantly. I was a great deal with Papa, and deep in his interests, to my own comfort, and with wonderfully little dread of what is now beginning in fact, if not in form. Proportionably have I felt the pain now, which must attend such a change, as his intentions, if carried out, will produce. Yet, truly, the balance in the happiness-scale is great. We came here from Tottenham on first day morning, after a pleasant visit at Runcton. * * * and * * * were at meeting. Oh! how earnestly do I desire that I may *deeply* learn the lesson, which, with all its happy parts, this change in our circumstances does, and ought to teach me, of my being so *nothing*; that, though still I may have the closest tie with dearest Papa, and with *her*, too, in addition, yet, as I can no longer be *the* one, as I have had the privilege to be to *him*, that it may increase my dependence on *that* Father, with whom communion is only interrupted by our own sinfulness. I know that the gain of such a friend, and the taking off by her of burden, will be a wonderful advantage to me, and doubt not I shall estimate them more and more. But there *are* pains, though always decreasing,

which it is right and natural to feel: and may it all prove, as it ought to do, a teaching lesson. Oh! may I *so* love, that it may work for good; and may the spirit of thankfulness be given me for the mercies bestowed, for the happiness granted to dearest Papa. How interesting is the thought of his losses, his services, his recompenses! He is so sweet and trustful." . . . . . .

"UPTON, *5th mo.*, 22*d*, 1841.—On fourth day our meeting began: it was interesting and solemn. . . . . .

"On the whole, I am abundantly satisfied with the Yearly Meeting. The general tone seems to me to be so richly evangelical, so fine, setting up so high a standard; and often the meetings have been so solemn, as to confirm *Friendliness* to my mind very comfortably. It is a great satisfaction to me to find the cogitations I have had over it, by myself, and with the Bible, during the last three years, so clench in with the reality of the thing now, as exemplified in these meetings. What an amazing privilege to be satisfied with the religious society you belong to: to feel that the causes of dissatisfaction were in yourself alone, or in those cases where the true principle is not legitimately carried out. I write this, that I may have my own record for myself, should I again be troubled with the doubts and difficulties that I sometimes have had." . . . . . .

"*4th mo.*, 23*d*, 1842.—It certainly is not because I have had nothing to say, that I have so long delayed continuing my journal. The three months following the last entry, were as full of interest as possible; the two first occupied by our foreign journey, and the last by our return, ending with my father's marriage, on the 21st of tenth month. Of our journey on the Continent, to Prussia, Denmark, &c., there is an account in my letters to Aunt R. Of the rest of the time, hitherto I have had little inclination to make a record, having been afraid, during part of it, of being intimate even with myself. But it is now quite different; we are perfectly settled, each in our own nook, and have every reason to be thankful and happy. My mother is, of course, quite established, and, I think, increasingly happy in her position. All our relations are exceedingly fond of her. The pleasure of our home is very decidedly increased

by her presence. Papa is supplied to his utmost wishes, and I need not, therefore, add that I am most comfortable. I very highly prize her love and friendship, and am more light-hearted, in its true sense, than I have been able to be, since I was fourteen." . . . . .

"1*st day, the* 3*d.*—Papa, who is better, had a large public meeting in the evening, at the Gildencroft. I have seldom heard him more excellent. His text was, 'When He, the spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth.' He first beautifully unfolded the work of the spirit in the Church of *Christ*, and then its operation on the heart of individuals in convincing, converting, cleansing. His description of its effect in bringing to the cross was very striking."

"CROMER, 1*st day afternoon*, 7*th mo.*, 10*th*, 1842.—I do not like this day to pass without making a little record of my own state, and of the family interests that surround us just now, even if I cannot tell the history of the past week. We have had a precious, but touching, little meeting, this morning, in the dining-room here. (Lord Hasting's lodgings.) The party consisted of Uncle and Aunt Fry and Katharine, Uncle Buxton, Papa, my Mother and me. It was touching to look on some of them. Aunt Fry, Uncle Buxton. Papa, all three in so frail a state, and though we must not do anything but hope, (and I think we *shall* see them much better,) yet we cannot deny to ourselves that their present infirm condition does make us anxious. The silence of our little gathering was very sweet. and I felt really quiet, which I think is a true favour. Aunt Fry spoke in her own lovely way, alluding to the infirmities of mind and body, with which they were surrounded, and of the strong consolation derived from knowing their dependence to be placed on the Physician of value—on the unfailing refuge in their reconciled God.

. . . . . .

"Papa added a few words in the same strain, finishing with a most touching expression of his belief, that to some of them death had indeed been robbed of its terrors, and that they could look with calmness to the entrance through the pearl gates into everlasting life!

"Aunt Fry soon knelt down, and besought that in all things, whether they were raised up or cast down, whether the desires of

their eyes for themselves, or others, were given them, or not. yet, that in *all things*, the name of the Lord might be magnified and exalted. It certainly was very sweet; and I believe even the naughtiest of the party—which, I suppose, was I—did, and do most earnestly, desire to leave all things in his hands, who knows what is right; and even to try, and wish for nothing but that devotion to Him, which He, in his mercy, will give, even to the weakest and naturally most sinful.

"Evening.—After this, I took a nice little walk on the shore with K. Fry. We compared notes about the dear invalids, and we could not feel much encouraged about them. Then I read and rested; and when my Parents went out, wrote the beginning of this. I joined them, on the shore, directly afterwards, and seldom enjoyed a walk more—the sun was shining brightly, and the sea looked lovely; and though I did not feel in high spirits, either about Papa, or my own private interests, yet I was comforted by a touch of that peace of which the remembrance alone is always so precious. Papa has been rather better this afternoon, and we had quite a large meeting in our dining-room, in which both he and Aunt Fry spoke in an interesting way, on Love, Charity, and Unity—on the doctrine of redemption, and on the fruits of the Spirit. Thus the day has been one of rather peculiar refreshment, and I shall not soon forget, I think, the quietness and rest of it." . . . . . .

"Cromer, 1*st day evening*, 7*th mo.*, 17*th*, 1842.—In the evening, Papa and my Mother returned from Norwich—he very poorly— and altogether his poor state has been a true trial. I have been excessively anxious about him; and on fifth day, at meeting, I could only ask and beg for submission *whatever* came. He is better now, however; and, oh! if the favour of his real restoration is given us, we shall have new cause to be thankful, very thankful indeed." . . . .

"Earlham, 1*st day evening*, 8*th mo.*, 14*th*.—I have been sitting under one of the trees by the lawn, reading part of David's history, and musing; desiring good things for myself and John Henry. Oh! how I wish we may be right, not only in the general, but that we may not be permitted to take a path *ever so little wrong*. May we be granted very perceptible guidance, grace to obey it when it is given, and patience to wait for it till it is. I have been wishing for, or, at least

feeling the necessity of more complete devotion to my heavenly Father, and of that deep-seated love and gratitude to my Saviour, which springs from real appropriating faith in Him, and forms the right motive of action and feeling. The idea of 'abiding in Him,' has often been much with me, the last few days. I had a poor meeting this morning, and sadly find coldness and distraction, when I ought to find love and fervor in my mind at these times. Oh! that I may not prove at last a 'whited sepulchre!' I had a warm greeting from Harriet Long and the school children, and rather a nice reading with them on the last first day. The place looks delicious, and we have reason to be very thankful for returning to it, in such peace and comfort, and with Papa so much better, as he is. . . .

"The principal interests of the week have been dear Hannah Scarnell's death, and some interesting and very intimate conversations with * * * * *. Thus the peace of Heaven, and the conflicts of earth have both been brought under my view; and, strange to say, my inclination is, I think, to dwell on the 'turmoil,' to forget the 'rest.' Dear Hannah Scarnell died on third day afternoon. I was with her, to my comfort, both then and the day previous. The last thing, I think, which she heard, was the hymn, 'To Jesus, the crown of my hope,' which I read to her, and in about twenty minutes after she peacefully expired. I felt it very sublime to be with her alone, as I was, until within about a quarter of an hour of her death. It was an elevating sight; but I am almost afraid of losing my sense of the awfulness of death, in watching it repeatedly, and, in each case, seeing something so perfectly peaceful. I shall most truly miss her, and I felt her funeral this morning like that of a near relation. I was quite overcome at the grave. We had a solemn time: I was very low, and have been rather so all day. I have had some strange, flitting ideas before me, often; especially when going up the drive to the grave-yard. If I die soon, am I prepared? is a question which I do not ask myself, perhaps, so seriously as I ought; but the idea is not unfrequently before me. Happily, 'the one thing' is what we want for death or life, and that I do earnestly desire. I have enjoyed some settlement—reading and drawing. A little success in the latter, has made me really vain. I am ashamed to write it, but so it is! While such like foolish sins continue to exist, perhaps flourish, in me, how can I have a true part

in Him, who is made unto us 'wisdom, righteousness and *sanctification*, as well as redemption?' May it be granted in abundant mercy."

"EARLHAM, 9*th mo.*, 27*th*, 1842.—I came from Northrepp's on seventh day, after a very interesting week: was much with Aunt Buxton, and truly liked it: they are all most kind, as usual—liking to have me. There are one or two points to be remembered, for my own benefit. First, we went seriously into the difference between Church and Friends. It rather frightened me to talk of such things, lest I should get the least unsettled; but I was thankful to feel confirmed in the belief, that to *me*, at least, the profession of Friends is 'a more excellent way' than any other. Yet Chenda and I never felt more united, I think, in the depths; and the working out of our principle of divine guidance, was, even in her *own* experience, rather remarkably exemplified."

Surrounded, as she was, by loving and beloved relatives, who, whilst under a different religious administration, were themselves shining as "lights in the world," it was no easy thing, for this dear young creature to persevere in the narrow and restricted path of self-denial and the daily cross, marked out for her, by her affectionate and watchful parent; but, finding that his wishes were confirmed by the witness for God in her own heart, she was enabled, by the aid of Divine Grace, to "hold fast the profession of her faith without wavering," "firm unto the end."

"4*th day*. Received my Father and Mother to dinner. Our meeting has been delightful, only clouded by Prout's letter to my Father. But I am not very anxious through everything.

"7*th day night*, 11*th mo.*, 19*th*, 1842.—We have had a most pleasant re-settlement at home. I never more luxuriated in my nest—my rooms, and horse, and leisure, so delightful. I never more enjoyed my Father and Mother and J. H. We have had but one cloud, and *that*, the anxiety about Papa, who has been, at times, very poorly, especially the beginning of this week. Now we are much

encouraged again. Prout speaks favourably; and, I trust, we may once more have to rejoice and be thankful. Prout says he has been on the *edge of a precipice*, and has put him on the strictest regimen. It is beautiful to see how my father takes this little cross, and how quiet and peaceful he is. He looks very lovely, and *heavenly almost*, in his expression. I dare not think of anything but his perfect restoration to health. May we all have patience to wait *the right* time for this blessing; and may we have also submission, while it is withheld!" . . . . . .

"7*th day*, 17*th*, 12*mo.*, 1842.—What a time it is since I wrote; but I feel much relieved, in being able to give a better account of Papa. He has certainly improved much, especially the last week. He was a good deal troubled in mind, about making arrangements for the servants having no beer, a plan which was difficult and disagreeable to execute. I can't say how I disliked it; though I have been obliged to confess that I did not *disapprove* it. But it has been truly *humbling*, and given trouble enough.

"On fourth day, the 30th, he had them all up in the drawing-room, in the evening, and had a very interesting meeting with them, ending in solemn prayer."

"7*th day*. — This morning, children; Bible, CXIX. P.'s; Chalmer's; letters, letters, letters! disappointed, indeed, to find my father and mother not coming home till third day. I am tired of my solitary life; and was rather alarmed at receiving the new butler this morning. Papa gives a satisfactory account of his visit to Prout, and Prout's opinion of him, that I felt I must not be cross at his detention, and could not, also, but think that (raised up, as I believe he is, and *will* be by Him, who appears to grant our fervent desires and petitions on his behalf,) we *dare not* grudge him for the services of his Lord and Master. I have had one *long* letter from J. H.—a very great treat, especially as showing his thought and kindness to me. To Keswick, this evening. All very kind. And now I feel it strange to be writing this last evening of the year, and rather strange to end the year here, all alone, as I am now! What can I say of the past year? Its outward circumstances have been, in some respects, very weighty from my father's state; but I *greatly* feel the blessing of that care being now lightened. It is a thorough relief, and I

do trust may be continued to us. Altogether, looking at our present condition, I feel how happy a one it is, most entirely. John Henry so truly affectionate to me, and satisfactory in other matters. My father and mother in better health, blessing others, and being blessed themselves. My home abounding in luxuries and privileges. I cannot but wish, as I write, that nothing may arise to disturb me from it, before the end of '43, should I live to see it. As to the internals of the past year, I much felt this morning, my deficiencies; the want of devotion, the depth of pride, which had been exhibited in it; but I have, also, in a little measure, felt the rolling off of that burden on Him, who has set me free from the consequences of sin, who, I *do* desire, will set me free from the *power* of it. May I hope, that my faith in Him has been somewhat strengthened and enlarged." . .

"EARLHAM, 7*th day evening*, 2*mo.*, 11*th*, 1843.—My room. I cannot write a long account of the past fortnight, but it has been an interesting one. I soon found that my parents' minds were drawn towards Manchester, and towards helping H. C. B. there. I had nothing to object; so after a few very quiet and pleasant days together, in which I luxuriated in *them*, and my home comforts and occupations, they went away on fifth day last, and are only returned this evening, after a prosperous and satisfactory, though tiring, journey. It is not the least agreeable to me to miss them so much as I have done lately; but it is particularly pleasant to me to believe, that our sweet unity and naturalness, one with another, is *not* broken by it. Intimate daily dependence, such as papa used to have on me, is not now the thing to be expected; but the comfort is great, of finding all the material part of it, *always* there."

"1843. 7*th day evening*, 4*th mo.*, 29*th*.—I must put down a few words before I go to bed. The week has been an interesting one, and, in some ways, delightful, especially my intercourse with dearest John Henry.

"On second day evening, he and I were alone, and we discoursed from seven till half past ten, on himself chiefly, dear fellow. It afresh excited the warmest desires of my heart, for his help and guidance, and that he may be satisfied with finding his right path in every way, especially, of course, that in *religious* matters he may take *exactly* the position designed for him. His affection

and generosity, this week, when I have been particularly thrown upon him, have been very delightful to me. His openness of mind and heart has been all I could wish or ask, and brings back many an anxious hour to my remembrance, when he seemed so *locked up* to me. How earnestly I have desired this breaking down of barriers between us—how heartfelt should my thankfulness be to Him, who has so fully granted this request. Surely I may take it as an encouragement to believe, that in *all* things He will be pleased to make this darling brother what I so truly desire he may be. It has often puzzled me, *why* I mind more about his being good than about my own self being so. I cannot say how much I feel the prospect of giving up the daily intercourse by which our close tie has been made, yet I also feel the great comfort of perceiving it to be so strong, that such daily intercourse is no longer *necessary*, and much of intimate communication will, I trust, be very possible to us, even when separated."

"PARIS, 5*th mo.*, 14*th*, 1843, 1*st day night*.—And here I really am with my dearest parents! I cannot keep much record in this way, and attempt no real journal but what I write home, yet a little may be accomplished. The bustle of leaving was great, and stupifying to *feeling*, of which I was glad. It was however, comfortably accomplished, and all necessary things done." . . . .

"We arrived on seventh day morning, and had a sweet reception. How heartily I do wish that my joining my dearest parents may indeed be a help to them. To be ever so little with them, is a great privilege, and to be anything like a help in such an engagement as this, a still greater. I much feel the weight of our journey, and think Papa but poorly. We had a large philanthropic party here on seventh day evening, and three very interesting religious occasions to-day. Aunt Fry is most delightful as usual, and I have enjoyed meeting the Countess Pelet, and some other of our Parisian friends again." . . . . . .

"LYONS, 1*st day afternoon*, 5*th mo.*, 28*th*, 1843.—I have been reading over what I wrote this day fortnight, at Paris, and I think our journey since that, has really prospered. We left Paris on fourth day, after the dear parents had had a capital interview with the Royal family, and were quite relieved. We have had some pleasant

days' travelling, and many interesting meetings and engagements of that nature. It has been our business to find out the little body of Protestants in each town, and a sweet set they are, so simple, so warm-hearted. Here the way has opened remarkably for meetings with the people, and though we entered the place as strangers, we are now surrounded with kind friends. I never felt anything more 'weighty' than some of these meetings, and never saw Papa more oppressed and burdened before-hand; but one after another has been wonderfully got through. . . . . .

"I have enjoyed very much being with my parents, and am truly glad I came. We have sometimes had a particularly quiet, peaceful feeling, and after the bustle of home too, the quiet hours in the carriage have been most refreshing to me. I like to meditate on the past, present and future, as relates to myself. *There*, being full of occupation of late, I have been too much taken up for my good or comfort, and have especially been too much curtailed in my own Bible-reading, which never answers. To-day has been a very sweet one. Our own quiet, little meeting, this morning, was delightful, and the time for thought and reading since really valuable, I was so tired with a long day of standing about in the prisons yesterday, that I do not go out to-day at all scarcely; and I hope there has been some little coming back to those precious comforts, which I miss so far more than I need, by neglecting to *seek* them. THE FORGIVING LOVE! how constantly one has to come back to *that*. I think I have felt it a little to-day, and surely I need it."

"CONGENIES, 1*st day*, 6*th mo.*, 14*th*, 1843.—I am too tired, after a very full day, to write much, but I must just say that our journey has been very interesting since I wrote last. I shall not soon forget the relief of quitting Lyons, with the sense of the work being so satisfactorily accomplished, and with Papa so easy and happy in mind. The last meeting was exceedingly solemn, and all our dear friends showed us the greatest warmth and kindness. I cannot doubt that an impression was made there. It has been so beautiful to me to see both sides of the picture, to watch one scene of labor presented after another. At first it all looks shaded, but by degrees the light breaks in, and the way opens for each concern as it comes, in a manner most interesting to watch, and curiously *confirming* of our Quaker way of going to work. . . . . .

"Here, I am really enjoying myself. My parents are in such good spirits, and less oppressed, than sometimes, with their work; the country is so delightful, and the Friends such a very interesting group, that our stay here is quite a refreshment. I have begun to visit the families with my father and mother, which I really like, and find very interesting to watch; sometimes I have thought the occasions exceedingly solemn. . . . . I truly value the opportunity of watching Papa in his work of this sort, and was never so much struck before with his beautiful, *heavenly* spirit. He does seem so *full of grace;* how I do desire that abundance of a gift so precious may be given to us all. To those of whom I think so often, and about whom I care so much in these matters, as well as to myself; I write that I *desire it, so I do;* but I am afraid I sometimes rest satisfied with a vague desire; and to the mere wisher no promise of supply is given."

"CONGENIES, *6th mo., 24th, 7th day afternoon.*—Another remarkable fortnight has passed away, and the last week I had rather give an account of here, than in my journal letters. We have had truly a time of deep anxiety, but now are relieved and happy to a delightful degree. The beginning of last week was spent in finishing the family visits, some of which were really remarkable.

"On fifth day we were to go to St. Hypolite. Papa came down, looking very tired, and said he had had a very bad night. We did not think much of it, however, and proceeded on our journey. At Fontaness we met a few Friends, and had an interesting little meeting with the Brun family and others. We were glad to reach St. Hypolite, after a tedious tiring drive. Papa had another poor night, and seemed very much fatigued the next morning, when we had a little meeting with Friends. . . . . It was painful to see him in the public meeting in the evening. He could scarcely stand, and looked sadly poorly. Another feverish night, and we started for Congenies in the morning. A meeting was appointed in the little village of C. and when we arrived at the Friend's house, where we expected to be comfortably entertained, we found a poor dirty little kitchen, with a roasting fire, the weather being then so hot that we scarcely knew how to bear being exposed to the sun, even for a minute. Poor Papa was taken with a violent shivering fit, and we clambered up some narrow stairs to the family bed-room, for him to

rest. Our hostess snatched up a dirty child from a dirty bed, and, apologizing for her husband having been using it to rest after his work, she left us, and we put Papa there! He was so ill, that, had the place been decent, we dare not have moved again; but after an hour's rest, he was wonderfully enabled to speak at a little meeting, in a very striking manner. The earnestness with which he delivered his message, almost frightened me. There was something truly awful about it, which suited too well with our growing anxiety about him. A strong young man helped him by the little stony pathway, about two hundred yards, to the carriage. We were glad enough to have him there: but I shall not soon forget the drive that followed. He kept saying, 'I can't describe the sense of fatigue I have; it is inexpressible. And the journey seemed as if it never would come to an end. Most welcome was our little home here, which looked indeed luxurious, after what we had left. George Majoler supported him from the carriage to his own room, and there he was soon in bed, with a high, burning fever upon him, an oppressed chest, and every appearance of great illness. The Majoliers wanted me to send off for the Nismes doctor, without asking my parents; but this I did not feel easy to do, and, though I thought him very ill, I had no fear of inflammation, or present danger, which they thought apparent. My parents passed a sad night, and the Sabbath rose upon us in a low condition truly. . . . . That day and the next, and the next, were most trying. I could scarcely speak to my mother, as we did not leave the room together. But she was beautifully enabled to do everything for him. I never saw more perfect management of mind and body than she exercised over him. They were neither of them inclined for a doctor, and, though the fever was running on, yet there appeared no alarming symptom. We kept our anxieties to ourselves, and many a sad remembrance came back to me, as I tried to recollect all the symptoms of mamma's case, which was so similar, though more violent. If this run on as her's did, I thought his strength was little prepared to meet it, and the result was what I dared not glance at. Yet it was most sweet to know in whose hands we were, and there was a feeling of His mercy over us, which was a support, indeed. I desired much to be made perfectly submissive, but it was a harder thing than I should have thought, to come to, and Papa's very suffering state was truly affecting to witness. At last I ventured to name the doctor to my father; it made him nervous, and he could

not bear my mentioning it; but, several hours after, he said he thought it would be better to see him, and my mother and I begged G. M. to start very early the next morning for him. That night, however, relieved our dear patient by a violent perspiration suddenly coming on, in consequence of some medicine my mother gave him; and, though often very suffering, he has never had much fever since. When I went to him in the morning (while my mother left him to dress), he told me he felt excessively ill, and did not think he should recover; giving me directions about *her*, &c. I did not really think it was so, and was angry with myself for giving way to anything of the sort; yet I could not quite restrain my tears as he spoke to me in this way, in a very weak voice, with perfect composure, indeed, but with much feeling. . . . . The day brightened, however, as it went on, and he was really better before the doctor came, who confirmed us in our belief of its being bilious fever, but said he thought it subsiding. That night we persuaded my mother to leave him, and I really enjoyed my post by his side. It was the first good night he had had, and it was perfectly delightful to hear him sleeping soundly, and made me very thankful and happy. Since that time he has been steadily mending, and is now regaining his strength, so that we hope to go away on second day. It is, indeed, a relief beyond what I can say, to have him thus, and raises a feeling of thankfulness, such as I have not often had before, to Him who has preserved him from going further into the depths of illness, from which in his weak state of health we could hardly have hoped he would rise. Had this fever gone on, as they generally do, I can scarcely think his strength could have stood it, seeing how very much he had been reduced by five days of it. He could not stand or walk alone, before to-day. Most sweetly, at reading, this morning, he expressed his sense of the mercy he had experienced." . . . . .

"BERNE, 7*th mo.*, 30*th*, 1843. *First day.*—Just five weeks since I last wrote. Truly the first word here should be one of hearty thankfulness; and as I have been reading over the last page or two, it makes me ashamed of the flat state I am in to-day. My father is very nicely again, after much anxiety about him, during his slow restoration, which was made slower by the difficulty of diet and the other irregularities of travelling. We think him now very nearly as well as before his illness. Our journey has been truly interesting;

and it is a great comfort to have arrived in safety, and with the dear parents' minds thoroughly relieved. . . . . We have also had the treat of charming scenery at Grenoble, on the lake of Geneva, and at Chamouni. Finally, we have enjoyed a great deal of pleasant intercourse with many kind friends at Geneva, and seen one or two '*Lions*,' as D'Aubigné, Gaussin, Vinêt, &c. My father's objects at Geneva have been well accomplished, and I think it has been remarkably *given* them to soften prejudice, and to promote Christian unity." . . . . .

"Basle, 8*th mo.*, 13*th*, 1843. *First day.*—I have been reading an account of the Crucifixion, this morning, and, also that splendid Epistle to the Hebrews. So wonderful and so grand as it is! Oh! to drink more deeply of that *boundless* love, and to know something of the 'joy unspeakable,' and that we may not be in the least deceived, or in any way taking up a *false* rest. I do not like to go to bed without mentioning the very interesting evening which we have passed. A solemn meeting first, then supper, and a memorable time with thirty-seven of the students in the same room. A fine set of young men they are, and animated apparently by a fine spirit. It was impossible not to look at them with great interest, many of them soon to leave, and *all*, before five years are over, to be scattered through the world. What a focus of light may that company be! And how much, poor things, they may have to suffer! Papa addressed them in a striking way, and the whole thing has been a delightful conclusion to our Swiss journey; 'an evening,' as Dr. Pinkerton said, 'to be remembered by us all.' Parting with Switzerland is like parting with an old friend. What a delightful time, on the whole, we have had here, and what a very remarkable opening has been made in one place after another for the work!"

"Brussels, 8*th mo.*, 27*th*, 1843. *First day.*—This is the best date of all. So near home, as it looks. We are all much pleased to be so near the end of our expedition, most interesting as it has been. This day week, we were at Stuttgard. I think our stay there was as interesting as any part of our journey. We were completely bird-limed, till the King came home to be visited, and then our *striking*, *solemn* time with him, and the Queen, and their children, was one long to be remembered! not only for its own interest, but as a proof,

that true, real concerns are always brought about in *some* way. We have had a rapid journey from Stuttgard, by the Rhine and railroads, and now hope to be off for England to-morrow. Papa returned thanks in our little meeting, this morning, for all the mercies we had experienced. Truly they have been many. How well I remember the end of our last journey, in 1841, and how I used to ponder on our return—on *Papa's* marriage, as I do now on my own. I always thought I should not mind my own so much, and I do not in some ways, though at times, I hardly know how to think of it, or realize to myself the idea of leaving home! I have thought much and deeply of it the last few days; and, oh! that He who appointeth *all* for me, may condescend himself to bless *every* step *every* day. I long, as it were, to creep under *his* shelter in thinking of the effort, and the excitement of the next two or three months; and have had some real comfort in reflecting on the mercies of a Heavenly 'FATHER.' 'He that dwelleth in the secret place of the Most High, shall *abide* under the shadow of the Almighty.' However far I may be from anything so blessed, yet *that* is what I *long* for, and what perhaps I may one day have a taste of! But I am afraid that if anybody had seen me sometimes the last few days, most inconveniently tearful eyes would have told a tale of a heart too trustless, and too ungrateful. But it is impossible not to feel *this* return home exceedingly; though considering what it is, I am little troubled with fear or anxiety, touching, as it is, to think of quitting my *own dear ones*, and weighty to think of a new series of duties, and a new sphere altogether." .

"EARLHAM, 9*th mo.*, 6*th*, 1843. . . . . We left Brussels on second day morning, and had a long day's journey to Dunkirk—to Calais on third. There, Josiah Forster left us; but the weather not being tempting, we concluded to remain till the next morning. We had a profoundly quiet day. I felt it was such a day of repose, as I had not had for long, and should not have soon again. But I greatly felt coming to the end of the journey, and the end of this time with my parents." . . . . .

"EARLHAM, 2*d day*.—We came down here, arriving quite late It was delightful to meet J. H." . . . . . .

"3*d day*.—We did greatly enjoy this dear place, which looked

more lovely than ever, and, I hope, felt truly thankful to be again here, and Papa so nicely." . . . . . .

"*5th day night, 9th mo., 27th,* 1843.—I write to-night chiefly to record the capital Bible meeting yesterday. We had the usual large party to breakfast. The meeting looked thin, when we entered, but I never heard a better set of speeches. The Bishop, Uncle Cunningham, Pryor, Alexander, and then Papa. It was quite a treat to hear him, in his best manner, describe the *need*, and the *effect* of the distribution of the Scriptures on the Continent; its effect in opposing infidelity on one hand, superstition on the other; and leading them to the religion of the New Testament, 'without diminution, without addition, and without compromise.' It was listened to with great attention, and had its impression on many who were there. Rather an unusual set — twenty-six clergymen. I love to see Papa in such a place, so completely in his atmosphere as he is; and the whole feeling was glowing towards the cause itself." . . .

"The days do bring their trial with them, and we are just now clouded by Aunt Fry's illness. The accounts are very discouraging. I cannot bear to think how it may end. My Cousin Hudson Gurney has been very ill also. Thus things look gloomy, and I feel the effect of them. A sense of dependence on a never failing Protector, *alone* makes these times easy; and truly my desires are very often raised to Him for his guiding, teaching help. What should I be without *that*, in looking forward into life! I know I ought to be very thankful for all the mercy shown me; but I am afraid that I am too apt to be overweighted by the oppressive sense of leaving so much that is dear, and of meeting so much that I know nothing or little about. But,

> "'What thou shalt to-day provide,
> Let me as a child receive;
> What to-morrow may betide,
> Calmly to thy wisdom leave.'"

11th mo., 4th.—"I have been very, very busy—packing to superintend — farewell calls to make, &c. &c. I have been a good deal with Aunt C. My parents and John Henry between times. I cannot enter much on my own mind. I am often truly low, and inconveniently tearful; but, on the whole, I get on fairly, and am quite tranquil, with a little trust in Him, who is *Almighty* —

enabled to believe that He will help, sustain, and guide, keep me near Himself, and teach me to serve and love Him, as I desire to do. Duties of every sort rise before me. Oh! may the help for them be abundantly given. Uncle Forster's sermon, this morning, wonderfully fine."

On the 9*th* of 11*th mo.*, she became the wife of John Church Backhouse of Darlington.

"I am very quiet in mind, surprisingly so, to myself, and I have got through almost all my business. Oh! may it be, that in the coming week, over every interest, and every conflict, there may spread that sheltering wing, which is extended by the God of peace; and in hearty trust in Him, may we be carried through each successive effort in His fear, and with quiet confidence in Him as *our Father!* I dare not touch on the details past or to come; but I think I may look forward to the hope of a happy tranquillity this day week. If I do not write again until my marriage, surely I must say before I end, how greatly I desire to acknowledge, with deep thankfulness, the *innumerable mercies* I have received up to this point in my life. 'Bless the Lord, oh, my soul! and *forget* not all His benefits.' I desire that this may be my motto." . . . .

"Nottingham, 11*th mo.*, 12*th*, 1843.—I cannot say how earnest have been my desires on behalf of my beloved brother, that, if he lose, by my leaving him, something of help and encouragement in his religious course, it may, through mercy, be abundantly made up to him, by the same Gracious Hand which calls me away. I feel how little I have done, in this, or any other way, for him, dear fellow; but I know, now, in leaving, how deeply I have clung to him, and how constantly my heart has been filled with love and care for him. It shows me how mercifully I am provided for, when the place of such as he, and even of my precious parents, seems supplied. Sometimes, I must confess, I should have been almost overwhelmed with the change of position, and all it involves, had it not been for the belief, that an ever-present Father is with us, our shield and our stay—one in whose hands are all things.

"Letters from home, this morning, have been sufficiently touching; especially the account of my dearest father's feeling my de-

parture a good deal more than I expected he would. It has brought to my mind all the unusual privileges I have enjoyed, and that verse in Isaiah iv., has been solemn to me this morning: 'What could I have done more to my vineyard than I have done in it?' . . . I have been full of desire—I think I may say prayer—this morning, for the precious gift of grace for us, that all-sufficient grace which guides, and helps, and teaches, and protects. How much I have to be thankful for, in knowing something of its helping power in my single life! May it be the first thing which *we* seek, and may it guide every step of our way."

"POLAM HILL, *12th mo., 22d*, 1843, *5th day evening*. My room.—As this, I suppose, is my last night at Polam, I will try and say a few words of the month we have spent here; I feel it has been a month like all the others of this 1843, very full of life; one that I shall not soon forget. We have had a luxurious habitation in this beautiful house, to which I feel quite attached; and, amongst all the odd things, it has not been the least to find myself mistress in a place with which I have such different associations!

"We arrived on fifth day, the 22d of 11th month. I felt coming very much. My new parents and Eliza met us here and gave us a very warm reception. Once, for all, I must say how *heartily* kind they have been to me, all three of them. . . . I cannot write all I would about these dear ones, but truly I ought to be thankful that *such* a family is the one I have entered. . . . Their kindness is so genuine and hearty, and their reception of me has been so truly cordial, that I could not but prize the love from which it springs. Especially I feel the value of the dear Aunts at West Lodge, and of my dear cousin, Emma Pease, and her party. Perhaps, if coming here does me no other good, it will at least make me perceive advantages and privileges under a new shape.

"Blackwell pleases me very much. We are to begin to-morrow our life there, . . . and it makes me rather low to-night, to think of the responsible position which the mistress of a family occupies. I have not often more strongly felt how greatly I need help; yes, even *grace*, which is THE help. I fear the period I have spent here, has been one in which the occupations of mind and thought have diverted me from the diligent *seeking* of that grace, and I ought to be humbled under a sense of my own cold-heartedness and neglect-

fulness. 'Fervent in spirit,' I wish to be my motto; but how very little has it characterized me the last few weeks. We had an interesting, *rousing* visit from Benjamin Seebohm; but, except that, outward helps in these things, have not been great. I miss Papa's Christian spirit over me; but I desire to remember, that, where we are providentially placed, there, if we prosper not, it is our own fault; and sometimes I do know and feel, that my Heavenly Father, in his forgiving love, does not cast me off.

"I have much enjoyed our daily readings. Oh! if we may indeed have abundance of the 'dew of Heaven,' I should have nothing left to wish for." . . . . . .

To the beloved family at Beechwood, into which she was now introduced, consisting of John Backhouse, his wife, and widowed daughter, she soon became warmly attached. Alive to the excellence of their Christian character, and impressed with a grateful sense of their unremitting kindness to herself, her young heart glowed with daughterly and sisterly affection for them. And, truly, this affection was returned abundantly: they loved her as *their own*. Her married life was, in every respect, a very happy one; and, in 10th month, 1844, she became the mother of a lovely little boy. In allusion to him, she says, 12th month, 20th, 1844:

'We had the great pleasure of showing our darling boy to his Earlham grand-parents. They have been so delighted with him: more than I could have expected. They came to Polam on sixth day, and spent seventh day morning here. Baby was perfectly good, and I do feel that the very great pleasure he will be, if he lives, to *them*, is one of the chief happinesses connected with him, dear little fellow! They are staying at Polam, but, of course, we have been constantly together. On fifth day the four grand-parents dined here, and dear Baby descended in his night clothes to be exhibited. It was quite a pretty sight, to see that poor little mortal, surrounded by all the elders, admiring him.

"I am afraid the warmth of my heart is far, far less than it should be, in thinking of all our blessings. How apt each new one is, to become an engrossing object of attention, and to draw away

from the Source of all good. May I be preserved from this deep ingratitude, of which I have found more than I like to say, in myself.

In 1845, not only was she called upon to mourn the loss of her beloved Aunt Fry and Uncle Buxton—to both of whom she was tenderly attached—but two dear cousins * also, with whom she had been on terms of almost sisterly intimacy; on which occasion the following record appears in her journal:

"Thus two more of my familiar friends have done with time, and have entered on Eternity! I do not doubt a blessed one to them both. I do trust these repeated *calls* are not unheeded! The last few days have been very serious ones to me,—waking me from a stupid state, I hope, making me feel our infinite privileges, in having *One* to plead the cause of sinners with the *righteous* God! I do not know that I have ever much more felt this. May I realize it more and more till earth is completely *outshone* in my mind by that which is *eternal!* It is well *I feel* that we have had *our* share in all these dispensations, for otherwise there would have been danger in our smooth, happy life—very, very full of blessings has it been this year. Our darling child does grow so lovely; but as I have begun a book about him, I must not enlarge. We have had, this summer, delightful visits from Aunt Catherine and the Cunninghams; two or three days from the dear parents, whom we also met at Carlisle; from Aunt R. Fowler; John's cousin, Charles Church; two or three most valuable days from John Henry, before we went into Norfolk. I have been much occupied in the village. The school has been really prospering, and a great pleasure to me."

When she removed to Blackwell, she found the moral culture of the children had been much neglected; and all the energies of her young and ardent mind were called into action, in the hope of producing a better state of things amongst them.

Her first step was to procure a good and efficient teacher. She then went round the neighbourhood encouraging the

* Elizabeth Barclay and Ann Hodgkin.

parents to send their children to school—visited it herself almost daily, and endeavored to persuade the young ladies in the immediate vicinity to do the same. A wonderful reformation was soon produced, both in the conduct and acquirements of the pupils; and the school continued to be an object of great interest, until, in 1847, she was obliged to forsake her delightful home, and all her pleasant useful avocations, and take a long and fatiguing journey in pursuit of health. But we will not anticipate. The year just mentioned was one of the most marked and memorable of her brief existence, for, at its very commencement, she was deprived of a parent to whom she was so tenderly attached, that it might almost be said her life was bound up in *his* life, and death could not long divide them.

A few pages from her journal, written after her return from Earlham, will give her own recital of this deeply sorrowful event. Taking a retrospective view of the few preceding months, she says, (writing under date of 1st mo., 30th, 1847):

"We made up our minds not longer to delay our Norfolk journey, and I started with the maids and Johnny, so as to arrive there on the last day of the eighth month, spending one day first at Upton by the way. We spent five whole weeks at Earlham, including several days at Northrepp's, and my dearest parents returned with us to Darlington, on the 3rd of the 10th month. They staid about three weeks between Blackwell and Polam, so that never before since I married had I had so much of their company. How thankful I am that these visits were permitted, for it was difficult to arrange them at first. *That* at Earlham was a very full one. They had a great deal of company—Alexanders, Dudleys, &c.; and the Bible and quarterly meetings happening in the same week, produced rather an awkward run of people. I am so glad I was at *that*, his last Bible meeting! His speech was delightful; and most interesting to me, was his interest in John Henry's, when he nobly pledged himself to the cause his father had advocated so many years. After his death, we found in his pocket-book, a little bit of the newspaper containing J. H.'s speech. I never saw him more delighting in Earlham, then in its flowery beauty. One

day, I remember particularly, J. H. and Mary were there—the latter in youthful glee, my Johnny gambolling by her on the lawn—he walking about in his cloak and cap, really taking hearty pleasure in this dear girl, while everything glowed with sun and beauty, and his own countenance shone with *heavenly peace!* Can it—can it be that I am to see that dear loved form, walking about the Earlham garden, *no more?* . . . . . How he did enjoy Johnny! I can see him now feeding him with grapes; making him repeat 'Jack Horner'; showing him off on the drawing-room table, at the Bible-meeting breakfast, 'Now I'll show you my grandson'; then making the child walk; never tired of all his little feats, anxious too when he was not quite good. How he did dislike it when I sent him to bed before dessert! All these recollections are dear to me. My child did give him pleasure, and *that* I may be glad of. *But* it is *over now!* My husband joined us at Earlham, in time for the Bible meeting, and we all came back together, arriving here on 7th day, the 3d of 10th month. I had not been well in Norfolk, and so they made me see Dr. Smith, in London—dearest Papa arranging it all himself—so tender about me—so careful of me—he never more enjoyed a visit here—he enjoyed the place so extremely—reading and drawing, while I read to him Scott's Force of Truth, &c. . . . . He wanted to have some trees cut down that spoiled his view. I had such pleasure in getting John to let me have them taken away. And now, in coming home again, it is hard to think I must never show him any more improvements, and that the pleasure of my beautiful home is stained indeed!

"But to go on with my history. Both my parents had bad influenza colds, while they were staying at Polam, which detained them longer than they had intended in this neighborhood, thus giving me still more opportunity of being with them. . . . How *extremely* I felt leaving them one evening when I thought they were going the next day! I remember telling John, 'Perhaps I should never see him again,' but I put the uncertainty to my own state. . . . . He used to think the air at Blackwell better than at Polam, and spent one day here entirely. . . . Oh! how glad I am that he had a home in this dear house, and that every room almost is associated with him. . . . . .

"But I must not omit to mention the meetings, while they were here. His ministry was so lovely, dwelling so much on Heaven and

heavenly things. The feeling of peace and the loveliness of his spirit were remarked by many. I only could shrink from acknowledging to myself how *ripe* he seemed for a *better land!* I remember the thought passing through my mind often, and as often my turning from all it involved! Most of the time, he was in very comfortable spirits, and remarkably degagé and easy: but I must come to our *last* interview, and, oh! how does it *wring* my heart to write that word! Still I ought to be only thankful for such a parting as it was. We had dined at Polam, and, as I thought, taken leave of them there, only we talked a little of going to see them off by the train the next morning. However, the next morning I was confined to bed by influenza, and was surprised, as I lay there, to hear his voice in the hall. He had come up to take leave of us, riding on the pony. He looked so well and handsome, and was so extremely tender and affectionate. He called for little Jacky directly, as he always did; and John and he had breakfast together. After it was over, he came into my room and sat by my bedside. We three alone; he read a Psalm, and then kneeling down, poured out such a beautiful prayer for us. How I wish I could remember it every word! But I shall never forget the general impression of it, nor how it went to my very heart. He spoke of our 'sweet natural love for each other;' besought 'that this might increasingly become a spiritual union;' and then for our child, that 'the yoke of obedience and parental authority might be firmly established on him, as the best preparation for the *yoke of Christ:*' and more, about bringing him up for the service of his Lord, which I cannot accurately remember. Then he prayed that if consistent with the Divine will, he 'might be permitted to see his children's children, and peace upon Israel!'

"When he rose from his knees, he sat a few minutes, then kissed me, told me to take care of myself, and he *left me*—left me *forever* in this world! Oh! may a meeting be granted us, where there is no more *parting*—no more *death!* After his return to Earlham, he wrote me more letters than usual. Such *happy* letters—bespeaking such an easy, joyous state; for though afflicted about the distressed condition of Ireland, he had endeavoured to cast off that burden, after doing all he could to help them. He spoke constantly of his happy home-life; of the beauty of the flowers, even of the cockatoo, as adding to their pleasure. Two family events of a touching character occurred at the end of the year—Uncle Hoare's sudden death,

the night after Christmas, and the unexpected birth and death of R. B.'s baby-boys, on the 1st of 1st month, 1847. Thus did the new year begin gloomily to many, and seriously to us all! For my own part, I could not get over a sort of presentiment of something in store for us. 'The coming event had cast its shadow before.' It was well for us that it had. I received a delightful letter from Papa, written on 'Christmas day,' the *last* he wrote me! He did not mention that he had had a fall from his horse, in the course of that week. I heard of it, in a letter from my mother to Aunt B.; but it had hardly made me anxious, as it seemed to have no ill effect. On the day before New Year's, I received the first account of his being poorly, written on the previous third day. The account did not in itself make me anxious, as it described nothing serious; but the one on the following day made me more uncomfortable. The succeeding ones were, however, very relieving. So that we never even discussed the subject of going to them. My husband went to New Castle on the 4th, and I spent a particularly pleasant day at Beechwood. We read my mother's note together; no one was alarmed by it. The next morning I had a note from Aunt Birkbeck, giving me *suddenly* a most acute sense of the depths of his illness, conveying a new impression to me. I sent off for John at once. Ten minutes afterwards he came into my sitting-room, looking very pale. He had brought me the LAST account!! I need not describe that next hour, in which he gradually broke to me the tidings, or the *awfulness* of the shock! It is better not to do it, but only to commemorate that even *then*, we were not left to ourselves, but that with the *hurricane* came the sense of the *shelter* of the wing of our father's love. Oh, how has that shelter been given us ever since! Such mercy calls for the deepest gratitude; and may I be enabled to be most entirely thankful to Him, who has not allowed the ship to sink, even in *this* storm. Before I go on with my history of our mournful journey to Earlham, I am inclined to pause, and if I can, to define in some measure the effect on myself of this great change—its influence on our life, &c. And, first, can I wonder at it? Can I doubt that there was '*a need be*' in this case? How often have I thought lately, that such prosperity as ours, could not continue untouched. Life has been too swimming—too fully satisfying to the heart's affections, to be permitted to go on. Now, oh! I I can feel it to be stained! It is not absolutely, that the *necessaries* of one's social life are taken away. On the contrary, I have cause for

deep thankfulness that my husband and my child are left to me; but it is impossible to find words to describe how the zest of the pleasure of every constituent part of my home life, is fled. The child's *feats* are so *useless*—the beauty of my home is so *valueless, now* that I cannot show them to *him*. This is a false feeling in degree, when I really consider it, and I do not wish to encourage it. But, oh! the *heart-ache* of it!! then there is the loss itself! How can I describe that! I have lost that *constant, faithful* tenderness, to which I could always go, which always seemed on the watch to help me. . . But, perhaps, more than all, I feel the loss of the *minister*, the *religious counsellor*, the *upholder* of the *highest standard*. It has been hard to understand that THIS has 'worked for good;' and I have craved, from the very bottom of my heart, that we may be permitted to drink far more deeply of the *fountain*, now that this rich and precious *stream* no longer flows upon us. How have I looked to his influence in bringing up a family. How have I valued on these grounds as well as others, his friendship with my dearest husband. Yet I know that even this wonderful loss may be more than supplied. Oh! for grace, most diligently and most humbly, to seek for the supply of *all* our needs, great and small.

"Words seem very feeble on this subject, but I am glad to have what may recall the conflict as well as the sorrow through which we have been brought; and I think I may say our desire is deep and earnest to be stimulated by his bright example, and truly to *profit* under the chastening hand of our Lord, who has, we may confess, been very near to help and encourage us. Sometimes we have had a sweet feeling, that he will not leave us or forsake us; and sometimes, as I said before, I have known something of the shelter of His wing. I have desired perfectly to submit to the dispensation, which includes the loss of some of my sweetest pleasures. But to return to my history. My dearest husband did indeed help and soothe my sorrow. I think I shall never forget, not only his sympathy for me, but his sharing the affliction so entirely. Those days look like a *strange dream*, but one I shall never forget. We had a coupée, and reached London on fifth day evening. I felt wholly stunned, like a person under an immense weight; as if I could not yet receive my share of the event, but could only muse and wonder at it. The next day we went on to Earlham. Oh! the faint, *sick* feeling of that arrival! . . . I cannot describe the minutiæ of my stay at Earlham. A few

things only I will mention, and first, the loveliness of those dear remains. The clay was emphatically *beautiful*, almost heavenly. . . Most sweet to me was the full belief, that that beautiful form was the *seed* of the far more beautiful, heavenly one. That even *that* precious form, I may see again, though doubtless 'glorified!' I have not much to say of the funeral. It was wonderfully interesting as a spectacle. The crowded roads, the mourning city, would have been most touching in any case; but that very sort of interest took off a little, to my feelings, from the settled solemnity of the day, except at the grave, where the silence was as peaceful as it was awful and profound! . . . Writing is so difficult to me, that I hardly know how to say all I wish; but I must mention one or two things to make my record at all complete. And, first, about my mother! To *her*, dear creature, I feel as if I had acquired a new and strong tie. With the keenest sense of the *weight* of the sorrow and desolation that presses upon her, I have had, at the same time, a consciousness of being *helped* by her in a remarkable way! I feel bound for *life* to her, not only from inclination, but from the strongest sense of duty; and heartily desire that I, and mine, may always prove faithful to this dear one, who is, as it were, bequeathed to our tenderest care."

One or two letters selected from the many that were written by A. B. to her mother, during this season of sore bereavement, will show the depth and fulness of her sympathy, and the low estimate she entertained of her own progress in the Christian race:

"BEECHWOOD, *5th day*, *3d mo.*, 1847.

'It is a relief to come to the time for writing to thee, though I am almost afraid it is hardly right for the outpourings of a full heart to come on *thee*, my precious mother. I do so well know the greater weight of thy sorrow, and especially to-day. My very heart shrinks for thee from the monthly meeting, and all it involves, returning the certificate, &c. Still there is the Power, by whom even such hard things as these may be made easy; and I have seen thee to be so helped, that I dare not mistrust for thee even in the bitterest moments. I do endeavour to commend thee, my dearest mother, almost minute by minute, to that ever present unfailing Helper, who can never be taken away from thee—can never leave thee alone! While

I often feel I hardly dare take some of those precious promises to myself, yet for thee I can fully take them and rest upon them, and know thee to be one of his fold, and that no storm can 'pluck thee out of his hand.' This is my *abiding* comfort in thinking of thee; and however unworthy, I desire to lay hold also for myself. . . . If thou hast no objection, I should so very much like to have a copy of that beautiful passage from the journal, about 'my best, my very best,' 'my all, my very all,' &c. Perhaps, dear Harriet would copy it for me. I should just like to show it to my mother B. One can hardly in word do his spirit justice about all that matter, and as, I suppose, it is doubtful whether it can go in the journals, I should be very glad to have it for myself.

"Ever, most affectionately, thine, A. B."

"SHULL, *5th mo.*, 23*d*, 1847.

"My precious Mother:

"These days of yearly meeting do bring thee so constantly to my remembrance, that I do not feel as if I could refrain from writing to thee again to-day. Thankful, as I know thou art, for all *he* is spared, yet I am sure there must be something inexpressibly affecting in once more, and in rather a new form, recognizing the mighty change! I can hardly trust myself to think of thee, solitary at Earlham, during yearly meeting. Each day, as it goes by, is very touching to me, in the remembrance of our being all together last year. But yet, in the midst of it all, how elevating is the thought of that 'General Assembly and church of the first born,' with whom he is now worshipping; and when I remember the extreme comfort a 'real good meeting,' at these times, gave him, oh! there is even a *delight* in thinking of him where there is no interruption to his holy happiness—where all around him are in *perfect unison*, and even where no physical infirmity now mars the joy of his heavenly employments for a single moment!

"I hardly know why I write all this, dearest mother, to *thee;* for I well know thou art enabled to take fast hold of these glorious truths, very, very far more than I can; but I do not feel as if I could help pouring out a little of my heart to thee, this morning—it is *so full* of thee and of him. . . . . It will, indeed, be a help to be with thee; though there is certainly much besides in the

prospect of coming to Earlham, which my weak mind can hardly bear. But I hope to be stronger, body and mind, before I think of really setting out. . . . . .

"Ever, thine own loving, A. B."

In the spring of 1847, her little girl was born, whom she called Eliza Jane, and in the following summer, accompanied by her beloved husband and precious little ones, she visited her early and still dear, but sadly altered, home; and, oh! how touching it was to behold her there—her pallid cheek, her wasted form, the soft lustre of her hazel eye, rendered unnaturally bright by a warm hectic glow—all told, too plainly, that she was come to take a *final* leave of those scenes of her happy childhood; that her sun was going down "while it was yet day." It would be difficult to describe her as she then appeared, without seeming to sketch an exaggerated picture. Though the tear was often in her eye, as the remembrance of the past came vividly before her, and though her bodily sufferings were not small, from cough, debility, &c., yet did this youthful Christian's lovely countenance look so serene, so placid and so *Heaven-bound*, that one was almost ready to rejoice, that the short but stormy voyage of life was nearly over, and bid the little bark "God speed" into the port of everlasting blessedness. After passing about eleven weeks at Earlham, during which there was but little apparent improvement, her watchful and anxious husband (by the advice of the medical men, and in accordance with her own inclinations,) was induced to try the effect of change of climate, and accordingly, toward the latter part of the ninth month, they set out for the Continent, not having any very definite plan in view, but designing to continue travelling south, until they met with a more genial atmosphere.

The following extract from her foreign journal describes her feelings at this interesting juncture:

"NICE, 10*th mo.*, 31*st*, 1847.

"How long it is since I wrote last! but I do not like quite to forsake my little history, and I will try and put down a brief sketch of the past five months. Soon after our return from Shull, we had a deeply interesting visit from dear Dr. Chalmers, of which the particulars are elsewhere, made most memorable by his sudden death four days after he left us! Our hearts were closely united to him. I truly felt him *fatherly*, and his death was a stunning blow. I continued but poorly, but hoped the change to Norfolk would set me up; and consulting Caleb Williams on the way, (at York,) we started for Norfolk the first of seventh month, going round by Runcton.

"What can I say of that touching arrival at dear Earlham? Oh! how strange it was to find my mother and Harriet the only inhabitants of our old home! But it would be in vain to endeavour to describe the blank, which I thought increased every day during my ten weeks' stay. I had rather dwell on that feeling of peace which was remarkably over us. It was truly to be *felt* at every moment, I was going to say. I was nearly united to my dear mother, and deeply interested in my beloved father's journals, with which she indulged me most liberally. Nothing could exceed her kindness and affection all the time we were there. We paid a short visit to Aunt Catherine, at Lowestoft, and she returned with us to Earlham. It was most interesting to be with her, dear creature, as it always is. She has a house at Lowestoft, just suited to her needs, and it is no small comfort to think of her being there. It was delightful to be with dear J. H. and Mary, who seemed most prosperous, though the loss of their little one was sad to me. However, I could not but feel in this trial, as in all others, that the Judge of the whole earth doeth right.

"My dearest husband was obliged to leave me in about three weeks, and I continued in a poor state of health, with cough, &c.; so that, when he returned, we went to London together for medical advice. There, we saw Dr. S. Smith, who confirmed us in the opinion, we had previously formed, that we must spend the winter abroad. The next day, at Upton, came the affecting intelligence of the sudden death of our beloved Father Backhouse! . . . . To *him*, we have no doubt, it was the welcome summons to perfect joy! To *us*, it was one more heavy blow, and truly we felt deeply bowed down under it. My dearest husband had to leave, of course,

directly. I returned to Earlham; and our separation, at such a time, could not but be truly painful; but I seemed to have no power to go to Darlington, and I was thankful to be so spared as I was, in my quiet refuge at Earlham. Indeed I ought most gratefully to acknowledge, that all through these weeks, when it was impossible to dwell in anything but low places, I was mercifully helped, day by day, and all anxiety about the journey, or anything else, was remarkably taken away from me, so that I was preserved in great calmness and peace —a proof, indeed, of the tender, pitying care of a loving Father. My great concern was—if this journey should not answer, and my health should quite give way—*am I safe?* After some days of earnest desire for a true answer to this important question, I became very peaceful on the subject—the Saviour, I think I may say, being *very precious* to me, and I felt that in my own utter unworthiness, I might throw myself on his inexhaustible merits. We were much helped through the parting days at Earlham. Dearest Eliza came to us, which was quite a stay, and we left Upton on the 20th of ninth month. Sarah Gurney, and Chenda and Charles Buxton, were our delightful companions. . . . . I am certainly better, though still very far from strong; but there seems great hope that the journey may answer the purpose intended. . . . . Dear baby has been very poorly, but is better; still it is, of course, a care to travel with such young children! But in this, as in all other things, we desire to commit our way to our merciful Father. How tender has He been to me! Surely I can say, 'He has attended to my cry,' raised, as it often is, in weakness of body and mind. May all teach me to depend more and more upon Him for the supply of every need. . . . .

"PARIS, *9th mo.*, 24*th.*

"My precious Mother:

". . . . . Thy letter, received at Upton, was the *truest* comfort to me; and I am so glad to think thou hast been pretty fairly since I left thee. I hardly know how to think of thee without me; for I am sure thou must at times have missed that deep sympathy which I seldom expressed, but I felt that thou knew it existed. I do not mean to say *I did* or *said* anything to help thee, my dearest Mother, but we had *such* a tie in our constant all-pervading feeling about that precious one—such a feeling as no one else *could* fully have—that we cannot be separated without feeling it very sensibly; and

while I have much to cheer me, thou art left in that dear, lonely room; . . . . yet I love to think of thee there, and to call to mind how help was so perceptibly given to thee day by day—the waves will not overwhelm thee—and I can fancy thou hast even thy secret pleasures over the journals, &c." . . . . .

"MONTPELIER, 10*th mo.*, 16*th.*

"My dearest Mother:

"I was rather disappointed to receive no letter, either from Earlham or Easton, at Toulouse. We do so long to have some news of you, and it is now a fortnight since John Henry's and Harriet's letters reached us at Bordeaux; but I hope we may hear at Marseilles, for we seem to know sadly little about you all. We had a very interesting visit to the Courtois, at Toulouse. We were sorry we had brought no letter. However, we went to call in the morning, and the ladies soon appeared one after the other, and kindly believed at once who we were. Directly they found whose daughter I was, they seemed as if they could hardly express their interest and affection. I gave them thy message, and they spoke most affectionately of thee. Soon the gentlemen appeared, warmer, if possible, than their wives. Nothing would do but we must dine with them at 4 o'clock, and bring Johnny, which, as I came away at 7, we were able to do. I wish I could tell thee how delightfully they spoke of my dearest Father. They poured out their love for him till I hardly knew how to bear it. Among other things, they told us that he had been the means of entirely animating the anti-slavery cause in France.

"'He brought "De Felice" to sound opinions on the subject, and induced him to write a book, which is producing the most remarkable effect, far more than anything else that has ever appeared;' and they now consider that the cause is gaining ground fast, and seem to have no doubt of its ultimate success. 'Thus was your Father greatly blessed,' said one of the brothers, 'in these last years of his life, and you must tell your mother, Mrs. Gurney, so.'

"They begged to be most affectionately remembered to thee, and they seemed sadly disappointed that we could not stay longer. We are spending a quiet Sabbath at Montpelier, in a nice comfortable inn. We found, to our surprise, that the road to Marseilles passes through Nismes, so I hope we shall call and see Justine Benezet, to-

morrow. We could not arrange to spend first day there, indeed we had a very long, tiring day to get here. Perhaps, on some accounts, it is well not to have those dear warm-hearted friends with us the whole day, as they would have been; but had we known in time, we should have been tempted to do otherwise.

"Dear little baby has been decidedly better the last few days, but she is very touchy still, and I am afraid will be so while we travel, as I think the constant change of milk disagrees with her. Our plans are, we feel, uncertain, till we hear a little more accurately in what state Naples is. I can't think what we shall do if we cannot go there. The long voyages are such disagreeable obstacles in the way of Malta and Malaga; but I hope we may be able to pursue our first plan.

"Jackey is in high glee altogether, but rather tiresome and fretful, poor child, if he is long in the carriage. When we change horses, he entreats Schutz to put him on the saddle horse, and there, armed with the post-boy's whip, he sits in ecstasies, the by-standers, much amused, as you may suppose. . . . . .

"I did not tell thee, that the Courtois thought him so extremely like his grandfather. It was quite delightful to me, that they saw the likeness so strongly, for it shows how *real* it is. Thou would have liked to see him at play with their eight children. One, a dear little girl, near his own age." . . . . . .

"Pisa, 11*th mo.*, 26*th*, 1847.

"My dearest Mother:

"I am sure we shall have thy very near sympathy, when I tell thee that our darling baby's illness terminated this morning in her peaceful death! Though she had gained some strength, yet her disorder was never the least really subdued; and yesterday afternoon I perceived it had gained more power over her. However, the Doctor still thought we might start to-day; but when I went to her this morning, her glazed eyes told me a sorrowful tale. I sent for the Doctor directly. He was alarmed, and went for further advice. I held her, dear little thing, on my lap; and as she rolled up her eyes once or twice, I felt that it would indeed be sorrowful, if we had to watch her in convulsions, which were evidently approaching. I could only ask that she might be spared suffering, and, in this, we

were mercifully dealt with; for about half an hour after, as she was lying on Sarah's lap, her father and I watching her, she passed so quietly away that we could not detect the moment when she drew her last breath. We had a warm bath, &c., but all was unavailing, and we were forced to believe at last, that the life of our little one was gone! I thought her looking very ill when I left her the evening before, therefore the blow, though it came at last rather unexpectedly, was not unanticipated. She looks very lovely now, the expression of intense illness gone, and her cheeks are even round again. There is no burying-ground here, and we shall have to take her to Leghorn, I suppose, on second day. It does seem sorrowful, that we must leave that precious little form, and go far from it; but we do endeavour rather to think of the spirit that 'soars on angel wing.' Of course, we are brought very low by this trial, but do most earnestly desire to yield ourselves wholly to the hand of love, which is laid upon us; and I am thankful that she was spared further suffering, which she must have had, had she lived a little longer. I wish you could see her as she lies now, looking *so* peaceful!"

"LEGHORN, 12*th mo.*, 22*d*, 1847.

"I am afraid thou hast thought me slow in writing, but I felt as if I could not write, till I received thy letter about darling baby's death; and now it is come, most sweet and helpful it is—really appreciating the sorrow, and yet so cheering. Yes, dearest mother, I trust I have been enabled to submit to Him who has sent the blow, and in many times of bitter sorrow, I may confess to thee that He has been very near us. Oh! it is sweet to feel near to *Him*, and one can then almost rejoice in suffering. . . Indeed I have much to be thankful for; though I would not wish thee to think, if I write cheerfully home, that I do not need thy tenderest sympathy. Oh! what all these days will be to thee, my precious mother! May the strength be indeed sufficient for the day, as it will be doubtless. .

"I have hardly left room to say that I am nicely; but have not got on so much, as I should have done if we had not been entirely confined to the house by violent rain for days. It is clearing a little now, and they say after this, we shall have lovely weather My cough continues much better. Indeed it is almost nothing, and when I can get out I shall soon be stronger." . . . . .

"ROME, 12*th mo.*, 8*th*, 1847.

"I may indeed give a comfortable account of myself. The remembrance of darling baby mingles closely with everything, but I have many sweet thoughts about her; and I have had more power of being interested in things here than I expected; so that I hope the spirit of *cheerful* submission, for which, I believe, I sought, has not been entirely withheld; and day by day we have reason to acknowledge the tender love that is over us."

"NAPLES, 12*th mo.*, 18*th*, 1847.

"My dearest Mother:

"Thou wilt be glad to hear that we arrived safely at Naples, and are located in a very comfortable inn, commanding a lovely view of Mount Vesuvius, the beautiful bay, &c. If the cold winds will but keep away, I think the place will suit us very well, and we are both of us glad to get here. The journey was quite easy and very interesting—just the road which Paul travelled when he was going to Rome! Abundance of ruins everywhere, and some lovely views the latter part of the way.

"I am rather tired to-day, and am glad to get into nice quarters. I am sure thou would admire the orange gardens, laden with their beautiful fruit, which is fast ripening; and a *bough* of oranges is a most agreeable travelling companion.

"We have uninterrupted lovely weather, though the air is very cold, morning and evening; but I never attempt going out, except just in the middle of the day. . . My cough continues wonderfully better, though it is not absolutely gone. I have capital nights, and I hope I shall soon get a little stronger, as the tonic medicine suits me so well."

"NAPLES, 1*st mo.*, 2*d*, 1848.

"These marked days so extremely call thee to mind, that I cannot refrain from sending thee a few lines this morning. Oh, my precious mother! what these hours must be to *thee* as they pass along! I doubt not almost every one can be traced. I have *heartily* felt being away from thee at this time; for though I could have done nothing for thee really, yet, at least, I could have *shared* thy sorrow

in some measure. But it is a mercy that we may commend one another to our compassionate Father oftener than the day; and this, in my poor way, I have indeed done. Oh! I do not doubt that strength has been given thee proportioned to thy need, and in *that*, I desire to repose for thee!" . . . . . .

After receiving such flattering accounts of improvement in the health of this cherished invalid, it would be vain to attempt to describe the effect of the following letters on her relatives and friends in England, who were beginning to anticipate, with heartfelt pleasure, her probable return to them again, at no very distant period:

TO E. P. GURNEY.

"On board the Bull-Dog, war steamer.
"OFF PALERMO, 1*st mo.*, 17*th*, 1848.

"My beloved Mother;

"I scarcely know how to write, or to find words to convey the tidings of the *stunning blow*, with which it has pleased our Heavenly Father to visit me. My precious Anna breathed her last, on board this ship, this morning, about 12 o'clock!

"We have not been able to write for some days, to tell you that we were almost obliged to leave Naples, as the cold winds and continued confinement to the house did not at all suit dearest Anna. Though we had a rough voyage here, she seemed benefited by it, and her cough, which the dull weather at Naples had brought back, again almost left her.

'On 7th day, we were obliged to come on board this boat; and yesterday dearest Anna seemed nicely, and enjoyed a walk on deck. Last night she slept well, and went on deck again, about 11 o'clock, this morning. Soon after this, Schutz, who had slept in another vessel, came on board and told her that Mary Ann was not at all comfortable where she was. This evidently distressed her, and she begged me to ask permission of the captain for her to come to this ship. This I obtained, and she followed me to speak herself to the captain. On going back to the chair, she complained of shortness of breath. I got her a glass of water, but the feeling still continu-

ing, she begged to be laid on deck. Two medical men were on board, who gave her every assistance. Ether, mustard plasters, hot water, &c., were applied, which revived her for a time. She soon became aware of her state, and said she 'was going to Jesus,' and 'to be with her dearest father,' and that she 'felt *very comfortable*, though it was a strange place to die in.' She called for Sarah, and begged her to take care of Johnny; then kissed him, and told him that if he was a good boy he would go to Heaven, &c. She then recognized Mary Ann, who had just come on board: repeatedly said she felt very comfortable, and soon passed quietly away! It was a most solemn time! The passengers who stood around were truly kind and feeling. It seems like a *dream*. I can scarcely believe in the reality. Surely if ever a spirit was *ripe* for Heaven it was hers; and may the thought of the unutterable joys she is now a partaker of, with her dearest father and her child, in some degree enable me to bear with resignation this overwhelming blow.

"It is the greatest comfort to me, that it was dearest Anna's decided wish to come here. We did not conclude to come without consulting our Italian and English friends, who all thought, in our circumstances, we were wise in doing so. Dearest A. said she felt most peaceful in the prospect, and that the verse, 'There shall no evil befall thee,' &c., had been brought to her mind in reference to this journey. I cannot now write more, or to any one else, except to Beechwood.

"With dearest love to John Henry, Mary, and all, thy deeply afflicted son, "J. C. BACKHOUSE."

"18*th*—I could not send this letter yesterday. This morning I have followed the precious remains to the cemetery, where, for the present at least, they must repose. The captain and some of the officers accompanied me, and were most kind and feeling. Nothing can exceed the attention of Captain Key. I do not yet know what I shall do; but, of course, I shall return home as soon as possible. I will write again soon. I scarcely know whether I have written sense. I feel altogether so stunned by the suddenness of the shock; but *yesterday* she was alive and apparently well—*to-day* she sleeps in her grave! May I be enabled to seek consolation where alone it can be found."

LETTER FROM S. G. TO HER PARENTS.

"NAPLES, 1*st mo.*, 29*th*, 1848.

"I thought you would most likely be anxious about me, as no doubt, you have heard of the dreadful revolution in Sicily, and I mentioned in my letter to Samuel, that we were going there. However, we have, at last, got away. What an *awful* time it has been! I never, never shall forget it. After being there two days, we were hurried off to an English man-of-war, to preserve our lives. What a night that was! cold, and almost dark, we were all hurried off in boats to the ship—of course, poor accommodations for so many. I should say, that all the English that were staying in that place went. The officers kindly gave up their cabins to the ladies, so that dear mistress had a comfortable one. I, with many others, had to manage as we could. I lay on the floor without taking off my clothes for a week. But I have some melancholy news to tell you! It was seventh day morning when we went on board: on first day dear mistress seemed nicely: in the evening, when she came to bed, she said, "Really, Sarah, I feel so much better, and my cough has been so nicely all day: it is very odd, is it not?" The next morning, when I dressed her, she was so cheerful, and several times said how glad she was it was such a fine day; she should be able to go on deck, and she thought it would do her so much good. She did go, but she had not walked long before she was taken faint. I ran down to the cabin to fetch her smelling-bottle; when I returned, I found her laid on the deck in a sort of fit! There were three doctors on board—all came to her assistance—but it was of no use; and I think in less than one hour, *all was over!* She was quite sensible she was going—so sweet and so prepared to meet her Saviour. She spoke to us all, and bid us farewell. Oh, what a scene it was! I never, never, shall forget it. The captain was very kind. He had a place enclosed at one end of the deck with the sails. *There* was the death-chamber. There we did what we could for the dear remains! The sun ceased to shine; it rained, and the wind blew in upon us; and what with the ringing of bells, the firing of cannons, part of the town in a blaze, and the consciousness of the great bloodshed that was going on, it was the most *awful* scene I ever witnessed! Her coffin came about 9 o'clock in the evening. She was put into it, and then she looked

beautiful, and seemed to have something to shelter her from the storm. Schutz stayed with her all night: it was a very stormy one. The next morning, about 8 o'clock, they were obliged to bury her. It seemed such hurrying work. What a funeral procession it was! *in boats, across the sea:* it goes to my heart while writing it."

. . . . . .

A few of the letters that were written by her family circle on this sorrowful occasion, will tend to show how painful and unlooked for was the intelligence, and in what high estimation this beloved one was held by her family and friends.

R. CUNNINGHAM TO E. P. GURNEY.

"LOWESTOFT, *February* 3*d*.

"What can I say, my beloved, afflicted sister! This is a grief, a most *heartfelt sorrow*. One view of the dispensation is as afflictive, as desolating, as anything can well be; but by faith, we may *turn* the *picture*, and there see a blessed translation, without tasting death! "She was not, for God had taken her." Her soul, we may believe, was "as a weaned child." Her affections were set on things above; and her final dismissal presents to us the most beautiful picture of the dying Christian, one almost ever heard of—that lovely, gentle spirit taking its departure on the deck of a man-of-war surrounded by officers, *was* strange, as *she*, dear creature, said, 'A strange place to die in'—but deeply interesting—the beautiful picture haunts my mind, and is impressed on my imagination; but what an event for *him*—words utterly fail to express it. Francis and I entered Catherine's room, this morning, with trembling. I felt exceedingly overwhelmed in spirit. The shock was indeed great to her. She looked amazed and stunned, as if she could not, and dared not, believe it; but thy note was the very thing, dear, to break it to her. She first heard *that*, which convinced her of the awful reality. Nature *will* shrink from sorrow, but faith comes in to our aid. Oh, what a mercy that God should have removed the sting of such a curse as death, and the believer dies in perfect calmness! What could be so lovely as her translation! But, as Young says, 'Tis the *Survivor dies.*'

"What must have been John's feelings, when committing that precious form into the silent grave, surrounded by officers and strangers!

It is a *wonderful history!* How delightful that she was able to say, 'I am going to my dearest father'—most blessed reunion! I can believe thy soul longs to be with them. Catherine now begs me to tell thee, she does feel greatly sustained. She cannot shed tears, which would be, I think, a great relief to her, but she finds much consolation in Scripture. She is now lying on the sofa calm and resigned. We are profoundly quiet. She likes me to sit with her. Francis is the greatest stay and comfort to us, and enters most deeply into sympathy with us. He did so heartily love her. Who did not in our circle? Oh, she was such a *gem!* She was so entirely the Lord's. How striking was what she said to thee in the summer? precious hallowed hours. May their memory ever be a comfort to thee. Poor, dear John, how desolate his return!—the grave to have been opened twice to his small party. And that darling Johnny—how lovely was her leave-taking of him! The whole seems to have been but a few minutes. . . Catherine has been comforted in looking back on the text for that day in her Moravian book, which she always uses, 'He doeth according to His will in the army of Heaven, and among the inhabitants of the *earth;* and none can stay His hand, or say to Him, *what doest thou?*' 'God sits as Sovereign on the storm.—He doeth *all* things well.' . . . What a tone of deep submission has run through her letters, with every effort to bear her afflictions with cheerfulness. This has often been quite touching to me. Ought we not to seek and to desire, that these repeated blows may have a true, weaning, preparatory effect upon all our hearts?

"With near love and truest heartfelt sympathy, most affectionately,

"R. C."

"HALESWORTH, *February 8th*, 1848.

"My dear Mary:

"I have thought so very much of you and John Henry, since hearing of the event which fills all our thoughts, that I *must* write and tell you how truly I do feel it for you. Yet is there not very much to comfort under, and even *reconcile*, this startling dispensation? I mean the manner of her departure. Surely the *real* pain was in giving her up to go that journey, with the heavy forebodings of it. And to have had her spared lingering illness in a foreign land—*translated* without suffering—and so quickly, is enough to reconcile

us to the shock, great as it has been! How highly characteristic was her behaviour in that awful hour — so calm, steady, and right-minded. I have been much impressed, in thinking of her, with her peculiar characteristics, and in remembering her at different periods of her life. She has risen before me with the utmost vividness. I only *wish* I could *retain*, either with pencil or pen, the lively images of her I now recall — first, as a little child in that large nursery at Earlham, then a little older, with John Henry, as I saw them brought to our dear Aunt Rachel's dying bed-side. That *was* a beautiful scene! After that, I recall her indistinctly for some years of her life, with Hannah Lean (her governess), under Aunt Catherine's care. Then, too, her sweetness in dear Aunt Mary's time, and her spirit and brightness as a school-room child. But after the death of that dear mother, how did she step forward in a new position! and what did she not become as a daughter? The religious principles which had been so early, diligently, and deeply planted in her, began now more especially to show their *fruits*. She had naturally a peculiar *love of service*, a true taste for being of use, and as her character developed, *Duty* was its Pole Star. She remarkably balanced and proportioned her duties, and, to our view, seemed never to fail in them. It was a most *rare* post that she now filled. Her father's dependence on her was intense. Her unvarying devotedness to him, united with uncommon wisdom, cheerfulness, and simplicity, such as one is not often to see. I was staying at Earlham, in the summer of 1836 (after Aunt Mary's death), and never can forget the touching dependence he had upon her, and the *grace* with which, though only a child of fifteen, she filled *that post*. Again, I saw the same thing at Rennyhill, in the same autumn, and then how did she assist and strengthen him in the tremendous effort of duty he made, in leaving her and John Henry to go to America!

"In 1839, during his absence, I was again staying some time at Earlham, on our transit to Halesworth, and then I saw her in the character of *sister*. Of this, I need not speak; but, I think, it was *unequalled;* her forbearance, her love, her lively admiration and delight in John Henry. It is too affecting to think of! The next image I strongly recall is, when she came to nurse Chenda in the measles, and this leads me to remember the treasure *we* have lost — the faithful, efficient, and dependable friend and relation. There were *few*, indeed, whose company I would so desire, or whose judgment and example I would more profit from. In these years, too,

the sight of her in the 'eleven-sided attic,' with her Sunday-scholars, is memorable. Her unforgetting attentions to H. Scarnell and Nurse Norman, and all her sweetness and fragrance as the very flower of Earlham! Then I recall the scenes (as described, for I did not *see* them), of your father's return from America, and of his marriage. I *did* see her as step-daughter; but I shall borrow the words of the mother, she so truly loved, to describe her in this capacity. . . . She writes to me, February 11th, 1848:

"'Never has that dear one shone more brightly than in her *generous, noble, loving, most unselfish conduct* to myself. In the first place, when I was the innocent means of robbing her of that uncommon dependence, which had for several years been placed upon her, and *in* which (though she was often weighted by it), she greatly delighted. Then her most dutiful, affectionate and truly tender conduct to us *both*, entering with such delight into our pleasures, and giving us the very *depth* and *fulness* of her young heart's sympathy in all our pains. But, above all, how lovely, how exalted, how far beyond all praise, was the self-sacrificing spirit with which she sought, in our *common* sorrow, to lay aside the sense of her *own* heart-breaking portion of it, while she devoted all her energies to cheer and comfort *me*. Dear, precious child! in the fulfilment of her various duties, *I* never saw her *equalled*, and none will ever know *what I* have lost.'

"The next picture that rises is of herself on her wedding-day! Her pale, elevated look, when she first entered the meeting; her happy smile afterwards; her charming demeanour through the day, thoughtful of *every one*, full of feeling, yet perfectly steady and like herself — the stay of all others. *That* day is, indeed, memorable — *both* our fathers in such brightness! and the whole scene a crown of Earlham gatherings! I am glad to have it fixed in my mind, though now so clothed with melancholy. I saw her many times afterwards, but was not so much or closely thrown with her again, till we had the privilege of spending a few days at Blackwell, in 1846. There she was shining indeed, as wife, mother, mistress, neighbour — truly a blessing to the world around her. I saw her at Beechwood, at Polam, in her own little school, with her neighbours, poor and rich — everywhere the same Anna; quiet, judicious, enlarged, hopeful, generous and encouraging; the most loving, dutiful daughter-in-law, niece, and cousin. Oh, what a hopeless vacancy is there left—a place that cannot be filled!

"I next met her in January, 1847! and even in *that* scene, how was she still herself! I can never forget her on the day of *his funeral*. It is sorrowful to remember her *marble face*, so lovely, yet almost fearfully calm, holding her place even there, in those rooms, and with every one. I was frightened at it at the time; and it is painful to remember it now. Did she *ever* recover that grief? *I* think *not*, though other things combined to undermine her health. Only once more did I see her at Earlham; in August, 1847 — not six months ago! What a picture of refinement, of chastened feeling, of quiet resolution, and, above all, of deep religious trust and experience! She was such a reasonable, sensible, manageable invalid—free from self-will, and making the best and easiest of everything, while she conducted everything with power and decision. I parted with her with strong love and admiration, and a *deep fear*, though not without hope. In herself, hope predominated. She told me she *expected to return*, though perfectly aware of the risk of her critical state. I saw her unexpectedly for a moment, at the railway station, at Stratford; like herself was every part of her behaviour in that bustle and agitation, and this was my *last* sight of her, dear, dear creature! I deeply feel in the contemplation of her whole course and character, that something unequalled in many respects is gone from amongst us. There was combined with her grace such remarkable wisdom, enlargement, and affection; such peculiarly sound and dependable conduct in all the turns of life; that we can but feel that a standard is removed from our circle, and that *we — (our world)—we and our children* are truly and lastingly the *poorer*. The great loss of all—the *unspeakable* loss of her husband and child —these cannot be *touched* by me. But, oh! my heart *does ache* for John Church. I mourn for that darling Jacky, unconscious of his inexpressible privation!

"I did so long to try and put down some of my remembrances of her, that I have poured it all out to *you*, dearest Mary. But now I feel half afraid of adding to your sorrow by it. May we, as long as we remember *her* (which surely will be for *life*), remember her *example* and *seek to follow it*.

"With true love and sympathy to John Henry, whose sorrow I well believe is not easily estimated,

"I am, dear Mary,

"Your truly affectionate Cousin,

"PRISCILLA JOHNSTON."

The preceding outline of Anna Backhouse's character was delineated by her valued cousin, of whom such frequent and affectionate mention is made in this little sketch.

Gifted alike by nature in no ordinary degree, and refined and purified by unreserved submission to the transforming operations of Divine Grace, there was much congeniality between them, and each formed a high but *just* estimate of the talents and attainments of the other. Surrounded by the luxuries and indulgences of life, they may be said to have lived, "as strangers and pilgrims on the earth," "seeking a *better* country."—And *now*, as we confidently believe, through the fullness of atoning love and mercy, they are "*fellow-citizens* with the *saints* and *of the household of God*"—joined to that countless company, who, with the palm of victory in their hands, surround the throne, and day and night, are praising *Him* who hath *redeemed* them, "on the psaltery and harp."

APPENDIX.

COPY OF THE STATEMENT OF CHRISTIAN FAITH FURNISHED BY JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY, AT THE REQUEST OF STEPHEN A. CHASE, OF SALEM, MASSACHUSETTS. See *supra*, p. 506.

Earlham, 7th mo., 26th, 1846.

Having been requested by my friend Stephen A. Chase, of Salem, Massachusetts, to furnish him with a statement of my Christian faith respecting the Holy Scriptures, the immediate and perceptible operation of the Spirit, the doctrine of justification, and that of the Trinity, (as it is called,) I have much satisfaction in complying with his request.

I. THE HOLY SCRIPTURES. My belief respecting the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments may be stated in the words of GEORGE FOX; "Concerning the Holy Scriptures, we believe they were given forth by the Holy Spirit of God, through the holy men of God, who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost: we believe they are to be read, believed, and fulfilled; (he that fulfils them is Christ;) and they are profitable for reproof, for correction, and for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works; and are able to make wise unto salvation, through faith in Christ Jesus: we believe the Holy Scriptures are the words of God."

See Declaration of Faith issued by George Fox and others, and presented to the Governor and Council of Barbadoes. — Evans's Exposition, p. 238.

Also in the words of ROBERT BARCLAY; "Moreover because they are commonly acknowledged by all to have been written by the dictates of the Holy Spirit, and that the errors which may be

supposed by the injury of times to have slipped in,* are not such but that there is a sufficient clear testimony left to all the essentials of the Christian faith, we do look upon them as the only fit outward judge of controversies among Christians, and that whatsoever doctrine is contrary unto their testimony, may therefore be rejected as false. And for our parts, we are very willing that all our doctrines and practices be tried by them, which we never refused, and never shall in all controversies with our adversaries, *as the judge and test.* We shall also be very willing to admit it as a positive, certain maxim, that whatsoever any do, pretending to the Spirit, which is contrary to the Scriptures, be accounted and reckoned a delusion of the devil." *Apology, Prop.* III.

Also in the words of WILLIAM PENN: "We both love, honour, and prefer them before all books in the world; ever choosing to express our belief of the Christian faith and doctrine in the terms thereof, and rejecting all principles and doctrines whatsoever that are repugnant thereto."—*Testimony to the Truth, Evans,* p. 248.

Also in the words of the General Epistle of the YEARLY MEETING OF LONDON, for the year 1836: "It has ever been, and still is, the belief of the Society of Friends, that the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament were given by inspiration of God: that therefore the declarations contained in them rest on the authority of God himself; and there can be no appeal from them to any other authority whatsoever; that they are able to make us wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus, being the appointed means of making known to us the blessed truths of Christianity; that they are the only divinely authorised record of the doctrines which we are bound, as Christians, to believe, and of the moral principles which are to regulate our actions; that no doctrine which is not contained in them can be required of any one to be believed, as an article of faith; that whatsoever any man says or does, which is contrary to the Scriptures, though under profession of the immediate guidance of the Spirit, must be reckoned and accounted a mere delusion."†

* The errors here alluded to, are those of copying only, which have given rise, as is generally known, to a great number of various readings. These, for the most part, are entirely destitute of importance. After a very extensive and accurate collation of manuscripts and other authorities, the text, both of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures, may now be regarded as being, for all practical purposes, settled and ascertained; and the blessed result is, that the readers of Holy Writ are not deprived of a single moral principle, or a single doctrinal truth.—Note by J. J Gurney.

† This epistle was, as I understand, republished by most of the Yearly Meetings of North America.—Note by J. J. Gurney.

While I fully agree with the plain testimony which has thus been always borne by Friends to the divine authority of the Holy Scriptures, and do sincerely acknowledge that the doctrines and precepts contained in them are the doctrines and precepts of the Almighty himself, I also unite with Friends in objecting to the common practice of denominating the sacred volume "*the Word of God*," because I am of opinion, that this epithet, considered as a distinguishing and exclusive title, properly belongs only to Christ, of whom the Scriptures testify.

Secondly, I wish it to be clearly understood, that since the paramount authority of the Holy Scriptures over that of all other books, is a simple consequence of the fact, that they were given by inspiration of God, I must ever regard these sacred writings, pure and precious though they be, as entirely subordinate, in point of dignity and power, to the Holy Spirit from whom they came, and who is himself their true and ever-living Author. And further, though they are "the appointed means of making known to us the blessed truths of Christianity," and thus "are able to make us wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus," I entertain a deep and thorough conviction that they can never impart an efficacious and saving knowledge of divine things, unless their contents are unfolded to the understanding, and impressed on the heart, by the immediate influences of that Spirit from whom they emanated. While, therefore, it is our unquestionable duty, as the Society of Friends has frequently declared, to read them diligently ourselves, and as diligently to teach them to our children, we ought, in the performance of this duty, reverently to depend on divine aid and illumination, remembering the words of our blessed Lord—especially applicable as they are to the present subject—"without me ye can do NOTHING."

II. THE IMMEDIATE AND PERCEPTIBLE OPERATION OF THE SPIRIT.

In reference to this great subject, I have, in the first place, plainly to declare my belief, in unison with that of Friends from their first rise to the present day, that the influence of the Holy Spirit is very far from being confined to those who have a knowledge of Holy writ, and of the incarnate, crucified, and risen Saviour of whom it testifies. On the contrary, it is my firm conviction that as Christ died for all men, so all men, through his mediation and sacrifice on the cross, are placed in a capacity for salvation, and receive a measure of divine light, which although in numberless instances shining "in

darkness," and overborne by ignorance and superstition, is in its own nature pure and holy, and perceptible to the rational mind of man — so that those who believe in it, and obey it, are thereby led to fear God, and to keep his law as it is written on their hearts; that such as these are accepted for Christ's sake, even though they may never have heard his name; and thus sharing in the benefit of his atoning death on the cross, through faith in the degree of light bestowed upon them, they are to be regarded as partakers, *in their measure and according to their capacity*, of the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

In stating this point I do not forget that the heathen world, both in ancient and modern times, has been found, generally speaking, in a state of great blindness and degradation, as compared with that part of mankind which has the outward knowledge of Christ, and that their moral responsibility is small in proportion: and I freely confess my belief (also in unison with Friends from their first origin until now) that the immediate and perceptible guidance and government of the Holy Spirit are *preëminently* enjoyed by true believers in Christ — the living members of the Christian Church. To these was addressed the language — "Ye have an unction from the Holy One, and ye know all things;" and again, "The anointing which ye have received of him abideth in you, and ye need not that any man teach you: but as the same anointing teacheth you of all things, and is truth, and is no lie, and even as it hath taught you, ye shall abide in him:" 1 John ii, 20, 27. Although directly miraculous gifts, and that extraordinary measure of inspiration which the apostles received, were peculiarly adapted to the first settlement of Christianity in the world, and (without daring to limit the operations of divine power) we do not look for them in the present day, yet I am well assured that the promise of the Holy Ghost as a perceptible guide to truth and righteousness, and as the only qualifier for the exercise of those gifts which are instrumental for the edification and enlargement of the church, were not confined to primitive days, but are the inheritance of the people of God, under the gospel dispensation, to the end of time. That promise was not only to the first believers, but to their children, and to all that were afar off, even to as many as the Lord their God should call: Acts ii, 39. The Holy Ghost, the Comforter, was to abide with the church "for ever:" John xiv, 16. "As for me, this is my covenant with them, saith the Lord, (to Israel's Messiah;) MY SPIRIT THAT IS UPON THEE, and my words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth,

nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith the Lord, from henceforth and for ever:" Isaiah lix, 21.

If I am asked in what respects, according to my belief, the immediate and perceptible operation of the Holy Spirit is experienced by true Christians, I answer,

First, in that divine teaching and illumination by which the truths of our holy religion are made clear to the mind, and by which the mind is brought into such a condition, as to be able fully to receive and appropriate them; more especially in deepening those convictions of sin, and strengthening that living faith, of which the Spirit Himself is the very Source and Author.

Secondly, in the application of the general moral principles declared in Scripture, to every particular exigency or question which may arise in the course of our lives—there being a swift witness for God within us, instructing our conscience, and plainly showing us, on every successive occasion which requires it, in what way that love to God and man which is the fulfilling of the law, is to be brought into practice —what we ought to do, as responsible moral agents, and what to leave undone. And here I would remark, that according to my apprehension of the subject, it is *on this ground*, in connection with a simple obedience to the precepts of our Lord and his apostles, that Friends have so long been led to bear an open practical testimony against war in all its forms, against oaths under whatsoever circumstance or pretext, against the sin of trading in our fellow-men, and of holding them in slavery, against the vain amusements and heartless dissipation of the world, against extravagance and useless ornament in dress or furniture, and against all that is opposed to Christian simplicity and truth, in the modes of behaviour and address current amongst men.

Thirdly, in the call to his own particular line of duty, of every living member of the church, for the welfare of the body, and for the advancement of the cause of truth and righteousness; seeing that "the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man *to profit withal*:" 1 Cor. xii, 7;—an office of the Comforter wholly independent of the sacred records; for while Scripture abounds in descriptions of spiritual gifts, and of their true origin and operation, the call of the individual member of the church to the exercise of any particular gift, is a matter which belongs to the hidden counsels and sole prerogative of the Saviour himself; and is made known to the Christian only by the immediate and perceptible light and guidance of the Holy Spirit. These remarks apply with especial force to the

gift or office of the Christian ministry. I am one with the Society of Friends in openly declaring my conviction, that it is the great Head of the Church alone who selects and ordains his own ministers, calls them into his service, qualifies them by his Spirit for the performance of it, and graciously directs them as to the time, place, and matter of their communications — the immediate putting forth and anointing of the Holy Ghost being indispensable, not only for the first entrance on the work, but for the continued exercise of it, on every successive occasion. I also believe—as Friends have always declared—that in accordance with the prophecy of Joel ii, 28, and with the experience of the earliest Christian believers, the "gift of prophecy"—that is, of ministry uttered under the immediate influence of the Spirit—is graciously imparted to persons of both sexes; and that as it is freely received, *so it must be communicated to others, without money and without price.* Incapable in its own nature of being appointed, provided, or hired by men, and coming from the Lord alone, it ought to be exercised in simple conformity to his will, under the immediate teaching and government of his Spirit, without any secular end in view, and for the sole purpose of the glory of God our Saviour.

Here I think it right to remark, that I fully unite with Friends in approving and maintaining their excellent practice of sitting down in silence for the public worship of Almighty God; for while this mode of worship alone consists with our principles respecting the ministry as now stated, it is peculiarly adapted to that prostration of soul before the Lord, that patient waiting upon him, and that listening to the immediate teaching of his Spirit, which are essential to a real growth in grace, and to the solid formation of the Christian character. Nor ought such a practice to be confined to public occasions, for "it is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth; he *sitteth alone and keepeth silence*, because he hath borne it upon him; he putteth his mouth in the dust, if so be there may be hope:" Lam. iii, 27—29. Compare *Robert Barclay on Immediate Revelation, universal and saving light, worship and ministry: Apology, Prop.* ii. vi. x. xi.

III. JUSTIFICATION.

By this term I understand the forgiveness and acceptance, with God, of the penitent sinner, for the sake and through the mediation of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and through faith in his blood. This is a doctrine absolutely fundamental and essential in Christianity,

and has always been steadily maintained by the Society of Friends. It ought, however, to be inseparably associated in our minds, with the equally important truth, that "without holiness no man can see the Lord," and that we cannot avail ourselves of the mercy of God in Christ Jesus, unless, being born again of the Spirit, we heartily repent of our sins, resolutely forsake and renounce them, and humbly endeavour, through divine aid, to walk in the light. "There is, therefore, now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit;" Rom. viii, 1. "If we walk in the light as God is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ, his Son, cleanseth us from all sin;" 1 John ii, 7.

I can most freely subscribe to the following declarations made by the Society of Friends as a body, and by some of its most eminent members, on this cardinal and vital topic.

"Christ gave himself, his body, for the life of the whole world, and paid the debt and made satisfaction, and doth enlighten every man that comes into the world, that all through him might believe; and *he that doth not believe in the offering is condemned already.*"—*George Fox—Great Mystery*, p. 63. *Evans*, p. 29.

"Christ Jesus the Immanuel, God with us; whom all the Angels must worship; Christ offered himself through the eternal Spirit without spot to God, and by his blood purges our consciences from dead works to serve the living God. And so we know that Christ, by one offering, for ever perfected them that are sanctified. And so as people walk in the light, they have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Christ cleanseth them from all sin. And Christ his own self bare our sins in his body on the tree, that we being delivered from sin should live unto righteousness—by whose stripes you are healed. And we, *being justified by the blood of Christ*, shall be saved from wrath through him; for if when we were enemies we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son, much more being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life."—*Epistle issued by the Society in* 1688: *Evans*, pp. 29, 30.

"This Jesus, who was the Foundation of the holy prophets and apostles, is our Foundation; and we believe there is no other foundation to be laid, but that which is laid, even Christ Jesus, who tasted death for every man, shed his blood for all men, is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world, according as John the Baptist testified of him,

when he said, 'Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world.'" — *Letter from George Fox to the Council and Government of Barbadoes: Evans*, p. 32.

"We do not hereby intend" (that is by enforcing the necessity of obedience to the Holy Spirit) "any ways to lessen or derogate from the atonement and sacrifice of Jesus Christ; but, on the contrary, do magnify and exalt it. For as we believe all those things to have been certainly transacted which are recorded in the Holy Scriptures concerning the birth, life, miracles, sufferings, resurrection, and ascension of Christ; so we also believe that it is the duty of every one to believe it, to whom it pleases God to reveal the same; yea, we believe *it were damnable unbelief not to believe it when so declared*, but to resist that holy seed, which as minded, would lead and incline every one to believe it, as it is offered unto them." *Robert Barclay's Apology, Evans*, p. 43.

Again, "As we believe it was necessary that Christ should come, that by his death and sufferings he might offer up himself a sacrifice to God for our sins who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree, so *we believe that the remission of sins, which any partake of, is only in and by virtue of that most satisfactory sacrifice, and no otherwise.*"—*Idem.*

"In him (Christ) we have life, *and, by faith, atonement in his blood.*"—*William Penn's Works: Evans*, p. 49.

"We are led by the light and spirit of Christ, with holy reverence to confess unto the blood of Christ shed at Jerusalem, as that by which a propitiation was held forth for *the remission of the sins that were past*, through the forbearance of God *unto all that believe.*"—*William Penn's Works*, p. 411: *Evans*, p. 54.

"We do own *first* that the Word of God, the only begotten of the Father, did take up a body of the flesh of the Virgin Mary, who was of the seed of David, according to the Scriptures, and did the will of the Father therein, in holy obedience unto him both in life and death.

Secondly, That he did offer up the flesh and blood of that body; though not only so, for he poured out his *soul*, he poured out his life, a sacrifice or offering for sin, (do not, oh do not stumble at it, but rather wait on the Lord to understand it; for we speak in this matter what we know,) a sacrifice unto the Father, and in it tasted death for every man, and that it is in consideration and through God's acceptance of this sacrifice for sin, that the *sins of believers are pardoned*, that God might be just, and the justifier of him that

believeth in Jesus, or who is of the faith of Jesus."—*Isaac Pennington; Works: Evans*, p. 87.

"Question. Are you justified by that blood of Christ that was shed at Jerusalem?"

"Answer. *By the blood of Jesus Christ*, the Son of the living God, who was the express image of the Father's glory, in whom dwelt the fulness of the Godhead really, who suffered at Mount Calvary, by Jerusalem, for sinners, *am I justified.*"—*Humfrey Smith: Evans*, p. 94.

Richard Claridge, like some other writers of our society, has treated on *Justification* as consisting of two parts; first, the forgiveness of the penitent sinner through faith in Christ crucified; and secondly, purification from sin by the power of the Holy Ghost. For my own part, I am accustomed to describe the latter by the term "*Sanctification.*" Nevertheless, I am one with him in his Christian *doctrine.* "By the propitiatory sacrifice of Christ, without us," says he, "we, *truly repenting and believing*, are, through the mercy of God, *justified from the imputation of sins and transgressions that are past, as though they had never been committed;* and by the mighty work of Christ within us, the power, habits, and nature of sin are destroyed; that as sin once reigned unto death, even so now grace reigneth unto eternal life, by Jesus Christ our Lord; and all this is effected, not by a bare or naked act of faith, separate from obedience, but in the obedience of faith; Christ being the author of eternal salvation to none but those who obey him."—*On Justification*, p. 79.

"We do, indeed, renounce the profession of justification by the imputation of Christ, or his righteousness performed without men, by men while they are in the degenerated estate, and unconverted and unreconciled, and unborn again; for, by such profession of justification, many deceive their souls. But yet we say that righteousness *is imputed to us, and reckoned unto us, who believe in Christ, and have received him;* even the obedience and sufferings that he performed without us, are ours who have received him within us, and therefore we are not reprobates; yea, we do acknowledge that he wrought perfect righteousness by obedience and sufferings, and *that righteousness is ours by faith.*"—*Edward Burrough*, "*Satan's Design Defeated;*" *Evans*, p. 99.

A safer or more satisfactory declaration than this of the true doctrine of justification by faith, as it is held by every sound

Christian, cannot surely be required by the most ardent advocate of evangelical truth. Those who accuse the early members of our religious society of unsoundness in Christian doctrine, are little aware how remarkably they were distinguished by a firm, unbending faith in Christ as the Saviour of the world, and by that ardent love for him, which constrained them to devote themselves to his service, and to follow him faithfully, through many and deep sufferings, even unto death. Conscientiously do I affirm, that although I may have used terms somewhat different from those which some of them employed, and have occasionally taken a different view of particular passages of Scripture, we have advocated one and the same precious Truth — even the "Truth as it is in Jesus." Most willing were *they* at all times to confess—as the Society has frequently done in its corporate capacity — that Jesus Christ, in all his gracious offices, is the only Foundation which can be laid in Zion; that all our hopes of salvation are in him; that it is through his perfect obedience, and propitiatory offering on the cross, that we poor sinners receive the forgiveness of our sins, and are placed in possession of a well-grounded hope, full of immortality — and that a living faith in him is the appointed means by which we are made partakers of these free mercies of God our Father. By this faith did our forefathers in the truth spiritually *eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood;* and, being richly favoured with this inward experience, they neither required nor admitted any outward ceremony, in divine worship, to remind them of the death of their Lord.

Equally willing have I always been, and still am, to acknowledge that (as they frequently declared, and as the society itself has never failed to testify) we cannot truly come unto Christ, except the Father who hath sent him, draw us—that the influence by which the Father draws us to the Son is that of the Holy Spirit, who convinces of sin, bestows true repentance, and lays the sinner prostrate at the feet of the Saviour; and finally, that except we be thoroughly cleansed from our iniquities by the baptism which saves—even the ONE baptism of Christianity, which is with the Holy Ghost — and thus become new creatures in Christ Jesus, we can never obtain that glorious inheritance which the Saviour has purchased for us with his own blood.

The following extract from a declaration of faith, issued by the YEARLY MEETING OF PHILADELPHIA, in 1828, (the time of the Hicksite separation,) is so clearly to the point, and so excellent, that

I think it right to subjoin it to the quotations already given. "We believe that nothing man can do, or suffer, will atone for, or cancel his sins. They are remitted by the mercy of God, through Christ Jesus our Lord, for the sake of the sufferings and death of Christ, and it is the power and efficacy of that propitiatory offering, *upon faith and repentance*, that justifies both Jews and Gentiles from the sins that are past; and it is the power of Christ's spirit, in our hearts, that purifies and makes us acceptable before God. 'Being justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Jesus Christ; whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God; to declare I say at this time his righteousness; that he might be just, and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus:' Rom. iii, 24—26. 'But God commendeth his love towards us, in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us. Much more then, being now justified by his blood, we shall be saved from wrath through him. For, if when we were enemies we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son, much more, being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life. And not only so, but we also joy in God, through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom we have now received the atonement:' Rom. v, 8—11.

"Not only do the Separatists deny the universal efficacy of the offering of our Lord, and term the imputation of his righteousness, as the ground of our acceptance, a pernicious and absurd idea, but they appear to rejoice in the hope, that the doctrine will be discarded, as the fruit of the apostacy, from the Christian faith. Believing, as we do, that it is only as we come to be divested of our own righteousness, and of all confidence in it, and through divine mercy clothed upon with the righteousness of Christ, that any can have a firm ground whereon to rest their hope of salvation, we sincerely deplore the delusion of those, who thus wantonly deprive themselves of that hope which maketh not ashamed, and entereth within the veil."

IV. The Doctrine of the Trinity.

I have never thought it right, either in preaching or writing, to make use of this term, which is scholastic in its origin, and is liable to misconstruction; but I consider the doctrine itself, though far beyond the reach of the natural understanding of man, to be plainly

set forth in Scripture; and so far am I from regarding it as merely theoretical in its nature, that I accept it as of the highest practical importance in the experience of every true believer.

No one who has an experimental knowledge of the great plan of redemption, and calmly reflects on its several features, can fail to perceive that the proper divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, is one of those amazing truths which impart a living efficacy to the whole; for while he offered up himself on the cross as man, yet was he omnipotent, *because of his deity*, to bear the weight of the sins of all mankind, and just in proportion to the supreme dignity of the sufferer, is the comprehensiveness of the hope and joy which we derive from his sufferings. "He that spared not HIS OWN SON, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not with him also freely give us all things?" Rom. viii, 32. Again, where is the individual convinced of the truth, *as Friends have ever held it*, who will not allow that it is in virtue of his glorious Godhead, that Christ governs his universal church by the immediate influence of his Spirit; and that he is by the same Spirit "the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world?"

It would be irrelevant for me here to adduce the clear and frequently repeated testimony of Scripture to the deity of Christ. Suffice it to say, that this testimony was accepted and promulgated without reserve by our earliest predecessors in the truth, and has always been maintained inviolate by the Society of Friends, to the present day. Nor has the faith of our religious body been less scriptural, or less explicitly declared, respecting the Divinity of the Holy Spirit; for where is the sound believer who does not acknowledge that the Comforter, even the Holy Ghost, whom the Father sends to us in the name of the Son, to dwell with us and in us, and to guide us into all truth, (John xiv, 17, and xvi, 13;) against whom it is an unpardonable sin to blaspheme, (Mark iii, 29;) into whose name the true convert is baptized, as well as into the name of the Father, and of the Son, (Matt. xxviii, 19;) who divideth to every man severally in the church, "*as he will*," (1 Cor. xii, 11,) is himself truly and properly God? Yet, although the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, are all three presented to us in Scripture as actually divine, and as severally distinguished by relative properties, in the economy of grace — it is still the same mind, the same power, the same essence. The whole Scripture assures us that there is but one God—even the immutable and everlasting Jehovah—and, therefore,

these Three are One. And here I wish it to be distinctly understood, that when in any of my writings I have adverted to the "personality," or "personal attributes" of the Holy Spirit, I have had no intention whatsoever to convey the idea that the Comforter possesses a personal form; much less to represent him as an object of worship separate from God; but only to show, that so far from being a mere influence, he must be regarded as a divine intelligent Agent, truly ONE with the Father and the Son.

My belief on the subject cannot be better expressed than in the following declarations of the early members of our religious society:—

"We believe concerning the Father, Son, and Spirit, according to the testimony of the Holy Scriptures, which we receive and embrace as the most authentic and perfect declaration of Christian faith, being indited by the Holy Spirit of God, that never errs;—1st. That there is one God and Father, of whom are all things. 2nd. That there is one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom all things were made, who was glorified of the Father before the world began, who is God, over all, blessed for ever. 3rd. That there is one Holy Spirit, the promise of the Father and the Son, the leader, sanctifier, and comforter of his people. And we further believe, as the Holy Scriptures soundly and sufficiently express, that these three are ONE —even the Father, the Word, and the Spirit."—*George Fox's Answer to all such as falsely say the Quakers are no Christians*, pp. 26, 27: *Evans*, p. 3.

"So, being led by the Spirit of God, ye are his sons and daughters, and, by his Spirit, will come to know the Three that bear witness in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost. These are the THREE WITNESSES that are in heaven, that bear record of all things; for he is God in the heaven, and God in the earth."—*George Fox's Epistles: Evans*, p. 3.

"There are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are One. The Father is in the Son, and the Son is in the Father. No man knoweth the Son but the Father, neither knoweth any man the Father but the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him. The Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God. For the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God. Now the Saints have received not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit which is of God, that they might know the things which are freely given to them of God. For the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom

the Father sends in *Christ's* name, He teacheth them all things, and bringeth all things to their remembrance."—*Robert Barclay's Confession of Faith*, p. 104: *Evans*, p. 5.

"Perversion 9. The Quakers deny the Trinity. Principle — Nothing less. They believe in the Holy Three, or Trinity of Father, Word, and Spirit, according to Scripture, and that these Three are truly and properly One — of one nature as well as will." —*William Penn's Key, &c.: Evans*, p. 7.

"The Holy Scripture Trinity, or Three thereby meant, we never questioned, but believed; as also the unity of essence; that they are one substance, one divine, infinite Being; and also we question not, but sincerely believe, the *relative properties* of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, according to Holy Scripture testimony, and that these Three are One."—*George Whitehead*, p. 195: *Evans*, p. 8.

"Now consider seriously, if a man from his heart believe thus concerning the eternal power and Godhead, that the Father is God, the Word God, the Holy Spirit, God, and that these are one eternal God — waiting so to know God, and to be subject to him accordingly—is not this man in a right frame of heart towards the Lord in this respect? Indeed, friends, we do know God sensibly and experimentally, to be a Father, Word, and Spirit; and we worship the Father in the Son, by his own Spirit, and here meet with the seal of acceptance in him." —*Isaac Penningtons Antichrist Unmasked*, p. 27: *Evans*, p. 10.

To these explicit testimonies, given forth on behalf of the body, by eminent individuals, may be added the following declaration solemnly made by the Society, A. D. 1693.

"We sincerely profess faith in God by his only begotten Son Jesus Christ, as being our light and life, our only way to the Father, and also our only Mediator and Advocate with the Father.

"That God created all things; he made the world by his Son Jesus Christ, he being that powerful and living Word by whom all things were made; and that the Father, the Word, and Holy Spirit are one; in Divine Being inseparable; one true, living, and eternal God blessed for ever." *Signed on behalf of our Christian profession and people aforesaid— George Whitehead, Ambrose Rigg, &c., &c.— Sewel's History*, vol. ii, p. 499.

Under the full conviction that this is a subject, above all others, on which it were very foolishness to attempt to be wise above that which is written, and under a solemn sense of the importance of our faithfully adhering to the doctrine of the *Oneness* of Jehovah, I will

now conclude my declaration of faith, on this grand, essential article, in words which I have already published. They were suggested to me, many years ago, by a venerable minister of the gospel, who dearly loved our religious Society, and faithfully adhered to its acknowledged principles to his dying day.

"While the Christian rejoices in the distinct characters and offices of the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, so graciously revealed to us for our instruction and edification, he probably never finds his soul bowed down with so deep a reverence, or filled with so pure a delight, as when he contemplates the Almighty as an ineffable glory—an incommunicable name—an infinite and incomprehensible UNITY."

Although I have now given a full and explicit answer, as I trust, to the inquiry of my friend Stephen A. Chase, I am best satisfied to add a short explanation of my belief on two points which he has not mentioned—*the resurrection of the body, and the sabbath.*

My convictions on the former subject are well stated in the following sentences selected from the declaration of faith made by the Society of Friends, in 1693, and already cited under a preceding head.

"Concerning the resurrection of the dead, and the great day of judgment yet to come, beyond the grave, or after death, and Christ's coming, without us, to judge the quick and the dead, what the Holy Scriptures plainly declare and testify in these matters, we have been always ready to embrace. For the doctrine of the resurrection; if in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable: 1 Cor. xv, 19. We sincerely believe not only a resurrection in Christ from the fallen, sinful state here, but a rising and ascending into glory with him hereafter; that when he at last appears, we may appear with him in glory: Col. iii, 4; 1 John iii, 2.

"But that all the wicked who live in rebellion against the light of grace, and die finally impenitent, shall come forth to the resurrection of condemnation.

"The soul or spirit of every man or woman shall be reserved in its own distinct and proper being, and shall have its proper body as God is pleased to give it: 1 Cor. xv. A natural body is sown, a spiritual body is raised; that being first which is natural, and afterwards that which is spiritual. And though it is said that this corruptible shall put on incorruption, and this mortal shall put on immortality, the change shall be such as that "flesh and blood

cannot inherit the kingdom of God, neither shall corruption inherit incorruption:" 1 Cor. xv. We shall be raised out of all corruption and corruptibility, out of all mortality; and the children of God and of the resurrection shall be equal to the angels of God in heaven. And as the celestial bodies do far excel the terrestrial, so we expect our spiritual bodies in the resurrection shall far excel what our bodies now are." To which declaration may be added the words of JOHN CROOK:—"We believe that we shall be raised with the *same bodies*, so far as natural and spiritual, corruptible and incorruptible, terrestrial and celestial, can be the same." *Evans*, p. 114.

Similar declarations were frequently made during the times when Friends were exposed to much controversy as well as persecution. On this subject, I have only to add, that while the testimony of Scripture to the resurrection of the dead, and a future day of general judgment, is both unquestionable and abundant, and was fully received and admitted by our early Friends, it may also be clearly proved from Scripture, (as Friends have always maintained,) that the rational soul of man exists immediately after death, either in happiness or woe; and that it is only as we experience what it is to be raised from our death in trespasses and sins, and quickened into newness of life by the power of the Holy Ghost, that we can possibly be fitted for the awful change which awaits us all, from probation to retribution, and from a brief sojourn in this passing scene, to a fixed but boundless immortality.

With respect to the "Sabbath," I wish it to be distinctly understood, that in sometimes applying that term to the first day of the week, as it is observed among Christians, I have had a view to the simple meaning of the Hebrew word, viz.—"*cessation from labour.*" I am perfectly aware that the maintenance of the Jewish Sabbath, observed as it was and is on the seventh day of the week, and with a ceremonial strictness which appertained only to the Mosaic law, is, under the gospel dispensation, no longer obligatory. And while I am of the judgment that the setting apart of *one* day, after every recurring period of *six* days' labour, for the blessed purposes of rest and worship, is not to be regarded as a matter of mere expediency, but as a moral and religious duty, truly belonging to the law of our God, I fully unite in the sentiment expressed by Robert Barclay and others of our early Friends, that no portion of time ought to be regarded by Christians as in itself holier than another—that all our time is the Lord's—and that ceasing from our own wicked works, and all the willing and running of the carnal mind, we must press

forward after that glorious rest, (typified by the Sabbath of the Jews,) of which a precious foretaste is bestowed even here, and which is perfected, for the people of God, in the world to come.

Joseph John Gurney, of Earlham, in the county of the city of Norwich, a minister of the gospel in the Society of Friends, on his solemn affirmation saith, that the declaration contained in the foregoing part of this sheet, and printed in eight columns, is a true and honest declaration of his Christian faith on the several articles therein stated; and that, to the best of his knowledge and belief, he has held the same sentiments for more than thirty years.

J. J. GURNEY,
of Earlham, near Norwich, England.

Declared and affirmed before us, at the Guildhall, in the City of Norwich, the first day of August, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty-six.

John Betts, Mayor of the City of Norwich, and County of the same.

George D. Lynn, Justice of the Peace of the City of Norwich, and County of the same.

J. H. Barnard, Justice of the Peace of the City of Norwich, and County of the same.

THE END.

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